

solution in Sweden have been the two main civil rights organizations, the Swedish Civic Rights Movement and the Swedish Helsinki Watch Committee, while the Association of Sweden's Democratic Jurists, which is dominated by the Social Democrats, has defended the Law of Exception. The Helsinki Watch Committee has prepared documentation concerning the Law of Exception in connection with individual complaints against this law for the European Council Commission of Human Rights and has been the initiator of civil rights documents against the Law of Exception. As the result of a case brought by Professor Reinhard Helmers now pending before the European Council's Commission, the proposed bill concerning summary trials has not yet been passed by parliament.

The use of power by Swedish authorities is guided by the unwritten principle, "That which benefits the state." No legislation is needed to legitimize the state's unlimited power. Laws sometimes can be seen as a deceptive legal illusion, as a Potemkin-like set piece, which conceals the ever-increasing abuse of authority. The Swedish "cult of the state" has constructed an ever-widening gap between law and praxis; the latter is the civil servant's "duty-free zone," where anything goes. It was to expand and strengthen this zone that the Law of Exception was adopted. And it is in light of these measures that Sweden's loud criticism of the violations of human rights abroad appears not only as an empty, inflated rhetoric but also as a camouflage for egregious violations of its own.

Nikolaj-Klaus von Kreitor, a sociologist and writer, is Chairman of the Swedish Helsinki Watch Committee. Among his most recent works are Monologues in Exile—An Autobiographical Critique of Existing Corporatism in Sweden (published in Finland) and The Identity Industry and Identity Control (Sweden, 1982).

EXCURSUS 3

Hans J. Morgenthau on SELF-PRESERVATION

The plane touched down softly on the runway, lurched slightly, made a noise like splintering wood, and sent a column of fire out of its right wing—all in a matter of a few seconds. I observed all this from my position in the left third row of the economy section. As is my habit, I had unfastened my seat belt prematurely and was already standing up, ready to disembark and looking diagonally toward the right side of the plane. An attendant shouted, "Leave the plane as fast as possible," and I moved forward toward the main left-side exit. That exit was blocked by an obviously hysterical woman, who was afraid to jump but was also in terror of the flames on the other side of the plane. I stepped over her and pulled her down with me as I jumped.

Once my feet touched the mud in which the plane had come to rest, my whole existence was concentrated upon one task: to run away from the plane as fast and as far as possible, for the plane was very quickly engulfed in fire, threatening to explode at any moment in a shower of burning oil. What sticks in my memory is the singlemindedness of the purpose. People have asked me about my neighbors on the plane—about the people who perished, about my luggage, about an attaché case I carried containing my correspondence with the ambassador and the authorities

in Peking (to which I was anticipating a visit), about any reaction to God and man. Nothing of this even faintly entered my consciousness. As the threat to my life was presented by that burning plane, so was my will to live presented by the urge to get away from it. Thus my biological fear of death was singlemindedly expressed by my desire to put distance between myself and the plane.

Consciousness and biological necessity were in complete harmony. The former expressed faithfully the latter. I understand now what Dr. Johnson meant when he said that a sentence of death "concentrates [the] mind wonderfully." However, this urge to live by running away was soon counteracted by the urge to live by staying where I was, since I now had the desire to sit down in order to take the strain off a weakened heart. Yet the desire to sit down in the neighborhood of a plane liable to explode at any moment was tantamount to wishing to die. Thus, when I first voiced this desire, two companions took me, one on each side, and carried me forward, the two original helpers being replaced by two others. Finally, four men carried me like a sack of potatoes. Only later did I learn that these helpful men, who slowed their own progress and thereby increased the danger to themselves in order to increase my chances for survival, were members of a group of physicians on their way to Peking for a meeting to be held under the auspices of the World Health Organization. They were also responsible for my being placed quickly into an ambulance and brought to a hospital....

For two days this simple animalic correspondence between the urge to survive and a biological threat to life was replaced by utter emptiness, since the elements of this correspondence did no longer exist. Only then the customary concerns of society and profession started to crowd into the empty space. But in the background is ever present the picture of that race away from the burning plane; that is, from death. I am sometimes awakened in the early hours of the morning by the sight of a flame rising from the right wing of a plane.

Hans J. Morgenthau, the noted political scientist, was Chairman of the Worldview Editorial Board until his death two years ago this month. This brief piece was among his personal papers and has been made available through the courtesy of his children, Susanna and Matthew.

EXCURSUS 4

Sy Syna on ASIAN-AMERICAN THEATRE

New York is witnessing an upsurge in Asian-American theatre, with six dramas dealing with the Asian-American experience on the boards in as many recent weeks. Of course Asia and America encountered one another on the New York stage as early as the turn of the century, when David Belasco offered his *Madame Butterfly*, soon reborn as a Puccini opera. Later theatre goers were treated to such plays as *Yellow Jacket* and *Lady Precious Stream*, but these were set in a fairyland Orient. It was the civil rights movement of the 1960s that gave rise to most of the theatres that are exploring the lives and problems of America's ethnic minorities. By the time *Pacific Overtures* opened on Broadway several seasons back, New York audiences already had been exposed to such works as Frank Chin's *Year of the Dragon* and *Chicken Coop China-*