

ing system, and the reservoirs of lethal disease carriers and vectors, an epidemic disease could achieve a real foothold before its magnitude would be appreciated and effective steps taken to bar its racing progression to the rest of the world.

The basic inadequacy of nutrition and the prevalence of epidemic disease remain the real core of the problem. To respond to the urgency of the current situation as if that were the whole of the problem is to ignore the historic record of desperate poverty and primitive organization for distribution of food and medical care. Existence has always been marginal, the food supply at best (when crops were good) could not be stored, transported, or brought to everyone in need. People starved in the best of times.

The Sahel nations need food and medicine now. They must be sent. Because of the lack of storage, transport, and roads, distribution will be a great problem, but airlifts and helicopters can be used to transport medicine, medical teams, and food. All this should be encouraged. Arab and U.S., or other, gasoline suppliers should be urged to contribute to the emergency campaign against starvation and epidemics by supplying gasoline at prices substantially less than the current \$1.50 and \$2.00 per gallon.

But this is not enough.

Help must be given for building a stronger capacity for dealing with what is a chronic problem. And this must be done in depth: basically the building of a radically reorganized agropastoral economy with necessary distribution and storage elements. Not urbanization and technological development! Roads must be improved and built. More vehicles are critical.

The health and medical care system has to be built on a solid basis. More health personnel are desperately needed. Sanitation measures have to be introduced in depth: clean water for the dispensaries; sanitary waste disposal in the villages; sanitary education of health personnel. More mobile teams and vehicles, more immunization programs.

Foundation efforts need to be reinstated. Foundation support for disease study and control in Africa (and elsewhere outside the USA) was withdrawn at the height of U.S. concern for its burning inner cities. No foundation offered to continue even a tithe to Africa. Important centers of study and epidemiological research were cut off. It may take a generation and progressively heavier investments to restore an American presence in health areas in West Africa. These efforts must be started.

For American young people who yearn for a moral role for expression of their vision of a just

and more equitable world, West Africa offers the opportunity. In these days of revulsion to the Vietnam war, to Watergate, to the deterioration of the American ideal, an ideal of international service should find eager acceptance. College students can dig wells, drive vehicles, build out-houses, organize campaigns to eliminate pests, and improve levels of sanitation. Health professional students can serve in dispensaries, medical centers, and mobile health units in the same way the local subprofessionals do. Health and sanitation measures could be augmented very significantly by the addition of these health professional students. It is not high-powered trained health professionals who should be urged to serve in these settings as yet.

Our government could finally pass an international health bill so long bottled up in committee out of fear of voter reprisal for "adding to the U.S. doctor shortage." The potential of a U.S. international health service for fostering and supervising an effort such as I have outlined is very great.

Foundation support, U.S. government action, student volunteers spell an answer to the long-term needs of despairing West Africa. Most valuable would be the last.

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EXCURSUS V

Save Soviet Jews—and Others Too

Because of the overwhelming moral horror of the Holocaust and the pervasive anti-Semitism on which it rested, American Jews have a special moral claim on the American political conscience. All around the country, in major urban centers, one sees, for example, bumper stickers and signs: SAVE SOVIET JEWRY. The cause is just, the time is right, and a large majority of Americans concur. The campaign has had effect.

And yet the campaign to save Soviet Jewry is only part of a larger issue; Jews are not, and should not be, alone and isolated. Now may be a propitious time to widen our nets of sensitivity. It is not only Soviet Jewry that requires outside voices speaking up on its account, but also many free spirits throughout Eastern Europe: writers and teachers who are in jail in Czechoslovakia, dissenting nationalists of the Ukraine, priests and nuns in Poland and East Germany, and thousands

of others. SAVE SOVIET JEWRY is an important lead, but not a sufficiently large national objective. HUMAN RIGHTS IN EASTERN EUROPE is a more humanely stated program.

Such a program should not entail the reopening of the cold war or cold war rhetoric. It should be a campaign of careful investigation, publicity, and diplomatic bargaining. It would express quite naturally both the presuppositions of détente and the actual realities of competition between authoritarian institutions and institutions of civil liberties.

The Soviets have no hesitation about announcing their own revolutionary aims in respect to our civilization. We need not be embarrassed to note, quietly but unmistakably, our confidence in the de facto revolutionary power of our own institutions of free speech, civil liberties, and due process. Our society is flawed, and is in no position to preach or to missionarize. Yet the ideas established here are, even despite ourselves, a dynamic leaven in human consciousness. The shots fired at Lexington were "shots heard round the world." There is today scarcely a regime anywhere that does not try to picture itself, for public propaganda at least, as "democratic," as a defender of "human rights," as a vehicle of "due process." Even when such claims are hypocritical, they are a tribute paid to central principles of the human spirit, principles larger than East or West, since nations everywhere now profess them.

At some remote time in the future this planet will be even more interdependent and interrelated than it is at present. We are obliged so to work now that its organization then, whatever unforeseen forms it might take, will hew closer to recognizable achievements of freedoms of speech, person, and movement than to patterns of state authoritarianism. To that end we must use the moral means of persuasion still possible to us within our own system, and now possible to us in the atmosphere of hard bargaining and critical mutual dealings that constitute détente. Détente does not mean—need not mean—*laissez-faire*. It ought to mean hard concrete bargaining.

At the very least we should monitor very closely every act of censorship, imprisonment, torture, economic penalty, confinement for "psychological care," house arrest, abridgment of publication or free speech, or other such assault in Eastern Europe (and in other parts of the world). Often there will be little that citizens of one nation can do about the plight of citizens of another nation. But one thing they can do is to assure the world that no suppression of human liberties can occur in secret, anonymously, without publication of the story. If authoritarian states

insist upon their own methods, they will at least have to bear the cost of seeing those methods announced to the world.

Organizations like PEN, Amnesty International, and many others active in this field deserve support. Their findings and systematic inquiries need a larger public.

A friend of mine recently returned to his native land in Eastern Europe, a writer and a professor; he begged me to form a group to monitor his fate and that of his countrymen. He didn't know whether he would be thrown immediately into prison, or confined to hard labor, forbidden to teach or to write. He only knew he must now, despite everything, return (like Bonhoeffer) to share the fate of his countrymen. Another friend of mine, a distinguished young novelist, escaped his country with his wife some years ago—but could not bring their two infants. The children now grow up without their parents. The silent anguish of his wife is too high a price; these stupid cruelties must end.

Let us hope that the cutting edge of FREE SOVIET JEWRY becomes HUMAN RIGHTS IN EASTERN EUROPE. Indeed, wherever around the world negotiation and cultural history give such a cry teeth that bite, let us be hardheaded and pragmatic and utter it. It is not our task to reform the world. But it is within our power and our duty to make specific cases part of any deals in which we engage. Every concrete instance of relief sets a future pattern. Every instance of publicity raises the price authorities must pay for the suppression of elementary liberties.

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EXCURSUS VI

Loyalty: Political, Personal, Pernicious

Do you admire the kid who rats on his friends, or the one who looks the other way? The stoolie whose evidence allows the police to crack a case, or the silent one who accepts imprisonment to protect his crooked colleagues? The West Point code of honor which demands that one report serious infractions of the rules, or the Mafia code that imposes silence? The man who deceives to protect the President, or the one who chooses another alternative? John Mitchell, or H. R. Haldeman?

In the August issue of *Harper's* Sidney Zion