

two, if that was an oblique reference to India, you've got some very practical considerations, despite the valor and the quality of fighting and so forth. Pakistan got licked by India in 1971; since then they've declined in military capabilities, while the Indians have enormously improved their competence. The Indians are a modern force; they are continuing to purchase the most modern types of equipment. There is no way that the type of equipment that we are proposing to sell to the Pakistanis could tip the balance in such a way as to encourage anybody to launch an attack on India without inviting destruction.

**Ezrol:** Are you ruling out the possibility of a Pakistani administration's acting irrationally?

**Buckley:** One can never rule that out of any human equation, but one has to operate as if people have some modicum of prudence; that people don't want to invite the slaughter of their citizens, the destruction of their own economy, their factories; especially a country like Pakistan that's doing its damndest to try to get itself on its feet. It would be a recklessly foolhardy act. . . .

**Ezrol:** I wonder how many people would really be satisfied with that answer.

**Buckley:** The alternative, of course, is to say, "Just survive the way you can; forget the fact that you've got some real problems on the northern border and that the Soviets have every incentive in the world to try to cause insurrections and strife in your western province, and peel off and declare the People's Republic of Baluchistan, giving the Soviets access to the Persian Gulf."

**Ezrol:** Secretary Haig has made remarks on the record, which the State Department has interpreted for the record to mean that we understand that the Pakistanis view India as a military threat to them. Do we believe that they will not use their weapons against what they perceive as a military threat?

**Buckley:** If you are the weaker, the significantly weaker, and have someone you perceive threatens you, you may want to be in a position to make an attack on you costly, but that is not the same sort of thing as suggesting that you are blindly going to go out and launch an aggressive first strike against someone, when the destruction of your people would be invited.

**Ezrol:** Would a combination of Pakistan and the People's Republic of China be overwhelmed by India's military force?

**Buckley:** Looking at the topography that they'd have to be dealing with, I'd have to get an expert DOD judgment, but I've yet to see one, and this is part of the things that you exercise when you go through this sort of assessment, but India is very good these days.

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## INTERVIEW

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# Cardinal Krol discusses the role of churchmen

*We publish below the partial contents of an interview given to our editor-in-chief, Criton Zoakos, by Cardinal Krol, the Archbishop of Philadelphia, on Aug. 14, 1981. The Cardinal's endeavors on behalf of Polish food relief efforts, his own Polish ancestry, his personal affinity to Pope John Paul II and his considerable education and culture, we thought, were indispensable aids in providing a deeper insight of the Polish situation both for ourselves and for our readers.*

*We wish to thank His Eminence for granting us this interview despite his considerable misgivings about personal publicity. At one point, in deference to his sentiments on this matter, we considered publishing the interview anonymously. We opted against this idea, however, because it is still true that judgments that matter and statements that matter, do so not only because of their contents but also because of who it is that makes such judgments and statements.*

**Zoakos:** Not only Poland's future, but stability in Europe and even world peace are at stake in the Polish crisis. What can you say about the Church's concern in this regard?

**Cardinal Krol:** As the late Cardinal Wyszynski often said, and as His Holiness Pope John Paul II has repeatedly explained, the role of the Church is to teach and to spread the truth of the Gospel, the principles of the Gospel, the principles of human dignity, the dignity of the human person to be free to determine his relationship not toward the state but toward God. Thus the role of the Church is to be at the service of man, at the service of man's dignity, as the Pope has emphasized in his encyclical *Redemptor Hominis*. Man is endowed by God with a destiny which endures and reaches beyond the grave. Man must therefore have the opportunity to live his temporal life in dignity so that he may not forfeit his destiny in afterlife.

This is Gospel Principle and it was clearly spelled out in the canonical and doctrinal work of the Second Vatican Council.

You will find a delightful highlighting of this in the teachings of Pope John Paul II during his visit to Poland

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## the Polish situation, in today's world

in June of 1979. "No nation should enrich itself at the expense of another," he said. He also reasserted and emphasized again that "man is not simply an instrument of production," he is not simply an economic creature but a moral creature with a destiny set by God. This message has a reverberation in Poland—the Pope is a brilliant lecturer, one who strikes a deep chord in the hearts of people. As you know, in his youth he was involved in labor organizations, in defending the rights of labor organizations and he was a brilliant lecturer then, and all through his life he has spoken out on behalf of man's dignity, of man's aspirations, of his rights and of his freedom. The Holy Father's thinking about the communists, the thinking of responsible Church leaders about the communists, is that they are brothers who have fallen in error. It is our obligation to, we have to show them the truth. There is no animosity toward them, the Pope has no animosity toward them. He once told me about the communists that "these people are in error because they have been misled, and they have been misled because our teaching has not been adequate; therefore we must make our teaching better, our evangelization better."

But toward the philosophy of Marxism, coexistence with the philosophy of Marxism is totally impossible, because the goal of communism is total dominance, unlimited, unrestricted dominance. Marxist philosophy does not allow for coexistence. Thus the idea of coexistence with that philosophy is unrealistic.

**Zoakos:** Given that the current crisis in Poland is occurring in the context of crisis in the relations of the two nuclear superpowers, don't you fear that it may lead to nuclear confrontation?

**Cardinal Krol:** Thermonuclear weapons can destroy material things but they cannot kill ideas.

**Zoakos:** I meant to say that there are people, there are intelligent networks, including British intelligence networks, Anglican Church influences who, according to my information, are deliberately trying to aggravate the situation in Poland for the purpose of inviting a Soviet

invasion and a major East-West confrontation.

**Cardinal Krol:** There are hardliners in Poland, hardline elements who would not be averse to the idea of destabilization of the country in order to invite an intervention by the Soviets. I am confident their influence can be contained. A certain percentage of their hardliners was eliminated from positions of influence during the recent party congress. Kania has maintained his position and he was able to replace the hardliners. No one, however, should dare exclude the possibility of intervention by the Soviets. History to date records a desire on the part of the Soviet leadership to eliminate Poland as a nation.

I recall after the 1939 invasion and defeat of Poland by the Nazis and the Soviets, the Soviet foreign minister was quoted as saying that "finally, the bastard of Versailles has been wiped off the face of the earth." I also recall that during the earlier era of Poland's tripartite occupation, the Russians were very insistent on eliminating the Catholic Byzantine Rite of the Polish Church.

On the other hand, however, if you are trying to estimate the possibility of Soviet intervention, you have to evaluate the pros and cons of the present situation. Can the Soviet Union afford to take over the liability of \$25 billion of Polish foreign debt? Can they afford, politically speaking, to strike out against the Solidarity Union? How can they then justify their working-class slogans? "Workers of the world, unite everywhere except Poland"? A further question would be that of the Polish army. Can the Soviets rely on the Polish army in case of intervention? Eighty-five percent of the officers and enlisted men come from peasant and working-class families. In 1970 they told Gomulka not to count on them. The Soviets must ask themselves, toward which direction will the Polish army be shooting?

But in the final analysis, one must know that ideas cannot be killed by weapons. Weapons can kill people but not the spirit of the Polish people. I always recall that after 126 years of tripartite occupation Poland rose again as a phoenix from its ashes. And I also recall the year 1920, when the Russian armies were stopped by Poles armed more with spirit than with ammunition in an engagement now known as the Miracle on the Vistula. Weapons kill people but not ideas.

**Zoakos:** You have met with world leaders including Pope John Paul II and President Reagan in recent weeks. What are the highest priorities for these leaders concerning stability in Poland today?

**Cardinal Krol:** Unequivocally, food! Food is the greatest concern.

The spread of hunger must be prevented. Because hunger makes people angry and enraged, and anger is a bad counsel, an evil counsel which leads to desperate acts.



*Polish workers.*

**Zoakos:** Can you say a few things about the food relief effort to Poland that you are carrying out?

**Cardinal Krol:** Over one year ago, in February of last year, Mr. Ed Piszek made available to the archdiocese 50 million fishcakes for charitable distribution as we saw fit. There was no Polish food problem then. When the problem arose, we could draw on this promised supply. We have shipped 40 million fishcakes to Poland, the Polish authorities agreed to ship it gratis, and the Polish health ministry agreed to carry out its distribution in hospitals, schools, and other institutions across the country. This has already been done. Nine million pounds of food has been shipped. A similar amount is about to be shipped over very soon. Last May we received a letter from the bishop presiding over the Polish Episcopal Conference's Commission for Charities requesting our assistance. We have more recently received a further appeal, outlining that the greatest needs in the country now are for powdered milk, edible fats, wheat, other cereals, flour, meat, and meat byproducts. We intend to provide this assistance and we are meeting with welcome

response in the parishes of the Church where we have appealed for help. It should also be noted that the Polish government has lifted any and all types of restrictions that might become a burden, such as tax, customs procedures, and other such things.

I would also like to have another clarification made, namely that this effort is the undertaking of the Catholic Relief Services in coordination with the Polish Episcopate, and that no other agency is involved. The Catholic Relief Services, a worldwide organization in the United States, is working with the bishops of Poland in this matter. The distribution is made not through Caritas, which in Poland is a state organization, but through the Episcopate itself.

**Zoakos:** Is the World Council of Churches involved in this food relief effort?

**Cardinal Krol:** No. The World Council of Churches have their own activities. It is worth noting, in this context, that the amount of relief provided by the Catholic Relief Services at times exceeds the combined total of relief supplied by all other 25 or so relief organizations taken together.

**Zoakos:** What is the role of Church channels of dialogue in protecting peace? I have in mind, for example, Cardinal Casaroli's extensive diplomatic experience vis-à-vis East European governments.

**Cardinal Krol:** The Church as Church does not get involved in politics. This should be made understood, and also the popular descriptions of Cardinal Casaroli's work in relation to so-called Ostpolitik should be dispelled. The Lord has commanded us to preach the Gospel to all nations. The Church must therefore teach the Gospel to all including those who live inside communist countries. There was a different approach with Pope Pius XI. At any rate, the Church does exist in those countries which are governed by communists. And the Church has rights which must be recognized and must be preserved.

Therefore, in the service of truth, in the service of teaching the Gospel, we have to talk to all people. Pope Paul VI, while he lived, tried to work with the local bishops in those lands and to help them solve problems of the Church. This is a continuing policy. As Archbishop Glemp, the new Primate of Poland, said, and as Cardinal Wyszynski said, and as Pope John Paul II said, the work of the Church is to evangelize, to proclaim the ideas of justice, peace, and human dignity.

**Zoakos:** Does the Church, seeing the ideological conditions in the East and the moral crisis in the West, see, in the current crisis in international relations, the possibility of the outbreak of general war?

**Cardinal Krol:** I shall take you back two thousand years ago when Jesus Christ came down on earth. The Hebrew

## Mitterrand: from Vichy to socialism

by Laurent Murawiec

In the first part of this series, we developed the genealogy of the 20th-century monarchist currents of France, identified with the notion of the "French Empire" faction which not only imposed a ruthless Malthusian order upon the French economy and population, but also conspired at deliberately losing the war to Hitler's troops and accepted the unenviable status of junior partner to the Nazis' New Order. We witnessed how the Orléans family's heir, Henri, Comte de Paris, ran a myriad of corporatist, terrorist, and fascist networks and hoped that the Vichy regime would pave the way for his return to the throne of France. We also saw young François Mitterrand, today the Socialist president of France, learning the trade of politics within the monarchist fold that was his own family's tradition.

The scene is now Algiers, as Anglo-American troops storm French North Africa, and call upon the political and military assets of the Comte de Paris to smooth their landing way. The Allied case officers for the strategically crucial Algerian operation were Prime Minister-to-be Harold Macmillan, "diplomat among warriors" Robert Murphy, and former League of Nations official Jean Monnet, one of the City of London's top roving operatives in the opium networks and international finance. The trio passed a deal with the more Anglo-American-oriented current of Vichy, based on the agreement that 1) de Gaulle would be left out in the cold, 2) the French Empire would be restored to its pristine glory, 3) the double game vis-à-vis the Nazis and the Anglo-Americans would continue to be played with and by Vichy. The underpinning of the deal was the aspirations of the Orléans dynasts.

Murphy negotiated with a so-called Group of Five, who agreed to make French North Africa available to Eisenhower's troops; the Group included one "former" top leader of the Cagoule (The Hooded Ones); one Belgian-born army general van Hecke, looming large in the Deuxième Bureau, Vichy's military intelligence, who later became a leader of the French equivalent of Italy's Propaganda 2 Freemasonic lodge, the Grande Loge Nationale de France; and a scion of one of France's important aristocratic families, Henri d'Astier de la Vigerie. Murphy told this monarchist Group of Five that "the Five are the only ones capable of representing

prophets and the writings of the Old Testament had foretold the chosen people of Israel of the coming of the Messiah. But when the Messiah came, the chosen people of Israel rejected Him, because they could not recognize Him, as in their mind the Messiah was to be vested with the attributes of temporal power, the power of nations and states. This folly in human nature, the fixation upon temporal power is what you also see today, after two thousand years. In this respect human nature has not changed. The superpowers are engaged in a contest for power. There is armament going on and the world is presented with a spectacle of conflict.

But if you have ever watched on television those sports events, exhibition wrestling it's called, where the spectacle is prearranged, you can better estimate this superpower conflict. From what I have seen and I know, the Soviet leaders do not want to start a nuclear war and the American leaders certainly do not want to start one either. As an older man, let me give you this advice: I do not say you should ignore these problems, they are real problems, they should not be underestimated; but one should not overestimate them either. I am optimistic.

**Zoakos:** I would myself be optimistic if it were only a contest between the two superpowers. There is, however, a third political force attempting to manipulate the two superpowers. You are familiar of course with the zero population growth movement, the neo-Malthusian movement, which under the Carter administration promulgated the *Global 2000 Report* as U.S. government policy. The neo-Malthusians have identified the Roman Catholic Church as the principal obstacle to their population policy. Steven Mumford of Georgetown University wrote an article recently in Prof. Sidney Hook's *Humanist* magazine, calling for a schism in the Roman Catholic Church on the population question. Then you have the assassination attempt against the Pope. Also, some Catholics in the United States have dropped the name "Roman Catholic" and prefer to call themselves "Christians." If these forces succeed in causing a schism, in disorganizing the Church, it would be a major blow to the two-thousand-year-old civilization which had been rallied around the institution of the Roman Catholic Church.

**Cardinal Krol:** Once again I shall take you back to two thousand years ago when Jesus Christ came down on earth. He did say then that he had come in order to suffer and in order to be crucified. And we, his Church, we are the body of Christ. Who are we not to suffer as he suffered? Many of the things you refer to reflect the centuries-long history of the Church, i.e., internal discord and external persecution. But the Church has survived for twenty centuries, and shall continue to do so until the end of time, or as Our Lord promised, even the gates of Hell will not prevail against the Church!