

4-1-1989

## Concerned Philosophers for Peace, Vol. 9, No. 1

Concerned Philosophers for Peace

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### Recommended Citation

Concerned Philosophers for Peace, "Concerned Philosophers for Peace, Vol. 9, No. 1" (1989). *Concerned Philosophers for Peace*. 18.

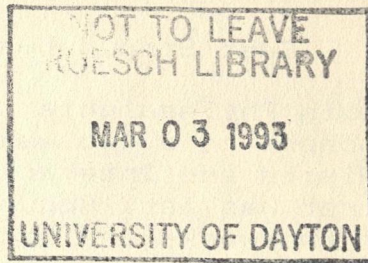
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# CONCERNED PHILOSOPHERS FOR PEACE NEWSLETTER

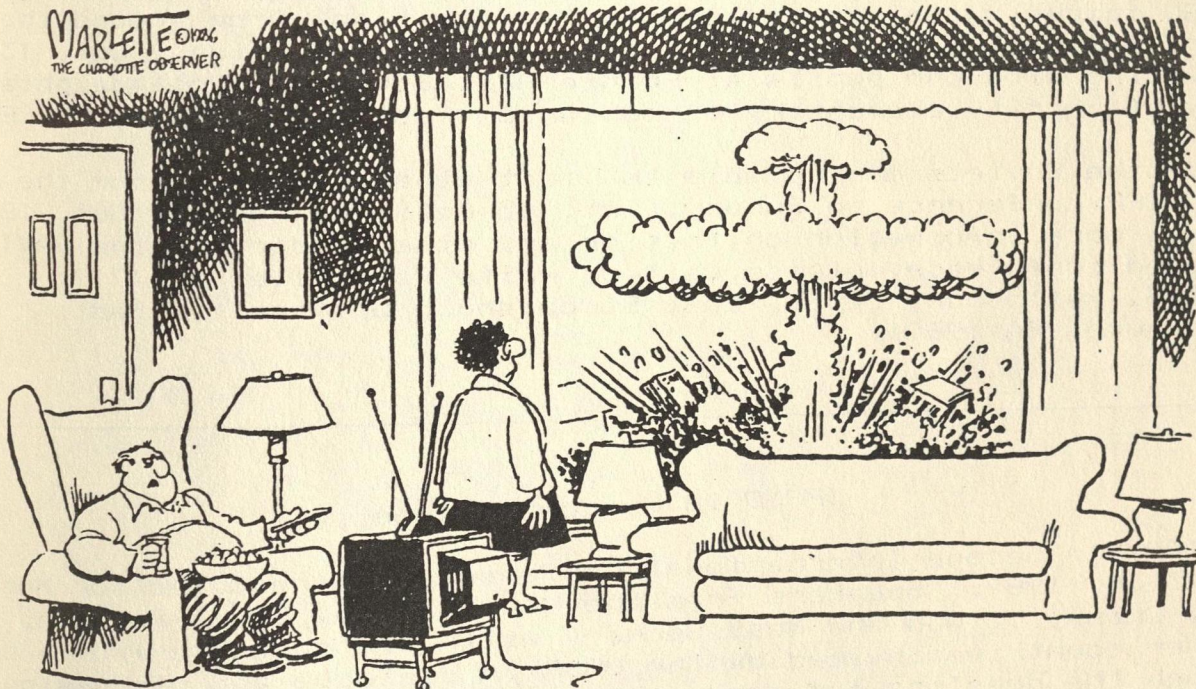
Vol. 9, No. 1

Spring, 1989



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"WELL, IT JUST BETTER NOT BUMP A.C.C. BASKETBALL!"

reprinted courtesy of Doug Marlette, Atlanta Constitution

## SAVI News

Paul Allen III

## East Stroudsburg University

The CPP conference in Philadelphia this October will be attended by ten Soviet philosophers on a two week visit in the U.S. with SAVI (Soviet-American Visits and Interaction). (This will be the second SAVI visit; the first was last August, when ten American philosophers visited Moscow for two weeks and had a conference at the Institute of Philosophy.) Several of the Soviets will present papers at the CPP conference. Since all the Soviets are eager to strike up friendships and professional relationships with the rest of us, I urge as many American philosophers as possible to attend the conference and take advantage of this opportunity.

Prior to the CPP conference, the Soviets will be at East Stroudsburg University, where the SAVI conference proper will be held Oct. 8-10. The ten Soviets and approximately 20 Americans at the SAVI conference will make presentations and carry on dialogue, mostly in small groups, on the basic theme of SAVI, namely, how to improve mutual understanding and rapport between Soviet and American people.

During other days of the visit the participants will work on concrete projects to achieve the goal of improving understanding and rapport. One of the projects will feature two of the Soviets, along with two Americans, in a well-publicized panel for the public and students at LaSalle University in Philadelphia on Thursday, Oct. 12. This panel, sponsored by the Greater Philadelphia Philosophy Consortium, is titled "Freedom, Equality, and Justice in the USSR and the US: A Philosophical Dialogue." We also are trying to work out a nation-wide video conference via satellite on Thursday, Oct. 19, originating from the ESU campus, with viewers phoning in questions from around the country. Finally, the Soviets will spend much of Friday, Oct. 13, interacting with the pupils at Prince Hall School in Philadelphia, a mostly black city elementary school which has been "adopted" by ESU.

Some of the Soviets may be able to visit other campuses from the end of the CPP conference on Sunday, Oct. 15 until Wednesday, Oct. 18. If you want more information on this or any other aspect of the SAVI visit and conference, please call or write Paul Allen at (717) 424-3603, Philosophy Dept., East Stroudsburg University, East Stroudsburg, PA 19801.

## IPPNO in Moscow in June

IPPNO's Second International Conference is scheduled for Moscow, June 23-30, 1989. Speakers from the USA, Canada, Great Britain, India, China, Taiwan and West Germany will join speakers from a number of other countries invited by the USSR in dialogue and discussion. Although the deadline for presentation of papers has passed, members of IPPNO are still eligible to attend the Conference even though not presenting a paper. There is no registration fee. For further information contact the USA Section of IPPNO, 1426 Merritt Drive, El Cajon, CA 92020, (619) 447-1641.

## 2nd National Conference

### CONCERNED PHILOSOPHERS FOR PEACE

#### *Call for Papers*

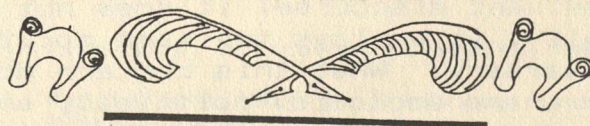
Concerned Philosophers for Peace will meet in Philadelphia, October 13-15, 1989. The conference will be hosted by Temple University, with some meetings at the downtown Hershey Hotel. An added feature of the conference will be a panel and major address by philosophers from the Institute of Philosophy in Moscow. That is being arranged by Paul Allen in conjunction with his SAVI exchange. Douglas Lackey will give the presidential address, and we are negotiating for a possible opening speaker. Sidney Axinn (Department of Philosophy, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA 19122) is in charge of local arrangements.

Papers limited to twenty minutes reading time (about 10-12 pages) are now being reviewed for inclusion in the program. Papers are preferred over abstracts, although some detailed abstracts may be accepted. Topics include the entire range of nuclear issues, peace and justice concerns, and interactions with published books and articles. Be creative. The deadline for submissions has been extended to July 7. Send two copies to the program coordinator Joseph DesJardins, Center for Peace and Justice, Villanova University, Villanova, PA 19085.

#### Call for Reviews and Essays

We encourage readers of the Newsletter to submit reviews and brief essays. We also welcome news and announcements relevant to our concerns. If you are interested in reviewing books, please contact William C. Gay.

CPP Newsletter is issued twice a year to members and other interested parties. Submission and suggestions should be sent to: William C. Gay, Editor, CPP Newsletter, Department of Philosophy, University of NC-Charlotte, Charlotte, NC 28223.



# Peace as an Oppositional Act

William Paringer

The cynicism of the age, while it cuts both ways, has engaged a diversity of voices and fostered a "pugnacious reason" both of which are essential for a discourse of peace. Among the dissenters the approach of peace "activists"--those for whom the modern episteme is obsolete--may be distinguished from "academics"--those for whom the categories of rationality persist. I find these orientations reflective of the "reformational" and "professional" modes of an oppositional discourse. In respectively different ways, however, both seem to avoid a critical dimension for transforming the ideological terrain upon which the relations between knowledge, power, truth, and language are constructed. In my opinion this dimension articulates the oppositional as political and pedagogical.

Not completely but certainly recognizably, the peace movement in the last decade has reinterpreted the spiritual for the public realm. From the standpoint of an educator, I am thinking of certain theoretical and curricular perspectives inside and out of schools which have reconstructed the religious (love, justice, friendship, community, care) towards the social (nuclear issues, Central America and development, homelessness, poverty, famine, apartheid, human rights, literacy). David Purpel's book, The Moral and Spiritual Crisis in Education (Bergin and Garvey, 1988), nicely expresses this approach. In profound ways the oppositional nature of the peace movement, its counter-hegemonic principles, its dissatisfaction with the positivistic and technocratic fixes of modernity, and its infusion of social responsibility as the pedagogical task, also implies a politic or a social ecology.

In this religiously motivated orientation a far-reaching concept of peace has emerged. Much more than philosophy and the academic "debate" on nuclear war this concept inclusively addresses the range of social relations, (e.g., perspectives of feminist, ecological, first/third world), the intertwine of agency and structure, and a method and content which a counter social model must include. This concept of peace, operative in a number of organizations and concerns, regards war as a symptom of more pervasive structures of violence in the organization of modern life. It signifies not only a moral imperative and legitimation (historically found in religious opposition) to change the world, but articulates a praxis or a rationale and procedure for effecting social change and ordering social reality.

On the other hand, typically what I see among professional philosophers and other academic sorts is the exclusion of the "spiritual" from their peace views. Their opposition remains in the ballpark of Realpolitik. Just war theory, for example, (even if it originates from a cleric) is oppositional only to the extent that it disagrees with the dominant discourse; it does not seek to change the structure. Conceptually, it employs the same political technologies (discourse) as its adversary. What this concern does do is struggle at the sites of power where economic, political, and social decisions and policies are formed and, thus, in this respect, instrumentalizes politics for peace.

Each position, peace educators and "philosophers" for peace, seeks to illuminate the political or the social as the pedagogical object, but incompletely expresses the oppositional as both a pedagogical and a political act. I seldom see from either concern an explicit desocialization of the ideological terrain, a deconstruction of thought, language, and practice, of knowledge and power, of history, of the institution. The issue here is one of formulating an educational praxis which not only includes the contestation of power at the sites where it is most firmly entrenched but excludes the language and assumptions of modern instrumentalism. More metaphorically, such a praxis encompasses the action of peace with a piece of the action.

This is an epistemological problem at heart, one which counters the assumption (idealism pure and simple) that to unveil or critique reality guarantees its transformation. Historically, this "enlightenment" approach has separated both the pedagogical and the personal from the political. I have in mind the Freirean notion of conscientization in which the pedagogical task originates in an awareness of the sociocultural conditions shaping (and determining) our everyday world and the capacity to transform it. In Freire's account, "Just as the epistemological cycle does not end at the stage of existing knowledge because it extends to the stage of creating new knowledge, conscientization cannot stop at the stage of revealing reality. It becomes authentic [what I would call the pedagogical] when we experience the revelation of the real world as a dynamic and dialectical unity with the actual transformation of reality" (Politics of Education, 169).

In most respects I think the peace movement (broadly understood) is far ahead of the academics for peace by its increasing inclusion of activist oppositional models. But it is the insufficient analytical and confrontational ground of the spiritual reformers which can be supplemented by philosophical, political, and economic critique. The objectiveness of the professionals, however, needs to be mediated with the righteousness of the reformers. By uniting the spiritual with the pedagogical, peace educators more completely describe the totality of the human condition. Intervening instrumentally the professional attends to existing sites of power more directly. Both have something to add; it is a matter of getting together.

--Montclair, NJ

#### Annual Meeting of the Bertrand Russell Society

Where: Ethical Culture Society (Social Hall)  
2 West 64th Street, New York, New York 10023

When: June 24-25, 1989

Cost: Single Day Registration--\$15 for Sat. & \$10 for Sun.

#### Papers Relevant to CPP Members

Sat, June 24  
1:30-3:00 PM Alan Ryan, Princeton University, "Russell's Pacifism"

3:15-4:15 PM Marvin Kohl, SUNY at Fredonia, "Understanding the Pragmatics of Pacifism"

Sun, June 25  
9:30-10:30 AM Tim Madigan, Free Inquiry, "The Rationality of Waging War"

# A Peace-Exchange Visit to the Soviet Union

Ronald J. Glossop

Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville

Having read the reports from Steven Lee and Helen Petrovsky concerning the SAVI (Soviet-American Visits and Interaction) Conference in Moscow last August, I feel it would be appropriate to report on my one-week visit to the Soviet Union last October, including the session with the Institute of Philosophy of the Soviet Academy of Sciences in Moscow.

I was one of a four-person delegation from the World Federalist Association of the U.S. visiting the Soviet Union as part of a four-year-old annual exchange with the Soviet Peace Committee. Although I was the only academic in our group, our meetings were with not only the researchers of the Institute of Philosophy but also representatives of the U.S.-Canada Studies Institute and the Soviet Association of Political Sciences as well as leaders of the Soviet Peace Committee.

Late on the afternoon of Thursday, October 13, we met with four members of the Institute of Philosophy plus a research assistant. They introduced themselves and indicated their areas of research as follows: Vladilen Burov (Head Researcher, Chinese political philosophy), Alexi Alushin (philosophy of Harold Lasswell), Helen Osipova (peace as a problem of being a human being), and Tatjana Alekseewa (world society and British-American political philosophy). We were impressed that so many of these philosophers were doing research on issues related to peace.

We found them rather interested in our idea that world peace requires a federal government at the world level and our view that the alternative to war is nonviolent conflict of interests worked out through political and judicial institutions. They were also attentive to our message that the Soviet federal Union with its need to accommodate diverse national-ethnic groups wanting autonomy within the federation is now in the process of working out solutions which will be extremely helpful at the global level as a world federation is developed. (This was a message which we also expressed when being interviewed for Soviet national television and Soviet English-language broadcasts to Europe.) The discussion was lively, and the interest was so great that the meeting continued into the dinner hour. Finally we had to leave in order to make our scheduled meeting with another group, the Soviet Section of the Global Family organization.

After three days of meetings in Moscow, one other member of our delegation and I went to Leningrad while the other two went to Tblisi. In Leningrad we talked with over 150 students studying law and foreign languages. We were able to distribute Russian-language versions of two of our World Federalist brochures as well as copies of the English-language book Planethood by Benjamin Ferencz and Ken Keyes. A memorable event for me was spending an evening conversing with a dozen Soviet Esperantists in Leningrad.

When talking in Moscow with leaders of the Soviet Peace Committee, we were able to make a point that may be of interest to American philosophers too, namely, that some leading Soviet intellectuals are

now talking favorably about the concept of world federation. Georgi Shakhnazarov, a top advisor to Gorbachev, had an article published in Pravda on 15 January under the title "Questions of Theory: The World Community Is Amenable to Government." The general thesis is that just after World War II the Soviets had to oppose the formation of a world government because at that time it would have been nothing but an instrument for U.S. domination of the whole world, but now things have changed as is evident on the basis of what is happening at the United Nations.

Here are a few remarkable quotes from that Shakhnazarov article:

The success of future work for peace conclusively depends on success in further boosting the degree to which the world is amenable to government.

Thus we have a right to draw the conclusion that the sphere of world governability, despite all its contradictoriness, is slowly but steadily expanding. This process is for the good of mankind.

With changes having taken place in Soviet policies, the Reagan administration in the U.S. was the greatest obstacle to the development of more effective global institutions for resolving international conflicts nonviolently. In December 1988 at the U.N. General Assembly a resolution was introduced asking that the Secretary-General conduct a study concerning the issue of whether the U.N. should develop its own instruments (including possibly putting up its own satellites) to monitor compliance with multilateral arms control agreements. The vote was 130 in favor and only 1 (the U.S.) opposed with no abstentions. This is a disgrace. So also is the failure of the U.S. media to publicize this and related actions such as the U.S. stopping the Law of the Sea Treaty from going into effect, ignoring the decision of the International Court of Justice with regard to Nicaragua, and undermining the financial stability of the U.N. as well as opposing a comprehensive test ban which would put an end to the development of new nuclear weapons.

Let me conclude by saying "Amen" to the last three paragraphs of Steven Lee's report in the October CPP Newsletter. I found the same kinds of views being expressed and the same diversity in Soviet thinking. For example, some of them strongly disagree with Shakhnazarov. But there is an exciting development of many new ideas and an unmistakable global perspective in the current thinking of many Soviet intellectuals.

A final observation. If we in the U.S. take a global outlook, can we keep insisting that everyone else use our national language at international meetings? At the same time, there are now 12 languages used by over 100 million people, and we can't be expected to learn them all. A just and logical solution to the problem of a language for international communication is Esperanto, as I have argued in my article "Language Policy and a Just World Order" in Alternatives, 13 (1988), 395-409.

(For those who would like a copy of the Shakhnazarov article in Pravda, a copy of my article in Alternatives, or more information about Esperanto, just write me and let me know what you want me to send.)



From Hiroshima to Bikini:  
Philosophers on Nuclear Weapons, 1945-1952

William C. Gay

Throughout the history of warfare, philosophers have provided critical assessments of weapons and of the policies that govern their threatened and actual use. The nuclear age is no exception. Although the number of philosophical publications on nuclear weapons and nuclear policies mushroomed in the 1980s, philosophers have written cogent articles and books during each decade of the nuclear age.

So far, philosophical writings on the nuclear age have progressed through three phases. The first phase goes from Hiroshima to Bikini and focuses on the atomic bomb. The second phase concerns the development and above-ground testing of the hydrogen bomb, as well as the on-going, post-war tension between the United States and the Soviet Union. Finally, much of the work of the last three decades, particularly in the 1980s, is a reaction to increasing shifts toward counterforce weapons and warfighting strategies.

Especially important are the initial responses by philosophers to the war-time use and post-war control of atomic bombs. In the book I am completing on philosophy and nuclear weapons, I use the title "The Early Philosophers (Almost) Said It All" for a chapter on the work done in the 1940s. I decided upon this title when I realized that several philosophical arguments in the 1950s and many in the last three decades unknowingly--and frequently less eloquently--repeat the early ones. One reason for the repetition is that many of the early sources have fallen into obscurity. The purpose of this essay is to make available a brief summary of my research on the philosophical responses to atomic weapons. In addition, I provide the most thorough philosophical bibliography available for this period.

#### An Overview of the Early Literature

From the atomic bombing of Hiroshima in 1945 to the testing of the hydrogen bomb at Bikini in 1952, over thirty articles, plus at least portions of several books, were published by about a dozen philosophers. Half of these philosophers had international reputations, but several of the others also made quite seminal contributions.

Philosophical Luminaries. In terms of quantity, the philosophical literature on the atomic bomb is dominated by Russell who published about half of the sources between 1945 and 1952. (In fact, Russell dominated the field throughout the remainder of the 1950s as well and continued to make regular contributions until his death in 1970.) Nevertheless, several other philosophical luminaries also made passionate pleas during this period. The first philosophical response was by Camus on August 8, 1945--two days after Hiroshima and a day before Nagasaki. Russell came in a close second, publishing his initial comments on August 18, 1945. Sartre followed with an essay in October, 1945, and Dewey published his response in November, 1945. Then, in September, 1946 and January, 1947, Teilhard de Chardin

published his two articles. Finally, Jaspers' initial contribution on this topic appeared in 1950.

In their essays, these philosophical luminaries stake out the original versions of several positions still being argued in the contemporary literature.

Seminal Contributions By Lesser Known Figures. Until recently, access to the early responses of even the well-known philosophers has been limited. So, it should come as no surprise that the other work is little known. Except for four essays in Ethics, two in The Personalist, and one each in The Philosophical Review and Philosophy, none of the early sources appear in professional journals. Moreover, important discussions by A. C. Ewing, Daniel S. Robinson, and John Somerville occur within books on broader themes and have, as a result, largely escaped attention even by those doing research in this field.

In my judgement, the most lamentable oversight is in relation to T. V. Smith, one-time editor of Ethics and prolific contributor to the theory of democracy associated with the "Chicago School." To my knowledge, Smith was the first philosopher to publish a book on nuclear weapons. His 1946 book Atomic Power and Moral Faith is composed of lectures delivered at Claremont College. Though only fifty-six pages in length, the book is quite remarkable in its recognition of the economic, military, and social implications of atomic energy, its critique of religious and political sectarianism in the atomic age, and its advocacy of pursuing improvements in the U.S.-Soviet relations.

Another valuable book is by Daniel S. Robinson, who was a major contributor to the tradition of personalism in American philosophy. He began addressing atomic weapons in his Presidential address at the Western Division meeting of the American Philosophical Association on May 9, 1946, and among American philosophers, he probably has the most publications on atomic weapons during this early period. His 1948 book The Principles of Conduct updates and extends his previous analyses. In addition to three chapters on atomic weapons, Robinson provides a further chapter in which he develops a three-fold theory of applied philosophy. Within applied philosophy, he presents concern about the atomic age as pre-eminent within political ethics, which itself stands above both professional and personal ethics.

### Themes in the Early Literature

While most of the philosophical luminaries focused on the moral and spiritual meaning of the atomic bomb, several philosophers turned to other topics. In particular, the themes of world government, social responsibility, and human extinction are addressed by several philosophers.

World government. Several of the early philosophical sources analyze the proposal of world government. Although Russell's definitive position on nuclear weapons did not emerge until 1954, most of his essays in the 1940s and early 1950s already address whether and, if so, how world government should control atomic weapons. During this period, Russell's work largely falls between essays in which he explicitly suggests that it might be appropriate to threaten war against the Soviet Union in order to secure international control of atomic weapons and ones in which such a suggestion is not present. Russell's two faces during this period received disproportionate

attention in his own subsequent reflections and in the secondary literature. Nonetheless, for an accessible and representative example of each position, I recommend "How to Avoid the Atomic War," published in Common Sense in 1945, for his argument for international control that omits reference to threatening the Soviets and "The Future of Mankind," in his 1950 book Unpopular Essays, for an explicit--though not the most blatant--articulation of the threat argument.

Several other philosophers also address issues of international control and world government. T. V. Smith and particularly Daniel S. Robinson do so in their books. Interestingly, in 1948 E. C. Ewing--known primarily for his work on Kant--published a book on world government that devotes the final section to the impact of atomic weapons. His view is close to Russell's threat argument yet goes further in also arguing for the U.N. to launch a second-strike atomic attack against any nation which, in defiance of the attempt at international control, developed and used atomic weapons. Also relevant is the argument by Emile Benoit-Smullyan, himself a social scientist, and the response by Joseph Neyer, who wrote perhaps the first philosophical critique of a previous essay on atomic weapons. These essays were published by Ethics in July, 1946 and July, 1947. Neyer's argument offers still relevant and valuable insight on how to build the cultural foundations necessary for genuine U.S.-Soviet cooperation.

Social Responsibility of Philosophers. In relation to the theme of social responsibility, the essays by Daniel S. Robinson and Paul Arthur Schilpp stand out. Robinson's Presidential address is quite germane in arguing the secondary importance of debates among rival philosophical schools. That address is reproduced in his essay in The Philosophical Review and is incorporated in revised form in his book. Although Schilpp later makes his case more cogently, his essay of January, 1949 is worth noting.

Human Extinction. Beginning with Camus, several philosophers explicitly raise the specter of human annihilation in atomic war. Though John Somerville had not yet coined the term "omnicide," he already discusses the prospect in 1949 in the first edition of his Philosophy of Peace. Likewise, Russell cites this possibility in several of his essays in the 1940s--well before his famous BBC broadcast of December 23, 1954 and his two books on nuclear war. Dewey and Sartre offer insights into this possibility that draw on their pragmatic and existential philosophies, respectively. Only Teilhard dismisses this possibility, and Jaspers' willingness to risk annihilation to avoid totalitarianism has not yet crystallized to the degree it reaches in the late 1950s. Finally, the most novel position in relation to the human struggle against extinction is probably that developed by Rushton Coulborn, a historian, who applies evolutionary theory to our nuclear predicament in his essay in Ethics in July, 1947.

\* \* \*

In this survey, I have only scratched the surface. Many of the sources cited below provide insight that deserves attention in the on-going effort by philosophers to cope with issues of war and peace in the nuclear age.

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The Logic of U.S. Nuclear Weapons Policy: A Philosophical Analysis.  
Corbin Fowler, Lewiston/Queenston:  
The Edwin Mellon Press, 1987. 266  
pp. ISBN: 0-88946-330-1, \$49.95,  
\$39.95 for series subscribers.  
(Problems in Contemporary  
Philosophy, vol. 4)

One value of logic is the disclosure of formal and informal patterns of how we think in general and in specific contexts. In his analysis of the United States' nuclear weapons policy, Corbin Fowler examines the "cynical realism" which underlies current governmental rationales for the continued maintenance, updating and/or buildup of our nuclear arsenal. Throughout the book, Fowler raises the question of whether our ways of thinking have limited our options in approaching the nuclear debate.

Taking as his theme for the book the statement from the comic strip "Pogo" that "we have met the enemy and it is us," Fowler argues that the real enemy of "every superpower is not them, but us." To illustrate this theme, Fowler takes a more popular approach which draws on less scholarly literature, but which makes the book accessible to the general reader interested in inquiring into the reasoning underlying current policy. For sake of clarity, the author examines only the extremes of the debate, which may be disappointing for those seeking a comprehensive examination of the logic underlying the spectrum of positions. Nevertheless, analysis of the extremes "provokes serious reflection," Fowler contends, "particularly when one of the extremes controls the White House." Fowler, of course, was referring to Reagan, and it remains to be seen how extreme Bush's nuclear policy will be. At any rate, at the extremes, Fowler compares and contrasts what William Gay terms the "nuclear warrior" with the "pacifist" position.

Chapter one sets the tone for the whole book. Drawing on the psychological insights of Robert

Jay Lifton and others, Fowler asks us to consider the possibility that our reasoning about nuclear issues has placed us in a context analogous to a frog placed in a pot of water, which is brought to a boil, as is the frog, for it adapts to its surroundings, i.e., the increasing temperature of the water is not recognized as an imminent danger. Moreover, not only are some people blind to the dangers of pursuing a policy which conceives of nuclear war as realistic and winnable, but also many of those who recognize the danger cannot cope with it. Thus, as Lifton presented in his studies of Hiroshima, Fowler argues that many people become "psychically numbed" and hide from the nuclear terror and its threat by "pursuing business as usual," as well as adopting an attitude of inevitability that such a conflict will occur. Tacitly, the widespread persistence of such views aids the maintenance and continued buildup of nuclear weapons, for in the imaginations of such people no other options exist except the current realism of nuclear terror.

In the remainder of the book, the author examines such policy considerations as the effects of nuclear war, nuclear strategy and deterrence, "the best defense is a good offense" policy, and recent trends such as SDI. In each case, the analysis examines how the issue is presented in statements of such "policy makers" as Ronald Reagan, Herman Kahn, Colin Gray and Edward Teller. Current data as to the size and scope of U.S. nuclear forces and the possible impact of nuclear war is also included. Throughout each chapter, Fowler questions the "realism" inherent in our nuclear policy, and illustrates through such "policy critics" as Paul Erhlich and Jonathan Schell that the "realism" upon which U.S. nuclear policy is based limits the way in which other alternatives are considered as possibilities.

In the fifth chapter, Fowler incisively brings the issue to a head when he asks the question "are

we better dead than Red?" Using an allusion to Nietzsche's quote that "one had better be concerned about one's over concern with monsters least one become the monster," Fowler argues that adherence to a policy of "better dead than Red" entails that we pursue a policy of self-destruction which could not be limited to the confines of this country. So in essence, Fowler asks whether we are becoming "the evil empire." Moreover, Fowler observes that in comparison to the American emphasis on "super," i.e., as a power and as is manifested in our everyday concerns such as "supermarkets," Hitler's notion of a Superman substantially pales, for our idea of a superpower is one which can destroy the rest of the world if we do not get our way.

The epilogue once again raises the issue of the limitations we impose on ourselves when we accept our current policy as the only realistic proposal. Considering various alternatives, Fowler suggests, as do many, that as a first step we should explicitly pronounce a no first use policy. From this point, Fowler then prescribes substantial reduction in the arsenals. Ultimately, underlying his suggestions is the assumption that such concrete

actions will allow with time the alteration in three fundamental ways how our nation as a whole thinks. First, we may realize that we can trust the "other side." Secondly, we may come to understand that the "world is not ours to give or take as we please." Lastly, and most importantly, we may realize that war is not an inevitable consequence of human nature. As the book ends, the author leaves us with this message: "Where there is life, there is hope."

Fowler's philosophical analysis of nuclear weapons policy could work well in discussions of war and peace issues, particularly at the introductory level. The author keeps terminology to a minimum and aids the reader with glossaries of both terms and abbreviations. The appendix at the end supplements the positions analysed and a brief bibliography offers readers some common and accessible sources with which to continue inquiry. The book will be of particular value to readers who are just beginning to ponder the way American thinking about the issue of nuclear weapons is shaped and limited by the reasoning underlying current nuclear policy.

—Reginald Raymer



Philosophical Perspectives on Peace: An Anthology of Classical and Modern Sources. Edited by Howard P. Kainz. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1987, 315 pp., ISBN: 0-8214-0849-6. Cloth. \$39.95. 0-8214-0850-X. Paper. \$19.95.

In this anthology, Kainz divides the literature of Peace into six categories or perspectives, providing three to four selections from the works of philosophers and theorists for each of the six perspectives. Russell, Bentham, Kant, Erasmus, Freud, and

John Rawls, as well as Dante, Tolstoy, Aldous Huxley, T. H. White, and Jonathan Schell have excerpts from their work in this anthology. Each selection from a thinker's work is prefaced by Kainz with an introduction providing both biographical data and the context on the selection used. Kainz provides more general background by describing each of the six perspectives in Peace literature, with each perspective's description serving as an introduction to the three to four selections representative of the selection.

As "Peace Studies" grow as an academic field, anthologies and texts on Peace become needed in the classroom. Yet, as an anthology for college students, Kainz's book is poorly done. The division of the literature on Peace into six perspectives is stated, rather than defended or justified. Kainz gives six perspectives: Peace through (a) centralized world government, (b) international federation, (c) distributive justice, (d) triumph of spiritual values, (e) sublimation of aggression, and (f) finally, a category for the literature on the paradoxes of contemporary warfare. But Kainz never discusses how these perspectives interact with each other. Are they mutually compatible, or divisive to the Peace community? Critical and fruitful reading of texts occurs when the reader has a set of issues or questions to ask the text, and Kainz's introductory remarks fail to create such a critical reading

atmosphere. Any educator using this text in a classroom would be required to fill in a great deal of context for the student.

The actual selections vary in quality, and even the best selections are frequently in need of abridgement, tending to repetition. Kainz does succeed, via his choices of theorists, in illustrating that Peace as an issue has been addressed by a diversity of prestigious thinkers throughout history. This diversity would have been even more evident if Kainz had chosen to include any non-Western texts on Peace. Overall, Kainz highlights several texts with which any student of peace should become familiar, but provides an inadequate context to the reader for a maximum appreciation of these texts.

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