

must be accompanied by a revolution in basic attitudes. Future battles in that revolution—in China and elsewhere—will have to be fought in a theatre in which even the smallest skirmishes are difficult to win: the human mind.

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EXCURSUS 3

Stephen D. Hayes on SOVIET INTENTIONS AND THE GHOST OF HEGEL

The rumbling of Soviet tanks into Afghanistan has sent the foreign affairs experts scurrying to their files in an effort to ferret out the Russian intentions behind the move. Many claimed surprise. Others, like Adam Ulam of Harvard, said it was a rather straightforward extension of recent Soviet behavior.

Is it a short-term move to provide temporary support to a pro-Soviet leader? Or a calculated move to take greater advantage of turmoil in the Middle East and what is perceived as American vacillation in the international arena? Or something else entirely? Apparently, no one is really sure what the Russians are up to. Could it be that the Russian leadership itself is unclear about its own long-range goals? If this is the case (and it's my guess it is), then another factor—the Soviet sense of history—takes on added importance in determining the eventual outcome of the affair.

For Hegel, the philosophic forerunner of Marx and Engels, there was an inevitability to the direction of history, a predetermination by "*geist*," ultimate Reason or the Spirit of the State in the world. For the traditional Marxist the course of history is set, rather, by "objective" economic factors. Marx and Engels tossed out large portions of Hegel's philosophy. But the intellectual tradition undergirding Communist doctrine is laden, very heavily laden, with the Hegelian theme that the direction of history is *set*. Its march is inexorable. It is the unfolding of an ordered plan.

With regard to Afghanistan in the winter of 1980, the particular tactical considerations weighed by Brezhnev or Gromyko may ultimately matter less than the general philosophical milieu in which both men operate. Brezhnev doesn't reread Hegel and Marx in the middle of a crisis any more than Carter and the National Security Council consult the Federalist Papers. But none of them have to in order to be influenced, likely in an unconscious way, by these philosophies. Perhaps it was a subconscious acknowledgement of the Communist philosophy of history that prompted a Soviet diplomat to comment the other day, "The armies of Socialism march in only one direction."

Where will the Afghanistan incursion lead? Might the Soviets be saying to themselves, "We will take care of the troops and tanks and let history take care of the outcome"? (After all, Hegel believed that "individuals and nations are the *unconscious* tools and organs of the world mind at work within them.") If such thoughts are creeping even surreptitiously into Soviet thinking, it is ominous indeed. It is ominous because it reinforces the old belief

(once disregarded?) in the inevitability of Soviet hegemony. It is ominous also because it will run the Soviets smack up against America's own view of future history. When John O'Sullivan first wrote of Manifest Destiny in the *New York Morning News* in 1845, he was speaking of America's justification for civilizing and democratizing our Western frontiers. By the latter part of that century the concept had become one of global scope; it was America's providential calling *in history* to serve as the vanguard of freedom in the world. Despite the ebb and flow of cold war and détente, the spirit of Manifest Destiny still simmers beneath the surface of American foreign policy, still courses through the veins of the American people. The stage is set, once again, for the clash of future histories.

In his monumental *Philosophy of Right*, Hegel argued that history moves from East to West. He went on to say that a nation is, in effect, "selected" to carry out the predetermined work of history and that such a nation is "dominant in world history during this one epoch and it is only once that it can make its hour strike....The minds of other nations are without rights and they, along with those whose hour has struck already, count no longer in world history." The Soviet Union just might suspect that this is its hour. It might be trying to demonstrate at the same time that history also moves from North to South.

In the final analysis the aching worry over the Afghanistan move is not who controls Kabul or even whether it is, as President Carter said, "a stepping stone to possible control over much of the world's oil supplies." The essential question is whether the ghost of Hegel still stalks the halls of the Kremlin.

Stephen D. Hayes is a foreign affairs officer at the U.S. Treasury Department. © 1980 Stephen D. Hayes.

EXCURSUS 4

M. Archer on A CRY FOR HELP

It happened in Beirut, Lebanon, in 1948, when riots burst forth in response to Israel's War of Independence. The Muslim's were running down the street yelling, "First the Jews, then the Christians."

From 1864 until after World War I, Lebanon was a part of the Ottoman Empire, under Turkish rule but governed by a Christian military governor (a *mushir*) and twelve elected representatives of the three religious groups, Christian, Muslim, Druse. After World War I the country became a French mandate under the League of Nations.

In 1920 the French established the independent state of Lebanon, separating it from Syria to increase Christian influence in the area. France made Lebanon the seat of the French high commissioner. Lebanon remained independent under the French mandate until 1941, when it became a republic.

The president of the country is elected to a six-year term by a two-thirds majority of the Chamber of Deputies. He chooses the cabinet and nominates one of its members as prime minister. It was understood that the president would be a Christian, the prime minister a Muslim. Until the arrival of the Palestinians, Christians were a majority, with the Maronites the predominant sect.

In 1975, Lebanese Muslims joined with the PLO, the Palestine Liberation Organization, in an effort to destroy the Christian power in the country. When the Syrian Government came in to establish hegemony, claiming that Lebanon had always been a part of Syria, Christians fled to the south.

Only in south Lebanon were the Christians able to hold onto their freedom. Here, with the aid of Israel, which was attempting to eliminate PLO terrorist camps in the area, the Christians made a stand. These Christian villages are now a major target of the PLO. About a hundred villages with some 100,000 inhabitants are fighting back, aided by Israel and by their neighbors, the Shi'ite Muslims.

But where are the Christian groups in other countries during all this? Has their need for oil frightened them off? The United States sponsored the Syrian takeover as a "keep-the-peace" plan. "First the Jews, then the Christians"....Is the forecast to become reality?

A United Nations force sent to establish a no-man's-land in south Lebanon was given the job of keeping the terrorists out. But the PLO has infiltrated and set up bases, where even some American arms originally sent to Saudi Arabia have been found.

Why haven't Christian organizations come to the aid of their brethren? Or at least helped filter some information about the situation out of Lebanon and into the West? The only endeavor of this sort we know of is Radio Station HOPE, sponsored by an American Christian ministry group, that broadcasts from south Lebanon. A California-based Christian group has taken some steps in Lebanon to aid the Christians who are defending themselves against the PLO. These are among the few signs that someone besides Israel is concerned. If the Lebanese Christians had had to depend on their fellow believers up to now, they would have been exterminated or subjected to Muslim rule.

The middle-class Lebanese who live in America resent bitterly the Palestinians who are turning their country into a battlefield. But they must be afraid to speak out, for we hear little from them. Beirut, once the Paris of the Middle East, seems hardly to have changed. Mercedes sports cars, Cadillacs, chic shops displaying Paris clothes, crowded restaurants, and beach clubs are evident. But electricity and telephones work only half time and garbage collection has almost halted. Squatters, refugees from the fighting on the southern front, break into vacant houses and apartments. Crime has increased.

Some American black leaders, sympathetic to the plight of the Palestinians, back the Muslim terrorists instead of their religious brothers. In Israel one significant U.S. group found no time to meet with Major Sa'ad Haddad, a leader of the Lebanese Christian forces, or with the commander of the Lebanese Christian forces, Bashir Gemayel. The town the Southern Christian Leadership Conference people visited at the invitation of the PLO had been devastated in the Lebanese civil war in 1975. Its inhabitants had fled and Palestinian refugees from the nearby camps had come to live there when the Christian militia lost it in the summer of 1976.

Bashir Gemayel would support a conference to discuss this crucial issue if it included Muslims and Christian from Lebanon, with the United States as mediator. With 600,000 Palestinian refugees in Lebanon and the PLO drawing most of its support from Muslims, the Palestinians now form a state within a state, an army within an army. Gemayel has said that any diplomatic initiative in Lebanon must try to remove the Palestinians from the country, but where they would go and under whose aus-

pices remains an unanswered question.

Where are the Christian humanitarians who should be playing a large part in preparing a political and moral response? They seem indifferent to the annihilation of the Christian Arabs in Lebanon.

M. Archer is a freelance writer who makes her home in Florida.

QUOTE/UNQUOTE

My daughter, the uh, er...

Customs and Immigration, Newcastle Docks, England. "Welcome to England; a good trip from Norway? May I see your entry form please? Ah, yes, Miss...Streeter, your occupation is...eth-i-cist? I say, does that mean you teach ethics, or simply that you are a person of high moral character?"

Children's Hospital, San Francisco, Weekly Medical Rounds with my friend and colleague, Dr. Andrew Jame-ton. "Dr. Cassel invited me to attend these rounds. I am an ethicist."

M.D.: "Anesthetist?"

Home, New Jersey. My mother: "My friends ask me what you're doing and I say you're a, uh, freelance ethicist."

Me: "What do they say?"

Ma: "Well, they ask me what that means, and I say I think it means you can't find a job."

—Deborah Streeter in *Ethics & Policy*, Summer, 1979

Toward Global Education Without Values

InterEd is a leadership seminar on global education that will encompass aspects of business, government, and academic resources....We think this conference will be unique for you because, rather than emphasizing the normative and theoretical approaches, we intend to do away with the rhetoric and semantics and give you....

—from a conference invitation received in March

Have It Your Way

Other sins include "the picking up of girls and women, anti-Islamic and inhuman, immoral acts in clubs, self-service cafes and restaurant and inviting female singers and dancers to perform in public places."

—*Iran Voice*, March 3, reprinted from *The Daily Telegraph*

Jail Is Better the Second Time Around

Apartment—2nd Floor—4 rooms and bath, refrigerator and range. Heat and water furnished, ideal for retired person or couple. Security system in building.

—*The Evening Sentinel*, Carlisle, Pa., March 15

A Real Fish Story

Fish? Ask Delta Fish Market at Your Next Door Always! For Fresh & Free Delivery and Prompt Service to Your Order.

Cleanliness & Perfectness Is Our Business.

—Handout from Delta Fish Market, New York City