

# Correspondence

## Paul Nitze Responds

To the Editors: The tone of Mr. Hudson's comment (Correspondence, *Worldview*, June) reflects Congressman Carr's well-known "graciousness of style." As to substance, I believe the following to be pertinent.

The particular section of Philip Morrison's article that I had in mind when I responded to Mr. Hudson's question [See "Dealing With the Soviet Union," the transcript of Mr. Nitze's presentation at a CRIA Conversation and the question and answer session that followed (*Worldview*, March)] reads as follows:

"From the earliest days of the ICBM's it has been recognized that a couple of hundred missiles would suffice as a second-strike deterrent, to be launched if an adversary should strike first without warning. That number can be found today in the latest reports of the Department of Defense. The U.S., however, maintains at least 9,000—45 times 200—strategic missile warheads, and its leaders are reluctant to reduce that number."

The language is unprecise as to how many launch vehicles would carry the 200 objects (is it missiles or is it a forty-fifth of 9,000 warheads?) referred to. In any case, I read it as being consistent with two submarine loads. The paragraph from which Mr. Hudson prefers to quote is similarly imprecise; it leaves unspecified the number of missiles or warheads the authors would eventually desire per launch vehicle. What is clear is that they are recommending some minimum deterrent adequate only for a self-disarming, self-defeating revenge attack against evacuated buildings and civilians.

With respect to Mr. Daniel's letter I have little comment to offer. The questions he lists appear to me to be pertinent. There remains the problem of finding common ground on the basis of which solidly based answers can be sought. It is necessary, at a minimum, to have an agreed summary of the SALT II terms and agreed projections as to the probable U.S. and Soviet strategic deployments during the period of the SALT II treaty, assuming

a continuation of the approved U.S. five-year defense program and estimated Soviet programs consistent with SALT II. At a maximum, data covering a number of important issues must be analyzed and sorted out before truly considered judgments can be arrived at.

Much of this work has been done. It keeps being obscured and made more difficult by demagogic, oversimplified, or actually misleading statements. The more important the issues the more difficult it is to impose rigor on the debate.

## Chinese Sources

To the Editors: In a country as large and diverse as China all sorts of things happen. The Londons have given us some useful information about how China's food system has problems. Illegal migrants to cities lack ration books and have trouble getting food. Cadres have reported false data, which made government plans for procurement or distribution of relief supplies difficult. As China's agriculture is increasingly dependent on industrial supplies, it can be hurt by disruptions in industry and transportation. These problems have been aggravated by factional struggles associated with the succession struggle and by bad weather.

The Londons interpret these reports of problems as symptomatic of the overall situation, but this conclusion seems unwarranted. Many of the reports have emerged in Chinese political rhetoric to attack one faction. They must be used as cautiously as all other reports on China, many of which advocate policy rather than illuminate reality. The fact is that virtually no systematic surveys have been done in China, so neither the Londons, nor I, nor the Chinese Government know the precise occurrence of hunger.

The Londons are correct that macro statistics cannot capture the nuance of a concrete, specific situation. However, statistics do help interpret where on the broad distribution of reality a specific report is likely to lie. It is

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# WORLDVIEW

## Statement of Purpose

The purpose of *Worldview* is to place public policies, particularly in international affairs, under close ethical scrutiny. The Council on Religion and International Affairs (CRIA), which sponsors the journal, was founded in 1914 by religious and civic leaders brought together by Andrew Carnegie. It was mandated to work toward ending the barbarity of war, to encourage international cooperation, and to promote justice. CRIA is independent and non-sectarian. *Worldview* is an important part of CRIA's wide-ranging program in pursuit of these goals.

*Worldview* is open to diverse viewpoints and encourages dialogue and debate on issues of public significance. It is edited in the belief that large political questions cannot be considered adequately apart from ethical and religious reflection. The opinions expressed in *Worldview* do not necessarily reflect the positions of CRIA. Through *Worldview* CRIA aims to advance the national and international exchange without which our understanding will be dangerously limited.

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**John F. Kennedy:  
Catholic and Humanist**  
by *Albert J. Menendez*  
(Prometheus; 144 pp.; \$12.95)

An admiring effort to depict JFK as a religiously serious and reflective Catholic who made a major contribution to shaping American politics and morality. The argument for JFK's piety is, however, excessively dependent upon the testimony of his mother and his friend Cardinal Cushing. More valuable contributions of this short book are a concise overview of anti-Catholicism in American history and an appendix containing the texts of various JFK statements on religion and morality.

**Patriot or Traitor:  
The Case of General  
Mihailovich**

(Hoover Institution; 497 pp.; \$19.00)

Mihailovich was a Yugoslav guerrilla leader against Nazism. Opposed by Tito's Communists, he was condemned as a traitor after the war. David Martin, who writes an introductory essay to this record of documentation that was not admitted at the trial, was instrumental in forming an American committee on Mihailovich's behalf. Of course all this is now an historical footnote, but it is an important footnote.

**An Historian's Approach  
to Religion**  
by *Arnold Toynbee*

(Oxford University Press; xiii + 340 pp.; \$17.50)

The second edition of a much respected work, with a new section, "Gropings in the Dark," in which Toynbee offers some of the tentative conclusions about the Ultimate Spiritual Reality that he had reached by 1974, the last year of his life. In its encyclopedic breadth and speculative reach it is a book best described as Toynbee-esque.

**Yesterday, Today,  
and What Next?**  
by *Roland H. Bainton*

(Augsburg; 144 pp.; \$3.95 [paper])

A humane historian of church history at Yale for forty-two years reflects humanely upon "the meaning of it all." Bainton has made significant contributions to the cause of Christian pacifism and these memoirs reflect his abiding interest in nonviolent ways to resolve conflicts in history.



### Correspondence (from p. 2)

useful to know that China's grain production is about 300 kg per capita per year. It has been about constant at that level, and is about 40 per cent or more higher than that in India, Pakistan, Indonesia, and Bangladesh. Available per capita animal protein, while very low, is double that of India. Vegetables, fruits, animal protein, fish, etc. probably have been increasing faster than grain. Such produce, of course, is highly vulnerable to ultra leftist policies, the precise extent of which can not be gauged. Current policy is stressing diversification into such products.

In some of their examples to show

urban-rural differences the Londons probably have mistranslated their Chinese sources. In Tung County (*People's Daily*, December 20, 1978) wages probably are not \$7 JMP per month (i.e., one-seventh factory wages). Rather, *per capita distributions* to "commune members" from collective sources average \$7 JMP per month. There is a bit of ambiguity as to whether "commune member" implies each and every person, including young and old, male and female, or each adult laborer. My own judgment, shared by Chinese colleagues from both Taiwan and the Mainland, is that the reference is to everyone. This is the way per capita income has been computed in the past in China...Inasmuch as the county has a population of 500,000 but a labor force of 180,000, a laborer's wages are about three times per capita income, i.e., about \$21 JMP. (Wages are low there because of high investments in agricultural mechanization.) These wages are for income from collective sources. We do not know how much income comes from private sales of garden produce. It might be very high in this region situated conveniently to rich Peking markets. Moreover, this county is largely mechanized (\$70 million JMP were spent), so farmers may have a lot of time available for their gardens. The rural income may be lower than urban, but probably in this case the difference in living standard is far less than the Londons report.

Likewise, the Londons probably misinterpret the reports on China's very poor regions of the erosion-prone Northwest (*People's Daily*, November 26, 1978). The report was that in 69 out of 123 counties, per capita collective income (not wages) was under \$50 JMP per year. (Here there is less ambiguity. The Chinese says every person's average income, and does not refer ambiguously to "commune member.") Wages would be about triple the per capita income. Private income might supplement this.

I hope the Londons will exhibit the same care which they rightfully demand of others in interpreting particles of data about a massive country.

Benedict Stavis  
Department of Agricultural  
Economics  
Michigan State University  
East Lansing, Mich.