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Kirkpatrick says U.S. policy 'inept'

By Russel Warren Howe
WASHINGTON TIMES STAFF

6/8/82

NEW YORK — Jeane Kirkpatrick, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, yesterday characterized Washington's handling of international relations as "inept" and hinted at early departure from her post.

"I believe very reluctantly that the decline of United States influence in the United Nations is part of the U.S. decline in the world, and it is a direct reflection of what has been a persistent American ineptitude in international relations, through several administrations with different approaches to the

U.N.," Kirkpatrick told a Heritage Foundation lunch in Manhattan.

"We have not been good at the politics of the United Nations," said the conservative Democrat and former Georgetown University teacher. "It is a political arena in which we have not been able to take an effective part. We are inept at international politics."

"We simply have behaved like a bunch of amateurs, in my opinion. Unless and until we approach the U.N. as political professionals, we shall not in fact know if it could be a more hospitable forum for us."

The outspoken envoy, in what sounded like a mea culpa over her own maverick U.N. style, said: "The United Nations functions like a legislature, with a multiparty system and voting blocs."

Citing the Communist, African, European Community, British Commonwealth, French-speaking and non-aligned blocs as examples, she went on: "We are a country without a party in the United Nations, and this is rele-

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vant to our impotence in that body. We have not made electoral alliances."

Kirkpatrick also strongly criticized the "one country, one vote" principle at the U.N., suggesting that voting be weighted according to economic contributions to the world body. She scoffed at Vanuatu, a Pacific Ocean republic, which she said had "one-hundredth of the population of Chicago." She complained that the 86 nations that condemned Israel for annexing the Golan Heights contributed less, in all, to the United Nations than the United States.

Most U.N. members are "new nations with unstable boundaries whose whole national history is shorter than the U.N.'s. Most of them are unrich, unpowerful and unhappy. Most of them are also undemocratic," she said.

"The PRC (Peoples Republic of China) and Britain have more power in the U.N. than the United States," she said, noting the efficiency of British ambas-

sador Sir Anthony Parsons in rallying support for his country in the Falklands conflict.

"It is interesting to see what one democratic nation can do in the U.N. — for in fact they made this organization tremendously responsive to Britain's goals," Kirkpatrick said. "Why then can't we do it?"

The envoy, who left the lunch precipitately to return to Washington for discussions about the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, alluded only briefly to her own disagreements with Secretary of State Alexander Haig and to increasing State Department leaks that her resignation may be demanded.

"I am not a candidate for a long tenure," she said. "I don't think I could stand it much longer."

But she said one of the faults of the U.S. approach to the United Nations was not keeping some senior diplomats at the New York mission long enough to "learn the scene." A permanent representative and his State Department aide — the assistant secretary for international organizations — usually stayed in place for only a couple of years, she said.

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U.S. Has 'Behaved Like Amateurs'

Kirkpatrick Reflects, Fumes

By Joyce Wadler
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, June 7—United Nations Ambassador Jeane J. Kirkpatrick said today that the United States had "behaved like a bunch of amateurs" in the U.N. and that the country has "been virtually powerless for more than a decade."

Wrangling with Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. in past months, Kirkpatrick, in a luncheon talk at the Union League Club, took care to stress that she was not laying out the current administration for blame. The "hypocrisy" and "ineptitude," she said, "has persisted through several decades, several administrations" and "does not represent worldwide revulsion against the Reagan administration or even myself."

Nonetheless, she said, "the decline

of U.S. influence in the U.N. is real and part of the decline of U.S. influence in the world... and that is a direct reflection of what has been a persisting U.S. ineptitude in international relations."

"... We have not been effective in projecting a conviction of international programs; we have not been good at the politics of the United Nations. It is a political arena... We have treated it as though it were something other than a political arena... a strange thing, really."

She recommended that the United States, in an effort to improve its workings within the U.N., "ought to have a permanent representative who'll stay there long enough to come to know the scene."

She added, "I hate to say that. It makes it sound like I'm making an application for a long tenure. I couldn't stand it, believe me."

Indians Rap

Nicaragua

By Joan Bouvier

Special to the Register

ANT. Catholic Register 1/19/82

NEW YORK — The alleged persecution of 100,000 Indians in Nicaragua who have resisted integration into the Sandinista "revolutionary process" has caused human rights organizations to explore the possibility of genocide.

In late March, a delegation headed by Ambassador Eugene Douglas, ambassador at large and coordinator of refugee affairs for the U.S. government, visited Miskito Indian refugee camps in Honduras. He heard testimony from numerous refugees who claimed that the Nicaraguan junta is colluding in the eradication of the Indian culture and people of Nicaragua's northeast coastal zone, which borders on Honduras.

The purpose of Douglas' trip was to investigate the needs of the refugees, which are too extensive to be met by their host country, Honduras.

Hundreds of refugees arrive every day, overwhelming towns like Mocoron, about 30 kilometers north of the Nicaraguan border. On Feb. 27, a census estimated there were approximately 3,541

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refugees. By March 19, the number had risen to 6,500. Thousands more are on the road.

The refugees are afflicted with tuberculosis, typhoid, parasitical diseases and malnutrition, the most common medical problem found in the children who make up the majority of the refugees.

While seeking to meet their medical and housing needs, the refugees must be moved soon, before the seasonal rains flood the swampy region — the U.S. delegation questioned the people about the reasons they were forced to flee their tribal villages in Nicaragua. Their testimony, according to one member of the American team,

A deeply religious people, the Miskitos had initially supported the Sandinista revolution but later opposed the new government's literacy program, which included the eradication of their indigenous language, Soviet-style propaganda and atheist tracts.

The father of a Catholic Indian family recalled that when the government troops came to his village, they torched the church. The local priest was forced to flee with his parishioners.

Duggan also spoke with Indian children who feared that other family members were still incarcerated in the "relocation camps" in Nicaragua from which they had escaped.

"The father of a Catholic Indian family recalled that when the government troops came . . . they torched the church."

corroborated reports from human rights organizations which have charged the Sandinistas with responsibility for the destruction of whole villages.

"I visited huts where the refugees were staying and I asked them, 'Why did you leave?' The head of one family from one Indian village explained that the Sandinistas came into their village and told them to gather in the square near the church, and that food and medicine would be distributed. Then they torched the church and houses and killed the livestock, ordered the people away in forced marches or herded them together like cattle in 'relocation centers,'" reported Joseph Duggan, a member of the delegation, refugee affairs specialist and an assistant to Jeane Kirkpatrick, United States ambassador to the U.N.

The Indians told Duggan that Sandinista troops said the evacuation was for their own protection against counterrevolutionary elements. Duggan spoke with families from three separate villages, one Catholic, the other two Protestant.

"We did nothing against the Sandinistas. We did nothing to harm them," said one young boy, explaining that his family had no political affiliation.

The government's policy to relocate the Miskitos began last December. At that time, the junta said it had to move the Indians so it could defend the border against reactionary forces in Honduras. Since then, more than 20,000 Miskitos have flooded into Honduras, more than 1,000 have been imprisoned and at least 200 killed. Refugees have also testified that at least 15 Indians were buried alive and Indian leaders jailed.

Western publications have called the relocation policy a blunder, but the Nicaraguan junta has not reversed its policies and the coerced evacuation of the Miskitos continues.

Honduran officials and the U.S. government, which will be providing assistance to the refugees in the camps, are most concerned about finding new sites for the temporary camps before the rains begin. If they do not move quickly enough, Duggan told the Register, even more Indians will perish.



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UNITED STATES MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

799 UNITED NATIONS PLAZA
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

August 7, 1982

Dear Morton:

Enclosed are copies of a couple of speeches I've given, this year and last, which I believe ought to appeal to you in your office, for they attempt to express the fact that sound "economics" as President Reagan propounds it and "pro-family" social policy cannot really be treated as separable and expendable from one another.

I have been meaning to send these to you for some time, and was reminded again when I saw the Wall Street Journal article on President Reagan's speech to the Knights of Columbus, wherein the reporter put forward the popular but false dichotomy between "economic" and "social" issues.

If you find merit in these speeches of mine, you know I would be grateful if you circulated them among others who might be interested. Especially if those responsible for the President's speeches might think my material and style were good and compatible, you know I wouldn't be shy about talking about this with them.

Again, if you like the speeches, I wonder whether you would be so kind as to recommend me for some further speaking engagements. In addition to the themes I dealt with in the two speeches, I also have come to sense more and more the imperative of having a "pro-life" and "pro-family" foreign policy as well as such a domestic policy. I need not mention to you that there remain even in this Administration many foreign affairs programs that contradict "pro-life" and "pro-family" criteria, but I am happy to say that at least in one area, the area I happen to be covering now for Ambassador Kirkpatrick, pro-life values more often than not are fundamentally affirmed. In plainer words, I see the defense of boat people, survivors of the Cambodian holocaust, Afghan refugees, et al. as fundamentally "pro-life." I would welcome a chance to develop some of my reflections on international "humanitarian" policies and programs as "pro-life" before audiences including pro-life and pro-family groups.

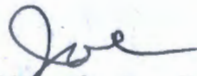
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In this last connection I am enclosing a copy of a draft speech I have prepared at Ambassador Kirkpatrick's request, surveying the civilized world's response to the phenomenon of refugees. It is only a draft, not yet approved by the Ambassador.

Keep well, and I hope you will come up and let me give you the insider's tour of the U.N. sometime.

With best wishes,

Yours faithfully,



Joseph P. Duggan
Adviser for Economic and Social Affairs

Enclosures:

Cardinal Newman College speech
Journalism conference speech
draft speech on refugees
Wall Street Journal article

Mr. Morton Blackwell
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Address by Joseph P. Duggan, Adviser for Economic and Social Affairs,
United States Mission to the United Nations, at the Commencement
Ceremony, Cardinal Newman College, St. Louis, Missouri,
May 15, 1982

Your Eminence, Cardinal Carberry, and Reverend Clergy;
Congresswoman Sullivan and distinguished trustees; President
Capbern and honored faculty members; parents, grandparents,
sisters, brothers, friends; and dear graduates of
Cardinal Newman College:

One scarcely could ask for a setting better suited than
this for a ceremony called a "commencement." Cardinal Newman
College is tiny, fresh and fragile, today sending forth only its
second graduating class. All of you are engaged in a brave
new endeavor. You are taking up the task of transmitting
the faith, the philosophy, the science and the culture of
our civilization to new generations in the footsteps and
in the tradition of the pioneer educators who labored at
this same task, close to this very spot, when it was the
newest frontier of the New World.

Here in this flowering valley, along this very road
called by the French settlers "Florissant," close by the
confluence of the two great rivers of the New World, an
extraordinary group of men and women from the Old World
arrived during the early 1800s. Here they brought to the
European settlers and the indigenous Indians the Gospel,
the sacraments and the intellectual tradition of the world's
universities. Into the village of Florissant, north of the town

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of St. Louis, came the saintly Mother Philippine Duchesne with a group of young women from France when their native land still ached from the violence and the social turmoil of the Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. With physical daring, to say nothing of moral courage, they established in this frontier village the first elementary school, open to the public without charge, in the Trans-Mississippi United States.

These Sisters of the Sacred Heart were followed to Florissant in 1823 by twelve members of the Society of Jesus, including seven young novices from Belgium. At Florissant the Jesuits founded what was known as the St. Regis Indian Seminary, described by Father William Faherty, the historian, as "the first major program English-speaking America ever developed to assist the native Americans." In the town of St. Louis, the Jesuits took over the administration of the college founded in 1818 by Bishop Louis DuBourg, today known as St. Louis University. This was the first university to be chartered in the United States West of the Mississippi.

These first schools, the spiritual and intellectual ancestors of Cardinal Newman College, sowed the seeds of "development" in America's great new territory -- of the development of the dignity of persons and of the development of a social, political, and economic order that fit the dignity of the person.

It is worthwhile to note about these early schools that their contributions to personal and social development were recognized as deserving of public assistance by the government leaders of the

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time. As Father Faherty has observed, Catholic Schools in St. Louis during the early 19th century from time to time were accorded grants in the public interest by municipal, state, and federal governments. President Monroe himself approved a federal grant to support the Jesuits' effort to educate the Indians in Florissant. It may be said, therefore, that, even while Jefferson and Madison and Monroe still lived and dominated the political and intellectual life of the United States, the principle of separation of church and state which they had developed was not seen as being violated by government assistance to religious schools -- even to Catholic schools when Catholics were a tiny and much misunderstood minority in our Republic. Instead, it is clear from the method of action of the early leaders of our city, state and federal governments that schools organized under religious auspices were considered altogether vital, very much in the mainstream of the new Republic's program of development.

This expression, "development," is a theme of intense and seemingly endless discussion at the United Nations, especially in the Economic and Social Council, where I serve as a delegate for the United States. In the U.N. and other fora of international

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discourse, development always is taken to be a self-evident good, and I certainly accept that proposition. It is important, though, that we have an understanding of what development authentically means.

The notion of development was very well addressed last October in a speech by President Reagan before the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia. The President was just about to depart for Cancun, Mexico, to take part in a summit meeting of the leaders of two-thirds of the world's people, on the theme of cooperation between the so-called "developed" countries and the so-called "developing," or in some cases, "least developed" countries. Allow me to quote the President's remarks:

... some people equate development with commerce, which they unfairly characterize as simple lust for material wealth. Others mistake compassion for development and claim massive transfers of wealth somehow miraculously will produce new well-being. And still others confuse development with collectivism, seeing it as a plan to fulfill social, religious or national goals, no matter what the cost to individuals or historical traditions.

All of these definitions miss the real essence of development. In its most fundamental sense, it has to do with the meaning, aspirations and worth of every individual. In its ultimate form, development is human fulfillment -- an ability by all men and women to realize freely their

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full potential to go as far as their God-given talents will take them.

The President's understanding of development in its most fundamental sense corresponds closely to the phenomenon of development that our spiritual ancestors here in the Florissant Valley set into motion 160 years ago. The correspondence is so close because the President holds the same fundamental understanding of human nature that was held by the pioneer Catholic educators of this territory. Implicit in those last two sentences I quoted from the President are the fundamental characteristics of human nature as understood and articulated by Thomas Aquinas and his school during the greatest age of spiritual and cultural unity in the West. These characteristics are: first, that man is contingent upon a divine Creator; and second, that he is a hylomorphic unity of body and soul, that is to say, man is a creature whose flesh and spirit are related as matter is to form. The basic truth about matter and form is as simple as a Frank Sinatra lyric: You can't have one without the other.

In his Philadelphia speech, President Reagan made reference to the astounding era of development of the Mid-American frontier, and he quoted Alexis de Tocqueville to the effect that by 1836 America was "a land of wonders, in which every change seems an improvement." The President attributed this

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remarkable development to social and economic freedom, to a government willing and wise enough to provide an adequate but not a stifling measure of security for the people, and, at the vital center, to "a strong sense of cooperation: free association among individuals, rooted in institutions of family, church, school, press and voluntary groups of every kind."

In the discourse of international development economics, one often hears the expression "infrastructure," and by this the economists mean roads, aqueducts, foundries, basic industry factories and the like. I would suggest, however, that a more profound definition of "economic infrastructure" refers to the foundations set forth by educators, students, families, and community leaders such as yourselves. The "infrastructure" I refer to is that of faith, reason, an appreciation of the human being's embodied spirituality, freedom, and the family itself.

Let me say a few more words about the family. The centrality of the family to economics was quite apparent to the inventors of the word "economy." The Greeks of antiquity put together this word from their words oikos, meaning "house, home, household or family," and nomos, meaning "rules, laws or customs." Oikonomia classically and fundamentally means the customs, guidelines, or management of the household, or of the family.

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If economics is understood as fundamentally a family affair, then, when you think about it, economic policy questions in the political discourse, such as "are you better off now than you were four years ago?" carry much deeper import than can be provided by merely materialistic categories. Economic reality based on the family transcends and even tends to demolish economic theory based on notions such as class distinctions and class struggle, which are shown to be at best irrelevant and at worst invidious. For that matter, a family-based understanding of economics radically calls into doubt the relevance of such commonplaces of Keynesianism as the Gross National Product. For above all, an economics centered in the family is a science of the quality of life, not of the mere quantification of material things or of temporally measured "services."

In the family, love, honor, faith and tradition do not float about abstractly as Platonic ideas: No, in the family, these moral realities become and remain incarnate -- embodied -- generation after generation. It should be plain that there can be no authentic social development without strong and vibrant families. Likewise it is so that any so-called oikonomia built without the oikos -- without the family -- is but a hapless and pathetic social edifice built on foundations of sand. Or, to put it another way, it is a nomos or guideline denied of anything to regulate; it is an abstract absurdity.

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True civilization without the family is impossible -- but not unthinkable. No, it is not unthinkable. History abounds with unhappy experiments in "civilization" without the family. This is the classic idea of utopianism, and it is both recurrent and powerful. Even the fact that utopia in its derivation from the Greek words ou topos means "no place," has not diminished its appeal. In our given world of families, whose inescapable realities include not only life and health and joy but also sickness, pain and death; not only wealth but also poverty; not only freedom but also the limitation and the denial of freedom -- in this world of ours, utopian ideas and programs sing a sirens' song.

Utopian ideologies are unnaturally bitter about the status quo, but wildly melioristic about the "new orders" they intend to establish. Utopianisms always deny the hylomorphic unity of body and soul in the human being, and sometimes they succeed actually in destroying that unity in the beings of some of those subject to them.

The Albigensians of the 12th Century began on a path of barbarous error by embracing the principle that all matter is evil in itself. From this followed an unnatural cleavage of body from soul -- of self from self -- which produced in Albigensian society an elite of asceticists who practiced a truly sinful disregard for their bodies, while the greater mass of the people, sensing their embodiment but despairing of its connection to a redeemable soul, often descended into

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licentious carnality. The utopian idea of Albigensianism tore apart the natural order of the family and of society.

In our time, Marxist ideologues deny the existence of the spirit in man and reduce him to a slavish mechanism. They concomitantly deny the existence of a divine Creator, and hence they deny man's contingency on a Creator. Man instead is dependent on certain so-called "Laws of Science" which are abstract, insupportable, and in some cases demonstrably in error. True believers in Marxism, of whom there are very few but also far too many, nevertheless accept these groundless "laws" as matters of dogma. In this they remind me of the late Archbishop Fulton Sheen's wonderful definition of an atheist as "a man with no invisible means of support." In its grimmer aspect, and as you well know, the Marxists and the other totalitarian ideologues of our century, the National Socialists and the Fascists, have ascribed monstrous omnipotence to the soulless State. This very day the totalitarian monster continues to devour many of the very theoreticians who have brought it into being.

Utopians have a great deal of gall. Even as they deny faith, reason, love, tradition, the family, and the unity of the human body and soul, they always are claiming a monopoly on truth, justice, goodness, peace, nobility and so forth.

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This self-righteous, self-exalted attitude of modern totalitarianism was captured brilliantly by Aldous Huxley in the ironic title of his famous novel, Brave New World.

By no means should we fail to appreciate the essential irony of Huxley's title: For the fact is that if we affirm faith, reason, love, tradition, the family, and a proper sense of our embodied spirituality, then we must recognize that it is our destiny to make a "brave new world." Let us not forget that any utopia with which any of us ever will be presented neither will be brave, nor can it be fundamentally new. Moreover, by its very definition, a utopia cannot be a world. Even "worldly" utopian ideologies, such as the Godless and materialistic doctrine of Marxism, are fundamentally worldless.

To understand what I mean by saying it is our destiny to make a brave new world, you must remember that it was not Huxley, but Shakespeare, who invented the phrase. The phrase comes from the final scene of the final play of Shakespeare's, The Tempest. The speaker is Miranda, daughter of Prospero, the wrongly ousted and exiled Duke of Milan, who has acquired a sorcerer's powers and raised Miranda on the enchanted island of his exile. The society of the island is an allegory of utopianism: It is inhabited by Ariel, a bodiless spirit, by numerous other fairies, and also by a soulless monster, Caliban. Miranda has grown up not knowing any other human being besides her father and herself.

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Through his "white magic," Prospero, as you may recall, has arranged for the grounding off his island of a ship carrying Antonio, his evil brother who had deposed him and usurped the Dukedom of Milan; Alonso, the King of Naples who had conspired with Antonio against Prospero; Alonso's son Ferdinand, and several others. Miranda had met the handsome and virtuous Ferdinand earlier in the day of our final scene. On meeting him, she fell of course intractably in love and could not for some time get out of her head the notion that he was some sort of "spirit."

Now, during the final moments of The Tempest, Miranda sees her first less-than-heroic examples of human society: an unhandsome, shipwreck-weary, corrupt, conniving, power-hungry gaggle of 16th-Century Italian politicians. And yet this is what she exclaims on seeing them:

Oh wonder!

How many goodly creatures are there here!

How beauteous mankind is! Oh, brave new world,

That has such people in 't!

Prospero, with his paternal bent, immediately sought to let the wind out of Miranda's billowing emotional sails. He told her, simply: "'Tis new to thee."

Prospero's remark gave perspective to Miranda's, but it did not lessen its truth. For the Old World of feudal Italy,

11.

with its real men and women, with its sin and its pain, truly was for this brave young woman a brave new world. There can be nothing brave, after all, about living in a fairyland. The mystery of human incarnation in the given world of reality, the mystery of sin and death, the mystery of love and of triumph over death: this mystery of human reality is far more attractive than the magic of fantasy -- but only to the brave.

This mystery inflamed the hearts of the young Belgian Jesuits who came to this land when it was Indian territory, to make of it a brave new world, even though paradoxically the Indians were able to play the part of Prospero and remind the Jesuits: 'Tis new only to thee.

This mystery inspired the men and women who established Cardinal Newman College, when no doubt there were doubters who thought it eccentric or unrealistic to establish a new college in an area already abounding with college classrooms; no doubt there are some, too, who have considered this brave new school, affirming as it does a great faith and tradition, to be somehow "outmoded" or "out of step."

Dear graduates, this mystery of a brave new world, of human incarnation, of development of the whole person in charity and dignity -- this mystery is for you: to rekindle the light of human life in a darkening age, to defend the new world we have inherited truly as "the land of the free and the home of the brave."

"Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita..."

The poet Dante had everyman in mind when he set his protagonist, at the very beginning of his Divine Comedy, "in the middle of the journey of our life." The allegorical setting for Dante's moment of mid-journey is a savage, alien forest. The forest is stalked by deadly beasts and terrors of the unknown. The protagonist is faced with cruelty, death and despair.

But, remember, that point of terror is only the beginning of a story, and the middle of a human life's journey. From the middle to the end, as we know, comes a path of pain and persistence that leads to happiness and renewal. After hellish ordeal, the path ascends, according to the powerful guidance of reason and of charity.

Today I wish to draw attention to several millions of human beings who quite literally and quite intensely find themselves in forbidding forests, on alien ground, on "no man's land," at some obscure and unsettled middle point between despair and hope, between death and new life. These are the world's refugees. According to certain legal criteria and statistical estimates, they number about 10 million; by some other reckonings, they number many more.

Legally speaking, a refugee is one who flees or otherwise finds himself outside of his country of nationality and citizenship and is unable to return because of well-grounded fear of persecution on account of race, religion or political conviction. In simple terms, this is the definition recognized by the United States and many other national govern-

ments through legal instruments of the United States and through corresponding national statutes.

War and communist revolutionary terror are the prime causes for the flight of today's refugees. The Soviet military campaign against the Afghan people, for instance, has caused more than two and half million Afghans to flee to Pakistan and perhaps a million or more to seek haven in Iran. Efforts to put communism into practice in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia have resulted in the flight of about one and a half million citizens of these Indochinese countries to non-communist lands. Half a million Ethiopians are subsisting in temporary refuge in Somalia in the wake of war between the two states.

The Americas, of course, have been a scene of mass exodus as well. More than a million Cubans--that is to say, about one-tenth of the island's population--have fled the Castro dictatorship since it came to power. And only this past Christmas season on the remote eastern coast of Nicaragua, soldiers of the Marxist dictatorship in Managua burned the homes, the churches and the crops of thousands of indigenous Miskito Indians, whose Christian, communal values and whose traditional way of life did not conform to the utopian idea of the revolutionary junta. Some 15,000 of the Miskitos have taken refuge in neighboring Honduras, while thousands more have been corralled into concentration camps by the Marxist central government.

Last August my own life's journey came to a point of intersection with some of the more remarkable refugees of our age, the survivors of the Cambodian holocaust, along the border of Thailand and Cambodia. This setting is a partly

-Cleared jungle of a man-made savagery perhaps difficult for you to imagine. The woods are littered with booby-trap mines designed not to kill but only to maim, and scores upon scores of legless children demonstrate the effectiveness of the design. Last August, as now, Vietnamese communist soldiers were clashing with the remnants of their communist rivals, the Khmer Rouge, as well as with some Cambodian freedom fighters. Then as now the Vietnamese artillery occasionally would strike a refugee camp, taking civilian lives. And yet, the refugees consider this to be more hospitable ground than Cambodia.

Of the 300,000 Cambodians encamped along the Thai Border or in the United Nations-sponsored camps inside Thailand, many fled the Khmer Rouge regime of Pol Pot, which already has passed into history as a sort of paradigm of political murderousness, having killed perhaps a quarter of the Cambodian population. Others have fled the war that engulfed Cambodia in 1979 when the Vietnamese communists and their Soviet patrons turned against the Khmer Rouge, whose program of utopian social revolution and mass murder they had fully supported from its inception. Famine, brought on by war and by deliberate starvation policies of the Khmer Rouge, impelled more Cambodians to flee to the Thai border. Still today, ^{Cambodians} are making their way across a dangerous frontier to escape the tightening grip of Vietnamese-and Soviet-style communism upon the cultural, religious, economic and political life of their country.

Thailand is a temporary haven too for refugees from Laos, both from the Mekong River lowlands and from the rugged mountains to the north and west. The Hmong hill tribesmen especially have been made targets of a vendetta, traceable to Moscow, carried out by the Lao and Vietnamese communists. The Hmong people's testimony and a growing body of physical evidence indicate that chemical weapons devised in the

Soviet Union and outlawed by international convention are being employed, in attempts at genocide against these isolated villagers.

The seas of Southeast Asia now are known perhaps best of all for the phenomenon of the boat people from Vietnam. Harshly punitive "re-education camps," internal exile to ideologically planned "new economic zones," and restrictions on religious and intellectual freedom have impelled hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese to set forth in usually fragile vessels for the neighboring shores of Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Hong Kong and the Philippines.

The annals of the boat refugees who cross the Gulf of Thailand abound with accounts of rape, robbery, and murder. According to United Nations statistics, more than three quarters of the 455 refugee boats that reached Thai shores in 1981 were attacked by pirates, on the average not once but three or four times. Five hundred seventy-one refugees were killed by pirates and 599 were raped, most of these repeatedly. Two hundred forty-three of the Gulf of Thailand refugees are known to have been abducted on the high seas in 1981, with only 78 of those later rescued.

More than three years since the mass exodus of Vietnamese boat refugees began, nearly all of the refugees who arrive on Thai and Malaysian shores today admit they had been well aware of the suffering, the degradation and the very great risk of loss of life they were facing. Foreign broadcasts, including Voice of America, letters from abroad that had cleared or evaded censorship, and word-of-mouth communication had made most of the refugees aware of the piracy menace. Nevertheless they took to the seas.

Once again, I am put in mind of the early verses of Dante's Inferno, of the inscription over the gate of Hell which proclaims: "Abandon hope, ye who enter here." One may be tempted to look sadly but somewhat opprobriously on the flight of the boat people as a massive abandonment of hope, of hope in their homeland and in the new communist regime's promises of a new society. But after fuller reflection, I believe that one should find that the odyssey of the boat people is a profound, courageous, self-sacrificing affirmation of hope in human existence and in the blessings borne by freedom.

One might say further that the refugees who risk their lives and possessions to break free from oppressive conditions at home are expressing a brave belief and hope in the possibility of a humane social order -- in the future of civilization itself. And happily, to a large measure the civilized world indeed has been responding to the flight of the refugees; it has been accepting them as citizens of the world. The international community of free men and women -- through personal charity and courage, through voluntary associations, through governments and through intergovernmental associations -- has made great accomplishments in establishing both in principle and in practice the protection of the lives and liberties of refugees.

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Certainly the United Nations system shows itself in one of its best aspects in its provisions for refugees. The United Nations convention and protocol on refugees oblige their contracting parties never forcibly to repatriate authentic refugees who meet the legal definition of having a well-grounded fear of persecution. Moreover, the ~~office of the~~ United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, through ^{his} ~~its~~ good offices, has gained the cooperation of many states in providing at least temporary asylum for refugees, even though these states may not have bound themselves by international law to ^{guarantee} ~~offer~~ asylum.

When it works, the United Nations' legal and practical approach to the protection of refugees scarcely could be more fundamental in its promotion of human rights. When presented with an individual or mass movement of refugees, the ^{office of} U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees seeks as a first and favored solution, voluntary repatriation. At the same time, the UNHCR, when it is operating according to design, vigilantly guards against involuntary repatriation of refugees. This policy, in and of itself, recognizes in the individual refugee a fundamental freedom he had lost or perhaps never had enjoyed in his country of origin. This policy indeed affirms the wisdom of the American Founders by asserting, in effect, that even though one may lack a passport or a visa, even though one may no longer have a country from which to claim citizenship or nationality, no one is utterly "alien." All men, in other words, have certain inalienable rights.

Besides the affirmation of the fundamental rights of refugees, the United Nations system makes a formidable effort at fulfilling the essential material and educational needs of millions of inhabitants of refugee camps. It has been my privilege to see the U.N. system of relief and protection for refugees in action not only in Southeast Asia, but also in Pakistan, which today is offering asylum, with great generosity but increasing strain, to the world's largest concentration of refugees. More than two and one-half million Afghans have sought safe haven in Pakistan while the Red Army wages a brutal, truly genocidal war against the Afghan nation.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other specialized relief agencies of the U.N. are making an admirable effort at meeting the subsistence requirements of the dauntingly large masses of refugees in Pakistan, Somalia, Thailand, and elsewhere. I should note again, though, that the international community's efforts at assisting refugees on the governmental and intergovernmental levels would fall far short of meeting needs were it not for the contributions of self-sacrificing individuals and private, charitable institutions. In Thailand, for instance, no fewer than 90 private, voluntary relief agencies today are assisting Indochinese refugees. A broad^{re} presentation of the civilized world may be seen in these organizations, including groups from Japan, West Germany, Ireland, The Philippines, France, Finland, Norway, Switzerland, The United Kingdom, the United States, and, of course, Thailand itself. Many of these organizations, too, represent the charitable ministries of religious communities.

As I already have suggested, in an age whose chief spiritual and social sickness often has been diagnosed as "alienation," the efforts of free men and women to assist refugees stand as a mighty and effective antidote. Agencies such as the International Committee of the Red Cross make strenuous efforts not only to provide the medical care to heal afflicted bodies, but also to reunite families broken and dispersed in the often chaotic flight from war and oppression. Agencies such as the International Rescue Committee, with its educational programs for Cambodian refugees in Thailand, make indispensable contributions to the preservation of national cultures threatened with extinction by the profoundly alienating force of communist totalitarianism. The government of Thailand, moreover, is making a very welcome effort, ^{with financial assistance from} ~~funded mostly by~~ Western governments through UNHCR, to curb the vicious, degrading piracy preying upon Vietnamese boat refugees.

The classically American response to tyranny, cruelty and alienation, of course, always has been freedom, generosity and hospitality. We ought to take pride in the willingness of the American government and people to accept for resettlement hundreds of thousands of refugees, especially Indochinese refugees since the communist conquest in 1975. Governmental and private agencies in the United States have helped the Asian refugees meet their critical needs during the early transition to a new life in America. This year's United States governmental contribution alone to support refugees both in camps overseas

and in resettlement here is estimated at one and a half billion dollars. But much more significantly, the United States offers the new refugees a political environment that respects their human dignity and resourcefulness and allows them unparalleled freedom to seek fulfillment of their God-given potential.

The phenomenon of refugees very sharply demarcates what I have been calling the civilized world from those unhappy places dominated by regimes that deny their people the freedom to pursue their aspirations and potential for the making of civilization. Some additional data will show how stark that demarcation is:

-- The Soviet state and the other regimes of the Soviet Empire systematically refuse to agree to the United Nations convention and protocol on refugees. Marxist-Leninist dogma seeks to provide a cover for this refusal to participate in the civilized world by dismissing "so-called refugees" as mere residue of colonialism.

-- The Soviet Union and the other regimes of the Soviet Empire contribute not a cent to the more than half a billion dollars the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees will administer this year in voluntary contributions from national governments. The United States on the other hand contributes one third of the voluntary funds of the UNHCR, with the developed nations of the free world contributing nearly all of the remaining two-thirds. Many of the lesser developed countries of the free world, of course, make very costly contributions to the support of the world's refugees simply by granting them asylum -- often protracted if temporary -- on their soil.

If I may requisition a phrase the Marxists are fond of using to characterize coincidences, "it is no coincidence" that the great imperialist force which refuses to acknowledge the refugee phenomenon for what it is, much less to contribute to the relief of the refugees' suffering -- no, it is no coincidence that this power, the Soviet Empire, happens to be responsible for the homelessness and the suffering of most of the world's refugees.

The moral responsibility of the world's political regimes with regard to refugees was made clear by His Holiness, Pope John Paul II, in his public remarks to Poul Hartling, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, when Mr. Hartling visited the Vatican on June 25. The pope characterized the suffering and displacement of the world's millions of refugees as "truly a shameful plague of our time." He told the High Commissioner the plague could be remedied only if the responsible nations were to become convinced that the refugees "have the right to liberty and a life of human dignity in their own countries."

It is important that we be clear about the responsibilities behind the phenomenon of refugees. Although the civilized world should never shirk its burden of caring for the needy, neither should it dispense from responsibility those social and political powers that have uttered a malign and defiant "non serviam" before the universal human task of civilization.

Let us remember that, in the Divine Comedy, the protagonist finds his way out from the alien forest, out from the horrors of the Inferno, in the first instance by recovering "the good of the intellect." Reason and charity together are the civilized world's symbiosis. When either element is missing, human action is either

cold and mechanistic or foolish and sentimental. When goodwill is joined to the quest for clear understanding, then begins the ascent from ~~alien~~^{De} depths of ~~darkness~~^{alienation} toward personal and social regeneration. Scarcely any group of our fellow citizens of the world could be more expert in perceiving these guideposts of the human journey than the refugees among us.

of people who have made up that corporation for more than 140 years, and our definition of the kind of media which we would support with our advertising has always involved some moral considerations.

It is completely within our character not only to screen out problem programs, but also to actively seek programs of exceptional artistic quality, which are truly inspirational and which challenge the very best in human nature. "We've done this in the past, investing large sums in such programs as *THE CORN IS GREEN* with Katharine Hepburn, two Christopher Award winning shows: *SON RISE: A MIRACLE OF LOVE* and *PRIVATE BATTLE*, and most recently, the four-hour drama: *PETER AND PAUL*. We will continue to invest in that kind of programming in the future.

Procter & Gamble doesn't want to be a censor. We believe in the First Amendment. But we don't believe that means we can disregard our responsibility for the programming which we sponsor. We will not have our programming dictated by threats of boycott, but we will surely *listen* to those who have strong views about our programming whether they threaten boycott or not. And we stand ready to be persuaded if our standards are in fact too strict or too loose. My hope is that you will *listen*, too, and that you have or will devise standards in which you believe and which you can defend. We may have the best society that mankind has created, but we certainly don't yet have the best society of which mankind is capable. Certainly some part of everything we do ought to be pointed at that objective.

Is the Media's Language a 'Marxist Vulgate'?

THE INDIFFERENCE TOWARD THE SPIRITUAL SIDE OF MAN

By JOSEPH P. DUGGAN, *Assistant Editor of the editorial page, Richmond Times-Dispatch*

Delivered at the National Political Journalism Conference, George Washington University, Washington, D.C., May 22, 1981

A FEW weeks ago an old acquaintance of mine passed on, as they say in the South, to the sweet bye-and-bye. She was very old, in her eighties, and though we never were very close acquaintances she managed to make one great impression on me.

My acquaintance was Caroline Gordon, the great short-story writer and mentor of Flannery O'Connor and Walker Percy. Miss Gordon was writer-in-residence at the University of Dallas when I was a student there, and during my senior year I had the pleasure several times of visiting her in her home. Mostly our conversations would turn on our mutual interest in classical languages and literature, and, bless her heart, she always would flavor these discussions with the choicest nectar of her native Kentucky.

On one occasion — it may have been our last get-together — Miss Gordon startled me by asking if I were a communist. When I meekly protested that I was no such thing, she retorted something to this effect: "Then why do you use Marxist language?"

I was more than a trifle embarrassed. Not only was I being accused of mouthing some sort of communism, but in the depths of my ignorance I had no idea what it was I had said that had prompted the charge.

As it happened, I had stereotyped someone as "middle-class." In this instance, Miss Gordon pointed out to me, I had made an unnecessary and probably invidious social distinction, at the bottom of which, whether or not I knew any better, was old Karl Marx himself. So again, she asked me, if I were not a communist, could I do no better than to use fundamentally Marxist terms of discourse?

Since that day I've gone right along using the term "middle-class," but not without a pang of conscience now and then lest I use the word invidiously, lest I become an unwitting captive of the dialectics of what Raymond Aron and others have called "vulgar Marxism."

Without the benefit of Miss Gordon's crotchety element of surprise, I now would like to ask you: Are any of you —

are many of you — vulgar Marxists? Is your ideology some form of socialism or welfare-statism? Does any of you describe himself as an atheist, an agnostic or a secular humanist?

If your answer was "yes" to any of these, I think you may fit more comfortably into the discourse of today's journalists than had your answer been "no." It is my impression that the vocabularies and the categories of social analysis of secularism and socialism are so prevalent in the American mass communications media that they are leading reporters and editors, probably unwittingly in many cases, to some serious misrepresentations of American social realities.

What do I mean by socialist categories? I mean, to begin with, unnecessary and ultimately invidious class distinctions of the very sort that old Miss Gordon chided me for using. I found many such distinctions made in the remarkably tendentious mass media coverage during the recent congressional consideration of President Reagan's budget. In story after story, on television and in local as well as national newspaper dispatches, a sort of vulgar marxist dialectic was employed to divide the "rich" and the Reagan administration on the one hand from the "poor," the working people and victims of injustice or of nature's vicissitudes on the other.

Here is the lead to a story from the *New York Times News Service*, carried in many papers on Sunday, March 15:

President Reagan's tax-cutting program would provide greater relief for most upper-income Americans than for middle- and lower-income taxpayers despite contentions to the contrary by some advocates of the plan, a variety of experts say.

The next day, another *New York Times News Service* dispatch began:

More than half the people in the country with incomes less than half the official poverty line either receive no protection from what President Reagan has termed the "social safety net" or get, at most, a free

lunch for their children on school days.

At the same time, many people who are not poor and some who are quite well off receive benefits from the seven safety net programs that the president has exempted from his proposed budget resolutions.

That is how the *New York Times* News Service presents "news." Here's another example, an Associated Press dispatch carried by many papers on March 17. The lead went as follows:

School superintendents from 28 of the nation's largest cities said yesterday that the Reagan administration threatens them with a double-edged sword by cutting federal aid to public classrooms almost \$500 million while backing an unprecedented tax subsidy for private schools.

"We could be devastated beyond repair almost overnight. We'll be out of business," Holmes Brad-dock, a Dade County, Fla., Board of Education member, complained to a White House official at the Council of Great City Schools meeting.

This, as I said, is remarkably tendentious reporting. A reporter with the same tax data probably could have written a lead emphasizing the boon supply-side tax cuts would provide to personal freedom, to investment and to the federal treasury. The reporter who wrote the "social safety net" story could have said — and indeed did say — whatever he wanted to with his pastiche of statistics and pseudo-scientific social categories. A writer with a different outlook could have taken the same educational issue and emphasized the concerns and arguments of those who believe tuition tax credits will promote greater academic and economic freedom.

My guess is that most reports such as these are composed not out of a will to be unfair or tendentious, but out of a habit of discourse. I would ask you, therefore, if you are not "vulgar Marxists," won't you display the integrity and courage to transcend the Marxist vulgate's invidious dialectic?

Let me turn now to another essential element of Marxism and vulgar Marxism, the antipathy or indifference toward the spiritual side of man and to that which transcends earthly life and human nature. I have a certain impression that, because in our pluralistic society there is no unanimous agreement on the nature of God or even on the existence of God, most reporters and editors feel it is somehow socially incorrect — perhaps even irresponsible — to admit authentic religious content — particular or general — into the public discourse. This in effect concedes secular humanism — by this I mean indifference to the spiritual, the sacred, the transcendent — to be the common ground of the American experience. But is that really so?

I don't see how any of us honestly could say that it is. If your common sense needs jogging, let me tell you that a major study commissioned and released this year by the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Co. found religion to run wide and deep through American society. Survey director John Pollock told the Associated Press, "The moral dimension is so important throughout the country, it's as if it's the axis around which everything else revolves." The report said that religion affects "virtually every dimension of American experience." The study added that this religious fervor already existed before the rise of the Moral Majority and other such traditionalist, activist religious groups.

You may be interested to know that this same survey found members of the news media significantly out of step with the general public on topics of traditional Judeo-Christian morality. According to this study, 65 percent of the general public believe abortion is morally wrong, while 65 percent of the news media believe abortion is not a moral issue. Seventy-one percent of the general public are found to believe homosexual activity is morally wrong, while 62 percent of the news media declare such behavior not to be a moral concern. Fifty-seven percent of the general public are morally opposed to the use of marijuana, while only 22 percent of the news media take that position.

I'm usually leery of polls and statistics, but these findings confirm my own common-sense observations, and perhaps yours, too. Another observation on this apparent cultural gap has been made by Michael Novak, the theologian and political writer. Writing of the elite literary culture that influences many journalists and other social leaders in America, Novak declared in a recent Public Policy Paper of the American Enterprise Institute:

This literary culture seems to use an idiom rather more national, nondenominational, ecumenical and secular than that of the regional or religious cultures in which most Americans daily live. It seems that secularization is more pronounced within this literary culture than outside it; that many ordinary citizens spontaneously employ the native religious idiom of their upbringing, in its particularities; and that a certain sophistication is required even to comprehend, let alone to be in tune with, the preoccupations, passions and interests of the literary culture. Required is not only a mastery of a body of written materials and intellectual-verbal skills, but also a training of sensibility. Certain forms of speech or sensibility may easily reveal a novice to be uninformed, un-enlightened, unsophisticated. One needs a sufficiently "raised consciousness" if one is to give "no offense."

Let me apply some of this analysis to mass media coverage of what probably is the biggest ongoing religious news story of the century, the papacy of the man from Poland, John Paul II. Of course there was a deluge of reporting and commentary last week when the pope was shot in St. Peter's Square. Though some of it was admirable, most, as I sensed it, was trapped in pious preoccupation with avoiding giving offense to the secularistic pseudo-verities of American mass culture. Some of the mass media coverage of John Paul's ministry, while posing as neutral, actually has been hostile to his message.

Haynes Johnson's *Washington Post* story of May 14, the morning after the shooting, is a classic of this secularizing genre. This story appeared on an inside page fully devoted to details of the shooting and background on Pope John Paul. It was not labeled "analysis" — but I'll tell you that it wasn't straight news, either. I suppose that regular readers of the *Post* are supposed to know that Haynes Johnson is a columnist who these days writes straight news only very infrequently.

Here is the headline to Johnson's story: "Pope's Humanity Transcends His Ideology." Let me read that to you again: "Pope's Humanity Transcends His Ideology." Now, this sets up a dichotomy — a false dichotomy in my estimation — between John Paul's admirable qualities and his message. But one should wonder, just what would or

could the Holy Father be without his message?

Haynes Johnson has an answer: "He has been an international celebrity, the superstar of prelates. He was made for the media age." Mr. Johnson also writes: "For all his obvious warmth and feeling for people, John Paul II has taken a tough stand on matters affecting the church around the world." There you have that false dichotomy. And again: "To his critics, especially in the United States, a puckish sense of humor, an air of irrepressible good will — have obscured the sternness of his ideological message." Would you like to hear one more? "But ideology, dogma and national background aside" — the idea here seems to be that the pope is some sort of Polish primitive — "he also has brought something else to his position as spiritual leader of the world's Catholics — a humanity that transcends questions of theology and politics."

The upshot of all this seems to be that Haynes Johnson regards Papa Wojtyla as a pretty good sport, really — in spite of the fact that the pope really believes in all those superstitions of Roman Catholicism. I cannot imagine a deeper insult to a great man of faith — held by many as the

visible leader of Christendom, the Vicar of Christ — than to put forth such a breezy trivialization of his beliefs. Even Mehmet Ali Agca, albeit with a diabolical sort of intensity, showed that he at least discerns something very serious in the pontiff's faith.

I shall conclude by asking you one more time: If you are not secularists, then can't you make an effort to transcend the dreary and distortive constraints of secularism while giving a pluralistic audience of believers and non-believers its due?

You shouldn't expect very soon to be reclining in such Elysian Fields as Haynes Johnson's Washington. You will be toiling instead in such provincial vineyards as Akron or Macon or any of a dozen Springfields. I exhort you, therefore, to make use of your time in Midstream America — your time with cops and shopkeepers and farmers and county commissioners — to touch human realities — spiritual, social, political and economic — to touch them as directly as possible, without undue reliance on the analytical instruments of abstract ideologies, especially those of vulgar Marxism.

Reagan, in Speech to Knights of Columbus, Speaks Out Against Abortion, Obscenity

By RICH JAROSLOVSKY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

HARTFORD, Conn.—President Reagan told a convention of the Knights of Columbus that he shares their views on a broad range of social issues, from abortion to obscenity.

At a session marking the 100th anniversary of the Roman Catholic fraternal organization, Mr. Reagan denied that he has tried "to appeal to various ethnic or religious blocs." Instead, he asserted, the positions he has espoused are "a simple recognition of the values most Americans—whatever their ethnic, racial or religious heritages—hold dear."

The president didn't break any new policy ground in his speech, but as White House aides have explained it, that isn't really the point of appearances like this one. With relatively little good economic news to cheer about these days, aides explain, Mr. Reagan

is emphasizing other issues as he campaigns this fall for Republican congressional candidates and as he struggles to hold together the electoral coalition that put him in office two years ago.

Aides don't believe the emphasis on the social issues will divert public attention from the economy for very long. "The economy is still the issue," a senior official said. But aides hope the emotional tug of the social causes, particularly for groups like the Knights of Columbus, can at least buy the administration a bit more patience on the part of the electorate.

The president's speech here was largely a laundry list of positions he already has taken on matters of concern to his audience. He repeated his endorsement of tuition tax credits for parents of private-school students, portraying the plan as a form of "tax relief" that would aid the poor and the working class and improve the quality of public schools through competition.

That plan hasn't advanced very far in Congress, leading some backers to complain that the White House hasn't pushed hard enough for it. Though the president said he remains firmly behind the legislation, he indicated that he thinks it mightn't pass this year; he predicted that "the voters next November will demonstrate that they want this bill passed."

Mr. Reagan also spoke out sharply against abortion, declaring: "The national tragedy of abortion on demand must end." But he refrained from choosing among three competing anti-abortion bills currently being considered in Congress. The three plans, offered by Republican Sens. Jesse Helms of North Carolina, Orin Hatch of Utah and Mark Hatfield of Oregon, have split anti-abortion forces and led to an impasse on the issue. The White House hasn't shown any desire to try to break the logjam by actively supporting any one of the three measures.

The president also promised he will be taking up with Attorney General William French Smith the tougher enforcement of obscenity statutes. And he repeated his support for a constitutional amendment that would overturn the Supreme Court's ban on prayer in the public schools. "We need a prayer amendment and we need it badly," he said.

The president also reminded his audience of his staunch anti-Communist credentials and policies, and appealed for support against proposals for a freeze on nuclear weapons. The administration has been concerned by rising support for a freeze among

some religious groups, and Mr. Reagan's motorcade was met at the civic center here by large numbers of anti-nuclear and other protesters.

In his speech, the president asserted that "many of the proposals we hear today for a nuclear freeze are obsolete." He repeated his opposition to a freeze resolution currently before the House and endorsed a competing proposal he said would act as an incentive for mutual arms reduction by both the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

The president is meeting with a bipartisan group of legislators today to push for the resolution he favors and the White House said it expects a vote on the matter this week to be close.

While here, the president also met for lunch with Agostino Cardinal Casaroli, the Vatican's secretary of state. A White House spokesman said the cardinal expressed hope for a quick end to the Lebanese conflict and said he was especially concerned for the large Christian population there. The two men also discussed their concern for the continuing problems in Poland, the spokesman said.