education and mechanized social improvement.

Freedom, in Professor Nef's thought, consists in choosing the right slavery; slavery to oneself is one of the worst forms of slavery, while "love is the highest form of slavery." The search for civilization by individuals who have chosen the "right slavery" may well provide a means to cope with critical problems of our age.

Reviewed by H. W. Pak

Grand Strategy for the Cold War


The New Frontier of War is a serious book. The authors have not tried to satisfy any craving for novelty, the intellectually licentious habit of wanting to know more about Communism, while remaining as confused as ever in our determination to combat it. They soberly remind us of what we forget. Their purpose is educational, and they have achieved it brilliantly. The book is highly readable, it is well documented, it is useful, and it has a soul.

The title of this excellent book, as it sometimes happens, might be a disservice to its substance. It is not the authors' intent to pretend that war has moved to a "new" frontier. There is nothing new in Soviet objectives or methods, nothing new in our inability to meet the Communist challenge on the political front. The authors are aware of the paradox of the "new" frontier. They know only too well that our defeats are political defeats caused by an excessive preoccupation with the "political" aspects of the cold war, the so-called battle of the minds, the realization that cold war problems are "inter-related," all of them reasons that are invoked to rationalize inaction and to justify self-inflicted paralysis.

This means that there are great dangers in separating the Soviet threat insofar as it is a military threat from its psychopolitical aspects. A dichotomy which is compounded by the separation increasingly made and increasingly dangerous between atomic power and conventional warfare is here pointed out. Generally speaking, Communist political operations seem always on the verge of success, and they constantly overreach themselves. In relation to their scope and duration, they have not been a great success. If we want to avoid strategic decisions that could be gravely erroneous, the true distinction to make concerns the areas that are directly under the territorial weight of the Communist empire and the areas that the Soviet Union cannot keep, for geopolitical reasons, under the iron fist of its forces. There is a finality in every advance made by Communism on the geographic periphery of its empire, but not otherwise. Now the more we are impressed by the Soviets' costly and adventurish undertakings outside of their normal sphere of action, the more we are inclined to drop our guard and to neglect effective containment of Communist imperialism on its old frontier and by means of military pressure.

What this country needs at present is a strategy of active deterrence. Mr. Johnson's vigorous argument in No Substitute for Victory supports the opposite thesis. He drafts a blueprint for victory. The Kremlin should be informed that we intend to win. As a proof that we mean what we say, we should henceforth cease all intercourse with the
Soviet Union, and actively seek to disrupt the Communist empire. This should be done without hatred, and the author even claims that we are content to co-exist harmoniously with the Soviet Union. All this should be stated in the bluntest possible manner and to be made public to the world.

I sincerely admire Mr. Johnson’s courage. However, as a citizen, I believe that there is more honesty and less chance of self-deception in acknowledging that the free world will do very well indeed if it succeeds in just holding the line, if it defends what it has the power to defend without risk, if it refuses to be impressed by what it knows to be sheer bluff and bluster. If defeatism is pathetically self-defeating, there is something nostalgic, infantile in any naive faith in ourselves, the desire to be nice to our fellow citizens, the utterly vain hope that one day, somehow our society in a body will suddenly understand Communism and stand up as a man heroically to defend itself. It would be safer to assume that, during the decisive years that are upon us, we shall be what we have been. It might take more courage to recognize that, as long as Communism remains a dynamic threat, we shall remain in the grip of a suicidal illusion that explains our retreats, past, present, and future.

Reviewed by PAUL PEETERS

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