

Carter's new doctrine

Annexing the Persian Gulf

THE HAWKS AMONG NATIONAL SECURITY professionals are now forthright and explicit about the benefits of the crisis in Afghanistan. Even though the Russians moved into a country on their own border, already largely under Russian influence and on the opposite side of the world from the United States, the Soviet-Afghan border has been transformed into a global tripwire. And for the Carter administration, which can now flex its foreign policy muscles during an election year, Russia's invasion has come at a most opportune time. As one administration official put it, "Afghanistan was a godsend."

In the last year, the United States has increasingly involved itself in nurturing the Arab-Israeli peace process; it has also poured Saudi-financed arms into North Yemen, sent a naval task force to stand off the coast near Iran, and joined Egypt in assisting Morocco's takeover of Western Sahara. In turn, the French aided the overthrow of Bokassa's Central African Empire. And now the Russians have moved in force to consolidate their position in Afghanistan. All these interventions in southwest Asia and north Africa have stirred great-power rivalries; and now the United States is moving briskly to establish a direct presence in the region, thereby staking a claim to control of events.

The Carter Doctrine incorporating the Persian Gulf into the U.S. defense perimeter is intentionally designed to replace the Nixon Doctrine, which assigned to regional powers like Iran the role of local policeman. The toppling of the shah doomed the Nixon Doctrine and was a turning point for U.S. strategic thinking. "One lesson that comes out of Iran and Afghanistan is that President Nixon's policy of depending on local powers to provide stability is inadequate," a Pentagon official contends. "We've got to be there ourselves."

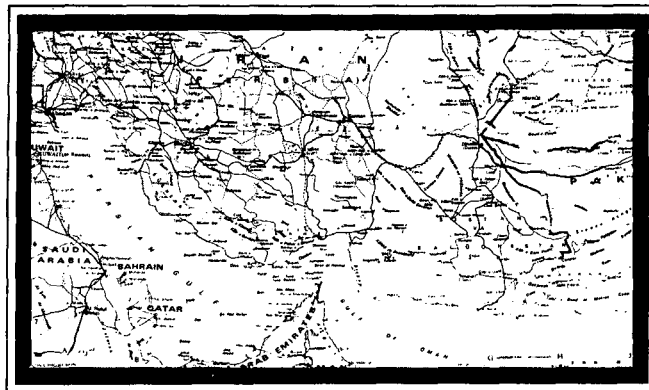
The Carter Doctrine is not fundamentally a response to the recent events in Afghanistan; it is really a response to earlier developments. After the fall of the shah, U.S. officials decided that increased American presence and improved capability to move the American military into the region should replace the shah's armed forces in defending the status quo. Defense Secretary Harold Brown was sent on a Middle East tour in February 1979 to signal America's new military commitment. It was then that American policymakers decided to unobtrusively bring the Persian Gulf within America's ambit. When in late February 1979 the civil war in Saudi-allied North Yemen escalated—coincident with South Yemeni seizures of

border areas—the United States instantly responded by sending planes, boats, and arms. The President's latest State of the Union address was a bold public formulation of what had been existing policy for the previous eleven months.

Some of the most important details of the Carter Doctrine have been deliberately left clouded in ambiguity. How far does the "Persian Gulf region" stretch? What exactly does Carter have in mind when he talks about "an attempt by any outside force to gain control"? Is North Yemen's civil war the sort of thing over which Carter is ready to launch World War III? Among the region's most volatile elements are ethnic minorities trapped in such countries as Iran and Pakistan by boundaries that mark old limits of conquest and colonialism. Military specialists agree that these and other Gulf countries do not now face a military threat from abroad; instead they face collapse from within. Are we to go to war with the Russians over the rebellion of the Baluchis in Pakistan—a people with whom the Soviet Union had little influence in the past and, after the occupation of Afghanistan, has even less at present?

The Carter administration has stressed that it wants the U.S. guarantee of the Persian Gulf to be informal and consultative. But how does the administration plan to cope with reactions like that of America's ally, Saudi Arabia? Crown Prince Fahd has announced that if America's quick strike force is supposed to guard oil installations in the Gulf, he would rather blow them up than have them in U.S. hands.

Only the Soviets know their full intentions in the Middle



East; we can only make judgments based on their actions and the logic of the situation. But Pentagon officials do emphasize that the Russians have made no moves in preparation for an attack on Iran. The oft-cited "motive" of wanting oil—either for Soviet domestic consumption or to prevent Western consumption—does not make sense. Russia remains the world's largest oil producer (12.4 million barrels a day); two recent CIA estimates that the Russians would soon be importing oil would only be valid if the Russians were to have worse winters than usual and if they were never to get rid of certain obsolete technology, which they have, in fact, already replaced. Countries with oil underground (including the Soviet Union and Soviet allies such as Angola) need foreign capital and have every incentive to export their oil. Short of global war, the

U.S. can count on importing oil from the Persian Gulf.

That those who favor an interventionist foreign policy for the United States have seized upon the Iran and Afghanistan crises should come as no surprise. Those political figures who want the American public to forget the lessons of Vietnam naturally have tried to make use of our worries over empty gas tanks and the peril of the American hostages and of our indignation at Russian empire-building. But nothing in recent events truly diminishes the long-standing case for an American foreign policy of peace and nonintervention. □

Boycott bluster

The Olympic weapon

WHEN, IN HIS STATE OF THE Union address, President Carter turned gladly from the confusions of domestic policy to the simple thundering pieties of militarism, bellicose saber rattling, and war hysteria, the sentence that won the greatest applause from the enraptured Congress was the one calling for the moving or boycotting of the Moscow Olympic Games. A seemingly trivial matter—but one which the Carter administration considers the best “punishment” for the Soviets for their incursion into Afghanistan.

Carter and administration officials have carefully avoided any direct threats about how they might seek to block American participation in the Olympics, probably out of fear that naked coercion would raise a public outcry. When an official does slip and suggest that there’s an iron hand beneath the velvet glove, the suggestion is always followed by an “Of course, we’d never have to do that.”

Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher was the first to mention casually that any American athlete who tried to travel to the Soviet Union might find himself without a passport when he tried to get back, but Christopher was certain that sort of thing wouldn’t be necessary. Then Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti bragged that he had “a number of options” available for enforcing a boycott. But Civiletti quickly added that it would be “premature” to say what the options were, since surely everyone would participate voluntarily. And White House counsel Lloyd Cutler suggested that if lifting passports wasn’t enough, the President could waltz right over to Capitol Hill and get special legislation flatly forbidding anyone to compete in the Olympics. “But I don’t think that contingency will arise,” Cutler said. For people who don’t think these problems will arise, State Department and White House officials certainly spend a lot of time devising solutions.

One of the worst aspects of the twentieth century has been the politicization of every phase of daily life. This boycott campaign is a brutal intrusion of politics into a peaceful and voluntary transnational activity which should be—and is, in the Olympic ideal—free of politics. International sports is people collaborating with and peacefully contending with other people. Representative Barry Goldwater, Jr. (R-Calif.), one of the handful of congressmen willing to brave the tide and

vote against the Olympic boycott, put it succinctly: “Athletic competition should transcend politics, and I’m not willing to ask our athletes to sacrifice a life-long ambition purely on the politics of the day.” The International Olympic Committee (IOC), the world owner of the Olympics, is a strictly private organization, as is the U.S. Olympic Committee; and the funds for the U.S. committee are privately raised. By what right does government step in to control and repress peaceful private activity?

Lord Killanin, the strong-willed Anglo-Irish peer who is president of the IOC, recently pointed out to Robert Kane, the beleaguered head of the U.S. committee, that the IOC doesn’t consider the Russians going into Afghanistan any different from the Americans going into Vietnam or the French going into Chad. Killanin maintains that “no political propaganda or commercial propaganda is allowed inside the stadium, but we cannot control what happens outside. This does not mean that I or the IOC are condoning the political action taken by the host country; but if we started to make political judgments, it would be the end of the games.”

If invasion of another country is a poor reason for a U.S. government campaign against the Olympics, then equally untenable is the position of this country’s right wing—that Moscow should be boycotted, anyway, because Russia is a wicked dictatorship (which it clearly is). But then, of course, it would follow that there are dozens of other countries which similarly qualify for the honor of being boycotted, including the very same Pakistan which has now become another anointed hero of the “free world.” On this test, there could never be any Olympic Games at all.

No one says the Olympic Games are perfect. There is already far too much nationalism in them: Victories are accorded to countries as well as to individual athletes, and national anthems are obtrusively played after each event. There is an unfortunate and hypocritical cleaving to the “amateur ideal,” an ideal best suited for leisured gentlemen in a pre-capitalist world and one that is necessarily violated continually, especially in the socialist countries. There have already been partial boycotts—like the one aimed at athletes from South Africa.

But the cure for these ills must be less nationalism, not more; less government intrusion, not more. And the cure must come from within the Olympic movement and not be imposed by outside dictation. Lord Killanin himself has long argued for the elimination of national uniforms, flags, and anthems from the games, thereby ending any use of the Olympics as a tool for political propaganda. (Killanin, however, has not exactly covered himself with glory when it comes to depoliticizing the Olympics. He’s been instrumental in the IOC’s maneuvering to ban the Taiwan team from the winter games unless the team agrees to change its flag and anthem.)

Four years ago, Lord Killanin warned the Soviets that the Moscow games would be cancelled if Russia tried to exclude athletes from countries it disliked, such as China or Israel. It is ironic that Russian conduct in this respect has been exemplary. The Soviets have even announced that they would attend the winter games at Lake Placid, even if the U.S. were to boycott the Moscow games. Propagandists for the American way of life like to state that the United States is in favor of the free movement of peoples while the Russians will let no one in or out of their country. But now it is the United States, the land of the free, that is trying desperately to keep American athletes from travelling to Moscow, to the cheers of Congress and the media. How much tyranny must we endure in the name of freedom? □

LETTERS

Letters to the editor should be addressed to INQUIRY Magazine, 747 Front St., San Francisco, California 94111. The editors reserve the right to edit letters for length when necessary.

Subsidies to all

IN HIS RUSH TO CRITICIZE the Export-Import Bank [Dec. 24, 1979] for its support of dictatorships—a sentiment I share—Nicholas Burnett has unfortunately misrepresented a number of crucial facts, thus giving the impression that communist countries are not among the dictatorships being subsidized by the United States government. Nothing could be further from the truth. Contrary to Burnett's claim that "the provisions of the Jackson-Vanik amendment preclude Eximbank from extending credits to Russia," that amendment in fact merely restricted such credits to a maximum of \$300 million over a four-year period. Moreover, Eximbank had already extended \$469 million to the Soviet Union for the infamous Kama River truck plant, which is now contributing substantially to the Soviet war machine. And U.S. government credits to other Soviet-bloc countries have long ago surpassed the \$2.5 billion mark. The human rights record of these countries does not appear to prevent big business from asking the American taxpayer to subsidize its trade with the communist world.

JULIANA GERAN PILON
Stanford, Calif.

Parents' rights

YOUR SIMPLISTIC COMMENTS and proposals regarding the Chad Green case [Nov. 26, 1979] will not help parents in similar situations in the future, and could well harm many other children.

In the 1950s a sect somewhat popular here in the eastern Ozarks called the "Radio Church of God" maintained that healing was obtained by clustering around the radio while an appropriate evangelist broadcast the necessary prayers. A few years later I saw the nine-year-old son of parents who were adherents of this church, discovered that he was dying of diabetic acidosis, and

with parental permission started him on insulin and saved his life. The family's faith in their church had been somewhat shaken when a few years earlier an older sibling of my patient had died with similar symptoms, which had been treated only by the emanations from the radio.

The radio waves, of course, are just as effective a treatment as is laetrile (and considerably less expensive).

The Green case raises several important questions. Do parents have an absolute right over their children's health and life? Who protects children from fatal decisions made by fanatic or ill par-



ents? Can the state, through its courts, apply a specific treatment protocol? Can the state develop diagnostic criteria and therapeutic recipes that must be applied under force of law? Are physicians who oppose charlatanry and quackery to be sued for "restraint of trade"?

These are significant questions, which should be addressed by responsible journals. Your article, including its trite inference that poor Chad finally died of homesickness for Massachusetts, ignores such issues.

C. W. CHASTAIN, M.D.
Flat River, Mo.

Sex and violence

REGARDING YOUR ARTICLE "The new legions of erotic decency" [Dec. 10, 1979]: Your valuing pictures of women having their nipples sliced off as an instance of "diversity of expression" is like valuing Krupp Industries selling weapons to Nazi concentration camps as an instance of "free market enterprises." Or spending 99.99 percent of your time studying interstellar dust (since humanity is made of an infinitesimally small percentage of the matter in the universe) to avoid an anthropocentric view of science. Pardon my being explicit, but the occasion calls for it: Would you also value pictures of men having their penises sliced up as contributing to "diversity of expression"? You lose credibility when you say such things.

The Women Against Pornography

are explicitly against *violence*, and they are painfully aware of the problems you raise in your article. The Harvard group says its purpose is to *educate* people in the hopes they will *privately* boycott such material. They are exercising self-control, unlike most interest groups in our society. I should think it wiser (and more expedient, if your goal is to protect freedom rather than publicly axe-grind) to reinforce them by praising them for their restraint, while pointing out ways they could go wrong if they are not careful. At least they are advocating a libertarian course of action; and in spite of

this they have been hounded in the press by people who are "cluster-testing" (pornography and censorship are usually linked, so since they are anti-porn they must be pro-censorship) rather than listening. Or who seem to have general beefs against feminists. Or who are apologists for sexism hiding behind libertarian-type arguments (like the publisher of *INQUIRY*).

LEDA COSMIDES
Cambridge, Mass.

I appreciated Nat Hentoff's article on women and pornography. Some of his arguments concerning pornography were very valid. For me, however, his sly dig at Susan Brownmiller on the lack of statistics (pornography vs. rape) weakened his positive statements against pornography.

Pornography is almost always an act of aggression and violence against women (excluding what the pornography trade so cutely labels "kiddie porn").

Therefore, no statistics exist for the same reason that no statistics exist on wife-beating, police calls due to domestic quarrels, or related violence. That is: Aggression and violence against women are not considered important enough in our man-made society to count.

When Mr. Hentoff has done his homework (he had no statistics, either), perhaps he will write an updated article on pornography. I look forward to it.

MARJORIE WENTWORTH
Flint, Mich.