

even preventive war. This, of course, would be the supreme folly, especially when we have no reason to despair of finding an easier peace than that which goes by the name of "cold war"; or to give up faith and hope. In my opinion, there are now grounds for believing in the victory, not of arms, but of reason. There are no grounds of any kind for believing that a preventive war would result in anything but total tragedy.

To this the cynic may reply that history shows that an arms race carried on in an atmosphere of fear and hostility (and who will say we are not now in the midst of such a race?) always ends in whatever arms are available being used.

This is not an unreasonable deduction from history, but I maintain that it does not necessarily apply to the situation in which we now find ourselves. There is, in fact, simply no parallel in history that can be applied to our special and unique problem - the Hydrogen Bomb. We must find our own solution outside all past experiences and the key to it may lie in the very nature of the weapon itself.

For the first time it is now possible to predict the outcome of a war with a pretty fair degree of certainty. What a difference it would have made if rational people everywhere could have known in advance what the results of the last two world wars would almost certainly have been. Such mad fanatics as Hitler and his disciples would probably not have been discouraged from war by the virtual certainty of their doom. That is a characteristic of madmen. But could they have commanded the support which, even in a totalitarian state, is essential to launch a war in the first place? Would Germans have given Hitler the support he required to wage war if they could have known in advance the fate that would befall them; that their cities would be reduced to ruins and desolation, their hopes to dust and ashes.

In supporting the view that we can now predict fairly accurately the outcome of a nuclear war, I would point to two basic facts of the Atomic Age that all responsible persons on all sides of all curtains are aware of. The first is that in this divided world each side has the power to smash and grievously injure the other side. The second is, and this is terribly important, that neither side can prevent the other from using this power. If both sides remain alert, there is very little likelihood of being able to prevent nuclear retaliation against attack. Nor is distance now any protection against such retaliation. Geography has been neutralized, if not nullified. The Hydrogen Bomb is a leveller in more ways than one.