

too harsh toward the Russians. Most spectacular, of course, was the discovery that one of Brandt's closest assistants was in fact a spy and a captain in the East German army. Those responsible for engaging and promoting this traitor refused to confess their carelessness, and a deeply wounded Brandt finally resigned in disgust.

That unseemly quarrel was only the last scene in a drama that was long unfolding. There is real tragedy in Brandt's role. There was unquestioned courage in his embarking upon a fundamental political change that was felt to be long overdue. He did offer a strong moral and political vision. But he finally could not control the process he had set in motion. The form and fact of his resignation witnesses to his personal sincerity; it is also an acknowledgement of defeat, both for his personal effort and for his political program. It seems unlikely that any other Social Democrat could now succeed where Brandt gave up.

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EXCURSUS II

Realism in a Hungry World

"There are reasons," writes P. T. Bauer, "why both the actual effects of foreign aid and the shortcomings of the arguments in its favour will continue to be ignored." Mr. Bauer is Professor of Economics at the London School of Economics and a chief bugbear to proponents of world development. In the March, 1974, issue of *Encounter* magazine Mr. Bauer summarizes in thirteen points the arguments he has made over the years against foreign aid. In view of the presumed incontrovertibility of his arguments, why, it might be asked, do foreign aid programs keep limping along? "There are reasons," Mr. Bauer answers in "Foreign Aid Forever?" More often than not, foreign aid contributes to the suffering and hardship of its supposed beneficiaries. "But it does demonstrably benefit influential and articulate sectional interests in the West. These include the staffs of international agencies and of government departments; bored, power- and money-hungry academics; the churches, which increasingly look upon themselves as secular welfare agencies; and exporters who benefit from sheltered markets." Not to mention (which he does) more sinister types who see foreign aid as an instrument for "the establishment of socialist

societies" in poor countries.

Mr. Bauer's less than stunning insight that some persons and agencies have vested interests in continuing foreign aid is in itself hardly deserving of comment. Persons and agencies that fight crime, treat leukemia victims, collect taxes and teach economics also have vested interests. Presumably they will keep their jobs so long as society, through whatever mechanism, considers their jobs worth doing. So also with the administrators, both governmental and voluntary, of foreign assistance programs. If these administrators feel somewhat besieged at present, and apparently they do, it is in no small part because the worthwhileness of what they are doing has come under severe questioning in recent years. The curiosity of the challenge is that it represents a convergence of Left and Right in opposition to foreign aid. The Right, which is where Mr. Bauer's plaint must be situated for the most part, has conventionally viewed foreign assistance as a boondoggle recklessly expending tax dollars, expanding big government, and generally defying the sacred truth that the poor we shall always have with us.

The Left has more recently "exposed" foreign aid as a devious imperialistic scheme aimed at making the poor poorer and the rich richer, inseparably tied to an interventionist globalism that guarantees an endless succession of Vietnam wars. The prophets of eco-catastrophe seem to care little whether they are considered Left or Right, as long as the revolution of rising expectations of the poor is called off and the world's finite resources are placed in the hands of the responsible few. On foreign aid, as on other questions, some liberals have taken a "fallback position" that is indistinguishable from the Right, while others have, with due apologies for being so slow about it, surrendered to the revisionist Left. This is not, to be sure, true of all liberals, but the defections are widespread enough to make it seem like a very long time ago when, in 1969, the Pearson Report on the responsibility of the rich nations to assist the development of the poor was hailed by liberals as a rallying point for all people of good will. Moral and political confidence in the commitment to foreign assistance was among the chief victims of the tidal wave of isolationism produced by the Vietnam war. Mr. Bauer, like a beachcomber, examines and tosses aside the debris of arguments that once seemed persuasive.

There is reason to believe, however, that initial estimates of the damage were exaggerated, rebuilding may already be under way. The patent dishonesties in the proclamation of the recent energy crisis have instilled a popular and healthy

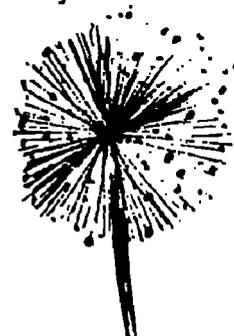
skepticism toward the dogmatists of ecological collapse. Past and impending famines may lead people to think not so much about environmental inevitabilities as about social and economic structures of injustice. There is a growing understanding of the link between economic policy and global suffering, as in the case of burgeoning U.S. wheat sales and our niggardly efforts in the relief of world hunger.

Although still weak and subject to relapse, the hope that America may have a humanizing role to play in the world is beginning to revive. Witness Senator Hubert Humphrey's recent call for U.S. leadership in developing a world food reserve. Witness the gathering enthusiasm for the World Food Conference in Rome this November. Witness even Mr. Kissinger's unwonted urgency in speaking to the problems of world poverty in his U.N. address in April (see *Worldview*, June). On the organizational level in this country, a "World Hunger Action Coalition" has enlisted wide support in preparation for the Rome conference. Of greater long-range significance is the formation of "Bread for the World," headed by Eugene Carson Blake and Roman Catholic Bishop Thomas Gumbleton, and creating for the first time an ecumenical Christian citizens' lobby on world development. This organization, potentially linked with dozens of denominational structures that are themselves giving world development higher priority, might build a domestic representation for the millions of people in other lands who have no voice in, but are powerfully affected by, decisions made in Washington.

It is too early to say whether the isolationist ascendancy is being stopped. It is being challenged. Certainly a restored moral and political confidence in the rightness of foreign assistance must be tempered by the lessons of the past two decades. The question of emergency food relief seems relatively clear. Not so clear is the relationship between trade and aid. We have not begun, for example, to confront the domestic adjustments required if American markets were really opened to the manufacture of poorer nations. The work on "alternative models of development" that might avoid the abrupt and brutal impact of modernization upon pre-modern societies is still in its nascent state. We are still in the process of extricating existing "humanitarian" programs from their assimilation to residual military and political designs of the cold war.

If there is one lesson that we ought to have learned from the past two decades it is that popular support for foreign assistance can be sustained only on the basis of morality. There is no viable self-serving rationale for a renewed commitment to world development—neither cold-

war strategy, nor protecting ourselves from the revolutionary rage of the poor, nor improving America's world image, nor our greed for the gratitude of others. The rationale for a new American commitment to world development must be that it is the right thing to do, the moral thing. If a few thousand of the fifteen thousand people who died today of malnutrition and starvation might have been saved by concerted action, and we in our relative affluence do nothing, that is morally intolerable. It is not a question of guilt, although guilt there may be. It is a question of human decency.



Which brings us back to P. T. Bauer. "The belief that foreign aid is the discharge of a moral obligation to help the poor is perhaps the most influential argument—or, rather, emotion—behind the advocacy of aid in popular discussion." A worthwhile assessment of the morality of aid, Bauer continues, must be affected by its results. In his opinion the results are at least as negative as they are positive (indeed, anything positive is only grudgingly admitted). To the extent he is correct, it is an argument for reexamining and restructuring aid, not for abandoning it. An assessment of morality must deal with intention as well as result, however.

Here the question of the Pearson Report remains painfully pertinent: "Could the moral and social foundation of their own societies [the rich nations] remain firm and steady if they washed their hands of the plight of others?" Bauer's argument requires that he caricature what is described as moral concern: "Morality appears to be satisfied as long as the donors are made to feel guilty and are divested of a goodly portion of their resources." That there is no pure deed, no unambiguous intention, no nobility untainted by selfishness, is a profound discovery leading one to live by the grace of God. However, to denigrate altruism as such, as Bauer does, is simply vulgar. It is also very shortsighted, for without generosity (or what people believe to be generosity) the very conventions and civilities that make life in society tolerable are soon eroded. The "realist" who ignores the dimension of altruism in social life is distressingly unrealistic.

Bauer and many like him are not opposed to being personally decent. He is, for instance, in favor of voluntary charity. He just does not think there is a very precise analogy between voluntary charity and government assistance. Nor is there one, at least not in the sense that "charity" is associated with noblesse oblige. Assistance is something demanded by justice and compelled by compassion. But after sifting through Bauer's arguments, some of them quite leftist in tonality, and after agreeing with him that the argument from morality is the crucial one, it all comes down to a very elementary disagreement. "The moral obligation to help one's fellow man," writes Bauer, "rests on persons who are prepared to make sacrifices. It cannot be discharged by entities such as governments."

It seems like a classically conservative statement. But conservatives such as Edmund Burke and Emile Durkheim understood much better than Mr. Bauer and those who agree with him the connection between moral purpose and governmental legitimacy. I believe that, were Burke and Durkheim alive in the latter part of the twentieth century, with its massive and inescapable realities of world poverty, they would recognize that any state that failed to evidence plausible concern for the alleviation of such suffering would be inviting a challenge to its own legitimacy. And if they didn't recognize that, they would need instruction as much as Mr. Bauer does.

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EXCURSUS III

The New Face of Israel

Ten years ago James Parkes, an English clergyman and scholar with a distinguished record of combatting anti-Semitism, published a pamphlet, "The New Face of Israel," in which he made several original points of considerable polemical and psychological value. Arab hostility to Israel, he observed, is based on the view that Israel is a European settler-state, a colonial outpost, whose establishment resulted in expelling about a million native Palestinian Arabs and in expropriating much of their wealth. Parkes called on both Arabs and Israelis to recognize that this view is only partly correct, and insofar as it is correct it is relevant to the perpetuation of their mutual animosity.

For one thing, Parkes argued, the establish-

ment of Israel also resulted in the expulsion of over a million Jews from the Arab states and in the expropriation of the greater part of *their* wealth. Without denying the moral culpabilities of either side, Parkes urged both to recognize that a population exchange had taken place and to assume, as is reasonable, that the spoliation of Jewish wealth was probably equal in magnitude to that of Arab wealth.

More important, Parkes went on to argue, this population exchange has resulted in a fact which the founder of the Zionist state had not foreseen, and which most Arabs and Israelis seem determined to ignore—namely, that the majority (and it is an increasingly large majority) of Israel's *Jewish* population is of Middle Eastern origin.

In view of this incontrovertible fact, Parkes urged, the Arabs are hardly justified in regarding Israel as an alien intrusion into the Middle East to be eliminated at whatever cost in human life and global instability. What, for example, could be less alien to the Middle East than the large Iraqi Jewish community in Israel, the members of which to this day refer to themselves as Babylonian Jews? Or, to refer to a more recent tragedy: The great majority (maybe all) of the victims of the massacre at Kiryat Shemonah two months ago spoke neither English nor French nor German nor even Hebrew in the homes where they were murdered. They spoke Arabic.

It is not altogether surprising, Parkes remarked, that the Arabs continue to view Israel as an outpost of Western colonialism. Although Israel is not, demographically, a European settler-state, it often gives the impression of regarding itself as one. Parkes cites a statement by Yigal Allon (then Minister of Labor and subsequently Golda Meir's Deputy Prime Minister): "The Jewish people have returned not only to the land which was theirs in history but also to the continent from which they once sprang and to the nations among which they once dwelt." To this Parkes replied: "The fact is that the majority of the Jewish inhabitants of Israel have never, in the more than three thousand years of their recorded history, lived in any other continent or among any other nations."

In fact Allon's stated intention of living "among" the Arabs places him in the more liberal band of officialdom. More typical is a remark by the highly influential Finance Minister Pinchas Sapir: "Israel belongs to Europe culturally, politically and economically despite her being situated in the Middle East." In view of such statements it is not surprising that Arabs do indeed view Israel as an alien bridgehead in their region. Were Israel to present itself as a society that feels at home in the Middle East, Parkes suggested, a