

political systems. "Western dogmas and fantasies were played out on them." Third Worldists struggled to "set up in Saigon a regime they no longer wanted to see in Prague, because the blow thereby inflicted on the American Goliath was much more important than the well-being of a tiny country at the end of the Asian continent." On the one hand, the natives merely serve as pawns to be used and dispensed with as the occasion demands. On the other hand, they are portrayed as "noble savages." Now that "the former colonial victim has been freed from his chains, he has a wisdom that approaches the mystical." The West is finished; it can only save and redeem itself by learning the ways of the natives.

But then when these natives are butchered by their own leaders in the Third World, there is stony silence. Damn the peasants! "The bloody messes in banana republics, and butchery of political oppression and the dictatorial lunacy by the petty chieftains are all brushed aside." In fact, hangings and the systematic use of torture are looked upon by Third Worldists as ideologically justified. "South of the Equator, assassination is a humanitarian act and repression a historical necessity." Especially if it's en route to the socialist paradise.

Opium of Fools

In their fanaticism and confused thinking, Third Worldists paint a distorted picture of the Southern Hemisphere. First, they have created the impression that the South is incapable of solving its problems; hence the incessant appeals for aid. Second, the Third World's tireless calls for help create an overwhelmingly negative image:

that of a Third World limping and sick, its hands outstretched. This approach always raises the question in the public mind, 'How can they live like that?' And the answer is obvious. They survive in a cesspool because they are part of it, and filth is their natural element, just the way mud is the cradle of pigs . . . The movement that designates them as poor is precisely the same one that prevents [westerners] from seeing them as humans.

In a nutshell, "Colonialism set up the relationship between the teacher and the pupil as absolute; Third Worldism has turned the relationship on its head and made the pupil the teacher." Therefore, "to fight Third Worldism today is to continue the anti-colonial struggle of the past." How does one do this? Bruckner offers several useful suggestions.


Let [westerners] become their own friends first, so that they can become friends of others again. If [westerners] are tired of their own existence, others are of little value. To love the Third World, for it to have a future, does not require a repudiation of Europe.

A single moral rule must be used in the Northern and Southern Hemispheres—that what is good for one is good for the others. . . . Double-duty fanaticism is the opium of fools, and its most important characteristic is to be reversible like a jacket, to be useful to any cause at all.

Instead of colonialism's classical education or the topsy-turvy teachings of Third Worldism, a dialogue must be set up in which the two hemispheres face each other as teacher and student, student and teacher.

Third Worldism has been responsible for much of the intractable woes of the Third World. It would have been more desirable, however, if Bruckner had not associated Third Worldism so closely with the political left. Important issues such as underdevelopment and starvation, together with serious analyses of them, become paralysed as soon as they are cast in an ideological mold. Only a few sentences and sparse paragraphs are devoted to the iniquities of the right. A fuller discussion would have helped portray Third Worldism as what it really is: it originated as a backlash against the position of imperial glory and its duty to civilize the natives.

Now, there is a backlash against the Third World. But this backward swing of the pendulum should not be interpreted as a return to the old rightist position. As Bruckner rightly observes:

Both sides shamelessly maim and manipulate the facts, using them up until nothing is left. Such ideological frenzy is simply the pillage and suppression of reality. If [westerners] want to break the deadly circle of hatred and malediction, they cannot begin the game of bad feelings all over again, attacking newly independent nations to make themselves look better, as if in the reckoning of gains and losses between the two worlds the balance is now even. In the Kingdom of Parrots, all speech is equally senseless. 

Politics of Crime

Crime and Punishment in Modern America, Edited by Patrick McGuigan and Jon Pascale (Washington: Free Congress Foundation, \$15.95 cloth, \$9.95 paper).

Reviewed by David L. Wilkinson

I first met Pat McGuigan in 1983 in his cluttered office at the Free Congress Foundation complex in Washington. I had come to visit its overlord, Paul Weyrich, but ended up spending more time with Pat. My senior criminal prosecutor had just attended a conference on criminal justice reform which McGuigan's Judicial Reform Project sponsored, and I wanted to learn more about this work.

It was during this chance meeting that McGuigan first recited to me the credo which led to this collection of essays: that conservatives have a golden opportunity to seize a major political initiative by pushing for reform of our criminal justice institutions. It was an area, he fervently

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explained, in which the liberals were particularly weak. Yet little had been done to exploit their vulnerability.

Predictably, the 24 essays McGuigan and Jon Pascale (now at the U.S. Civil Rights Commission) have gathered, reflect a distinctly conservative philosophy. One looks in vain, for example, for a piece that defends the rehabilitation ideal of criminal justice. Not that one can fault the editors for the collection's lack of philosophical balance. The proponents of rehabilitation, after all, have dominated the literature for decades. And although the theory of rehabilitation has recently lost its preeminence, it still pervades the criminal justice system. As one of the contributors, Alfred Regnery, perceptively observes, "The trouble with theories is that unless flatly refuted, they can linger for years as vaguely functional rules." Regnery writes this referring to the notion that "juvenile delinquency is a condition subject to treatment," but it applies to other ideas of the same ilk.

Common Ground

But *Crime and Punishment in America* is not a collection about theory, written by theorists. The contributors are mostly political practitioners. Of the 28 different authors (several essays are jointly authored), five are currently U. S. senators (Paula Hawkins, Charles Grassley, Strom Thurmond, William Armstrong, and Sam Nunn), two are Presidential candidates (DuPont and Kemp), two are federal circuit court judges, and eight, including Edwin Meese, are or have been Department of Justice policy makers. Only three have ever been full-time academics.

Theory is not entirely neglected. Indeed, Herbert Titus of CBN University plumbs the depths of Western political theory—some would say Western theology—in his heavily scriptural "The Restitutionary Purpose of the Criminal Law." Regnery's excellent piece, "Thinking About Juvenile Crime," reexamines the theoretical basis for the juvenile justice system. Bruce Fein's essay is a valuable case study of what some would call the "Meese" theory of constitutional jurisprudence, devoted to expounding the widely misunderstood difference between constitutional and court-made constitutional law.

But by and large these writings emanate from and speak to men and women who deal with the infinite complexity of crime and the human condition at a political level. Most, if not all, of the contributors share a common political view of crime—that a system based on the ideal of individual accountability works better than one based on the "social welfare mentality." That view is the common thread of the entire collection; the contributors share it through experience and intuition more than through ratiocination.

As befits the varied, even pluralistic criminal justice systems in modern America, the collection treats a wide range of topics and sub-topics. Some are technical, such as McGuigan's "Forfeiture of Attorney's Fees"; a few approach their topic from a perspective not traditionally linked to criminal justice (e.g., Senator Grassley's fine and comprehensive article on union violence); and one or two are stronger on rhetoric than in ideas (Congressman Kemp's concluding summary, in which he cannot resist plugging his Enterprise Zone Act by attempting—unsuc-

cessfully—to show how it would reduce crime). But most are highly practical discussions of today's problems.

Of course, this book does not cover the entire scene. I would have liked to read more about economic crime and more about organized crime. As is illustrated by the recent successes against the Mafia, the business of crime has a pervasive and pernicious effect on society and the perception of justice—greater by far than the aggregate effect of specific acts of violence or fraud on individuals. Only Grassley's article on union violence deals with the problems of organized crime outside the drug trade.


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Whatever his or her political philosophy, every policy maker in America's many criminal justice systems should have this book and be informed as to its points of view. This collection is invaluable. McGuigan and his contributors have supplied potent ammunition to those of us who for years have felt the system was badly out of kilter but could not articulate why.

Conservative Conundrums

Not every conservative will agree with everything written. For example, Lois Herrington's superb essay on family violence, rich in material from the work of the Attorney General's Task Force on Family Violence, will no doubt (and should) be closely scrutinized by conservatives concerned with the effect on the family of Herrington's assumption that "the nature of the act and not just the relationship of the victim to the abuser should guide the criminal system's response."

Again, many conservatives who may think *Miranda* was an unnecessary if not a bad decision, but who are sensitive to the ordering value of *stare decisis*, would disagree with Bruce Fein's implication that the *Miranda* warning is on the same level as slavery (*Dred Scott*) and school segregation (*Plessy v. Ferguson*) and second his call for a confrontational executive strategy to achieve *Miranda*'s abrupt reversal. In both instances, conservative values collide with other conservative values.

I look forward to reading the McGuigan-headed Judicial Reform Project's next scheduled major book, which will focus on tort reform, excessive litigation, and other civil justice issues. It will be hard pressed, however, to match the contribution to the conservative reform movement made by *Crime and Punishment in America*. 



World Bank Photo.

The massive Dez irrigation project destroyed the agricultural and social system of the area.

Tears of Allah

The Elementary Structures of Political Life: Rural Development in Pahlavi Iran by Grace E. Goodell (New York: Oxford University Press, \$45).

Reviewed by Russell Kirk

Those of us who are horrified by the repressive and indeed regressive regime imposed by the Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran would do well to examine the accelerated social developments under the Shah which brought about such an ugly backlash. An important new book provides a microscopic look at how industrial projects supervised by global planners helped dislocate and fragment the life of local Iranians, creating the misery and discontent that fuelled the Islamic revolution we see today.

Grace Goodell, a humane anthropologist, lived for years in remote villages of Peru, Iran, and the Philippines; now she is director of Johns Hopkins University's Program on Social Change and Development. Fearless, cheerful, and acute, she reminds one of such English women travelers and writers as Freya Stark and Rose Macaulay. *The Elementary Structures of Political Life*, her first book, is an original and learned study, certainly more lively and interesting than its title may suggest, and of an importance transcending the frontiers of Iran.

From much experience of village communities, Goodell has concluded that Edmund Burke was right in declaring that "we learned to love the little platoon we belong to in society." She has become an intelligent opponent of centralization and a champion of the web of custom and convention of voluntary community; she believes earnestly in those intermediate structures that stand between the person and the state, and which are not yet totally demolished in the countries of the shrinking "free world."

In 1972, Goodell made her way to the Dez irrigation project in Iran, near the border in Iraq: this was the biggest of the Shah's rural development schemes. It was to be carried out by the World Bank and David Lilienthal, designer of the Tennessee Valley Authority. Goodell lived in the old-fangled adobe village of Rahmat Abad, and afterward in the new workers' cinder-block town of Bizhan, with the object of ascertaining the changes "modernization" might bring. She writes:

The paradox this book explores is that Rahmat Abad, a remote little village, in many respects hardly removed from the Neolithic age, operated on the basis of extraordinary predictability and economic rationality, which derived from its free public intercourse, individual and group initiatives, individual and corporate responsibility, and reliability of past as well as future events. In effect, a well defined, if unwritten, system of rules existed, providing a framework within which all could act or speak with the sense of certainty and security.

By contrast, the modern village of Bizhan was a grossly unpleasant place to live, governed—or rather, misgoverned—totally by *dulat*, or central political power, the state. Goodell bluntly describes the Dez project's thorough social and economic failure:

In the Dez project, the Iranian state and its numerous Western advocates proposed 'development' without law—that is, without predictability and security (despite the state's numerous formal decrees). They set out to undermine the predictable, corporate integrity of village norms and structures and to replace them with the obscurantist although jet-age

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