

and her intensity self-enclosed and brittle—"Always inside I am looking out"—she has an excellent ear and a gift for touching in the minutest detail. Her imagination leans towards the surreal, and she needs to beware of whimsy, but her sense of a poem's necessary shape restrains her from excess. More of her work can be found in *Flags for the Occasion*,¹³ a beautifully produced pamphlet from the Dodman Press which also publishes the excellent poetry magazine *Grand Piano*, and this is a

characteristic example: "Ceremonial":

*Glass and dust make a fine cutting edge,
but glass for all its brilliance is not
what they have come for, nor for dust,
although
they hope to gain something from this.*

*The candle and the solemn dog.
A ring is poised between her thumb and
finger,
around it promises and rituals
whose light strikes glass in patterns of frail
gold.*

¹³ *Flags for the Occasion*. By EMMA ROSE. The Dodman Press (24 West Hill, Hitchin, Herts.), £1.25.

Sinners

There is a kind of mumbling song
Concentrated, taken up.
I stare at the bandaged heads that turn
To the wayside gathering. Are they
Thinking of the spectacle they make?

Under the hurt brows
The eyes live.
I see my image in their lakes
Calming waves, the sun behind me.
The young man who was dead
Sits up. Silence,
Then a kind of rumbling sound
And heads turn up as though
To hear a voice.
On the poor hillside
The houses sit
Ready for earthquake. The young man
stands.

The storm is gesturing far off
And shouting. Its anger travels in.
I move to the group unwrapping my
Deformity, sensing their greed
For wholesomeness, the frantic praying.

I look at the tired man
Curing and raising.
In his black eyes new images:
The garments and hats of Pharisees
Talking together,
Stepping distastefully this way
Past the poor houses and cripples.
They come to spurn
Our hopes with the No of orthodoxy.
They find devils and magic
At this harmless wayside,
And say our sickness makes us sinners.

Patrick Hare

EAST & WEST

Is “Arms Control” an Unrealistic Fiction?

A Conversation: EUGENE V. ROSTOW & GEORGE URBAN



URBAN: *Reflecting on that intricate web of negotiations which several US teams are now conducting with the Soviet Union, the layman may well wonder: Are we being governed in our assessments of Soviet power by Soviet capabilities or Soviet intentions? And if it is, as it is likely to be, both—what is the balance between them? I ask this question because*

both the “what-can-they-do?” and “what-do-they-intend-to-do?” schools of thinking have distinguished advocates in the Western nuclear analysis and policy-making community. The first comes mainly from those who look upon the Soviet

Union as an ordinary power on the march, while the second tends to think of Soviet power as the self-proclaimed “fist of the international working class”, fulfilling or preparing to fulfil its millennial mission.

ROSTOW: The two perceptions—*capabilities and intentions*—cannot be divorced from one another. Both are extremely important; and governments, if they are wise, take both into account. At the same time, Western governments find it hard to believe, just as Western people often find it hard to believe, that the Soviet Union *is* what it *is*: a régime which has been engaged in a process of indefinite expansion for a long time.

The Mexicans and Canadians have long common borders with the United States which has an enormous capability to attack, invade, and subjugate. Yet it never crosses Mexican or Canadian minds that the Americans might do so. Why? Because the US is not a warlike society and has no missionary doctrine to follow. There is in the US no political force that could give rise to Mexican or Canadian anxieties. Yet all the states near the Soviet Union, and many that are distant from it, suffer from anxiety about Soviet aggression, infiltration, or subversion. Think of Poland, of Afghanistan, and of Cambodia, to restrict myself to recent examples.

The heart of the problem is that the Soviet Union has never accepted Article 2 (4) of the Charter of the UN as applicable to it. From the beginning of the Charter-era the Soviet Union has claimed for itself, and only for itself, the privilege of using force against the territorial integrity or political independence of states which are not governed by “socialist” régimes, or indeed of using force against “socialist” states if they are under the control of “socialist” heretics, revisionists, or schismatics, or if they show dangerous signs of backsliding to bourgeois democracy. In other words, the

EUGENE V. ROSTOW was until recently the director of President Reagan's arms control and disarmament agency, and would have been the US representative in the renewed strategic arms negotiations with the Russians in Geneva. This interview was completed shortly before his dramatic (and not yet fully explained) resignation.

Professor Rostow was for many years Dean of the Law School at Yale University, and as a Democrat served in the administrations of three Presidents (Roosevelt, Truman, Johnson).