

velopment. If the negotiations end in failure, addressing these problems that affect nearly all of humankind is likely to be put off for at least several years, at some considerable cost to both rich and poor.

And herein lies the danger in Ambassador Moynihan's "liberty party" posturing at the East River. In the year of negotiations that lies ahead the serious bargaining will take place not in New York but at such widely separated locations as Paris, Nairobi, Geneva, Washington, and Rome. But United States newspaper coverage and congressional discussions are likely to be dominated by Moynihan's verbal pyrotechnics, simply because they make good copy (the debate looks like the "good guys" versus the "bad guys"), and because they take place in the media capital of the world. The result may well be to obscure the crucial negotiations going on elsewhere, to dampen the impetus in the developing countries to cooperate, and to call into question further the seriousness of the American intentions to negotiate.

The anti-Zionism resolution illustrates quite clearly the costs of confrontational politics to all sides. Faced with a growing rapprochement between the U.S. and the developing countries and the possibility of accommodation between Israel and Egypt, the militant Arabs used a classic guerilla warfare ploy—provoke your more powerful enemy to overreact and alienate a large part of the population. The provocation was the resolution linking Zionism with racism. The countries of the Third World, particularly the Africans, were already angered by Moynihan's implication, in a speech made in San Francisco, that General Idi Amin of Uganda had been named head of the OAU with the approval and support of most African leaders. (Actually, he became head because Uganda's turn on the alphabetical rotation had been reached.) Moynihan's public threats that the United States would "punish" any nation voting for the resolution added further fuel to the fire, and, in an age in which newly independent countries are extremely sensitive to charges of neocolonialism, most delegations had no alternative but to support the resolutions. As a result, the resolution was approved, although a number of developing countries voted against it or abstained. Many observers felt that skillful U.S. diplomacy could have mustered at least enough votes to postpone the vote until next year.

The outcome helped neither the industrial nor the developing world. The United States jeopardized international support for a settlement in the Middle East, an issue it considers of great importance. Those developing countries that supported the resolution risked creating a climate of public opinion in this country and abroad that will make international economic cooperation more difficult. Therefore, both sides face a choice in their politics toward each other. The developing countries have

to decide how far they think they can push the United States on issues it considers of great importance. The U.S. has to decide whether it wants to make debating points about the inequities of the world and play for applause in the galleries, particularly in the press and Congress, or seek a new basis for long-term economic cooperation among states both rich and poor. The rest of the world will be eagerly awaiting our choice. Sometimes the current turmoil is almost enough to make one wish for the benign neglect that had characterized United States relations with the Third and Fourth worlds since the mid-1960's!

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EXCURSUS III

Lawrence Nevins on Spiritual Politics

The article I have translated below appeared in the *Portuguese Times* of August 28, 1975. A national weekly published in New Bedford, Massachusetts, the *Portuguese Times* probably is the best Portuguese-language newspaper in the United States. Critical of the Caetano government's colonial wars, it welcomed the coup of April 25, 1974, with genuine enthusiasm. It later became disillusioned with the course of revolution and has won some notoriety in Portugal as a vehicle for the promotion of the Azorean independence movement.

As readers of Kipling's *Captains Courageous* may recall, there have been Portuguese immigrant communities in New England—as elsewhere in the United States—since the nineteenth century. In the past decade, after the revision of the quota system, a new wave of immigrants rejuvenated the old settlements and pioneered new ones. Few substantial Portuguese American communities are without a church dedicated to Our Lady of Fátima, whose devotees—not only in Portugal but throughout the world—number in the millions.

Religious pilgrimage in Portugal responded to a poor, undereducated, hardworking people's longing for supernatural sustenance; for many Portuguese peasants it also has been a kind of socially approved form of tourism. With loved ones scattered all over the world, people who cannot easily communicate find in the spiritual telepathy of prayer an expression for their deepest concerns. The Portuguese faithful have prayed for the sick, the emigrants, and the young men in Africa who sometimes returned with missing limbs and sometimes never returned at all.

Obscurantism is a term educated Portuguese

seldom fail to use in denouncing Salazarism. The cult of Fátima is a large part of what they have in mind. To the modern Catholic it is an embarrassment, and to the nonbeliever an affront to his intelligence and a blot on the nation's escutcheon. It had and still has a political dimension the old regime assiduously cultivated for its own purposes.

After the last Portuguese king—Manuel the Unfortunate—had been sent packing in 1910, the republican governments that followed suffered from an onslaught of unleashed demagoguery and fanatical factionalism. Anticlericalism was the order of the day, and the church of the majority was persecuted with spite beyond logic by a dominant minority. When Portugal entered World War I in 1916, its unlettered peasants were shipped off for cannon fodder on the Western Front, for reasons they and their miserable dependents back home could not fathom. In 1917, some say, the Queen of Heaven visited Portugal to straighten matters out. What follows, translated from the *Portuguese Times*, is a standard account of the event and the author's analysis of its meaning for today.

The Message of Fátima

The thirteenth of May, 1917, in a place called Cova da Iria in the municipality of Vila Nova de Ourém, a phenomenon occurred that not only transformed the course of history but relit the burning flame of faith that had been extinguished by the terror and universal disunity the First World War caused among the faithful all over the world. On that never to be forgotten day three humble children, residents of the neighboring village of Aljustrel, were shepherding their little flock on a plot in Cova da Iria belonging to their parents when they were visited by the Most Holy Virgin.

Being innocent little children they never had seen a lady so radiant and pretty. Incredulous, they asked her who she was, to which the lady replied: "I am the Lady of the Rosary." Perturbed, the youngsters asked the lady why she had come. She replied that the Sacred Heart of Her Son had been violated by the sins of the world, by the war, and by Marxist ideas from the East, which opposed not only the practice of religion by the faithful but also the human rights of beings created in His image, and, if this were not enough, tortured people beneath their yoke to the point where these denied the existence of God.

Touched by the expression of pain on the lady's face, the poor little children asked her what she wished, and heard the following response: "PRAY MANY ROSARIES FOR THE CONVERSION OF SINNERS, THE END OF THE WAR, AND THE CONVERSION OF RUSSIA."

This was the message of Fátima announced to the world by the "Tota Pulcra" Virgin Mary.

Analyzing the Message

The war ended. Yet few sinners had been converted. Hence a new war broke out twenty years

later, and Russia still subjugates and enslaves the peoples behind the iron curtain.

Of the three little shepherds, two had died shortly after, victims of martyrdom inflicted in the jail of Vila Nova de Ourém. Our Lady, who is all kindness, decided at a given moment to end the young martyrs' sacrifice and gathered them together for eternal bliss with Herself and Her Son.

Our Lady planned another destiny for the third seer, a somewhat older cousin of the first two. She would have to stay in this world a little while longer, since her mission was to remain among us as a witness to the Message, thus becoming hostage to human frailties which, with the passage of time, would try to isolate us from Our Lady's word.

The war ended, and the faith of the Portuguese cooled with the end of that first world genocide, since the Message had been remembered only when they had sons, fathers, husbands, or other dear ones at the battlefield. To punish us for our lack of faith, we lived exiled from our human rights for forty-eight years.

On April 25, 1974, the Virgin saw fit to give us a new opportunity to conform with the wishes of the Message she delivered to the humble little shepherds of Aljustrel. Still not recognizing this second opportunity to reconcile ourselves with Her Son, we were punished again. This time, when we failed to pray for the conversion of Russia, movements were put among us that wanted to oppress us as they had oppressed the people our prayers and sacrifices ought to have liberated.

The thirteenth of May, 1975, arrived. Our people, beginning to recognize the oppressive Communist yoke, then raised their hands to the Virgin and almost miraculously felt within themselves the strength to struggle for their rights, not only human rights, but spiritual rights, since the oppressor did not merely content himself with enslaving bodies, but also wanted to annihilate souls.

Fortified by faith, the Portuguese began to oppose the usurper in the only fashion he recognizes; by force and by fire with hands raised they march toward the conquest of freedom. Notwithstanding, in order to achieve complete and stable freedom, we shall have to comply with the request of Our Lady and continue to pray many rosaries for the conversion of the sinners, for peace, and the conversion of Russia as well as all other countries that oppress the rights of citizens or the Divine Being.

If you are Portuguese and love Portugal from the bottom of your heart, join in spirit with the thousands who have left for Fátima this year and live the Message of Fátima within you. Come to the Sanctuary of Our Lady of the Rosary of Fátima in Ludlow, Massachusetts, this weekend, raise your hands to heaven, and place your faith in the Virgin Mary.

Lawrence Nevins is a specialist in Portuguese history and affairs and a frequent contributor to Worldview.

Book Review Digest

Worldview does not review books by its editors and, therefore, Wilson Carey McWilliams's *The Idea of Fraternity in America* (University of California Press) and Peter Berger's *Pyramids of Sacrifice* (Basic Books), both of which received high praise in other journals when they were published lately, went unnoticed in these pages. We will continue the policy of not reviewing books by the editors and associate editors. However, through higher channels we are unable to divulge but which we have been assured are authoritative, *Worldview* has received comments about Richard John Neuhaus's new book, *Time Toward Home*, from a variety of sources. A selection follows.

—JF

Congratulations, Dick. A nice book by a sweet guy.
—Hallmark Cards

I accept whatever judgment is agreed upon by my close American friends, Peter Berger and Harvey Cox.
—Paul VI

Time Toward Home (231 pp., Seabury, \$9.50). Fast-paced but serious story of one man's longing for a better America. Author has a point of view, writes spicy chapter titles and leaves you with a mellow anticipation of tomorrow. Rated PG.

—Cue magazine

Recipe: American Pie à la Neuhaus

INGREDIENTS

2 centuries public piety (slightly sour)

329 denominations (shredded)

50 decadent states

1 full measure of hope

1 Holy Bible (comprehended)

ethnics to taste

PREPARING

Mix all ingredients in a cosmic bowl, adding hope slowly as texture begins to harden. Cook in a culture pan for a bicentennial. Pray unceasingly. Top when cool with a resurrected Christ. Serves 209 million.

Pastor Richard Neuhaus over in Williamsburg has written a book about America and divine revelation which will fascinate anyone still interested in religion. The good pastor, a prominent antiwar activist last decade, is displeased with theological faddism and doomsayers of the American future. He would have the nation, particularly its churches, lay aside nostalgia and pessimism in favor of belief that God will, somehow, someday, bring his Kingdom. He also has the novel, and perhaps correct, notion that America is not automatically excommunicated from the Kingdom just because it is a capitalistic, imperialistic nation which he wishes it wasn't, quite so much anyway,

but knows it is. Pastor Neuhaus is not espousing traditional conservatism, as some of his activist friends think, so much as he is looking for a way to brighten the future with an affirmation of the obvious: If God has a Kingdom on earth, it certainly hasn't been found; belief that it will come is better than belief that it was and went away.

—"Talk of the Town" (*New Yorker*)

What does "hubris" mean?

—Gerald Ford

QUOTE / UNQUOTE

That Day Has Now Come or, Can Hugh Carey a Tune?

After speaking for almost an hour, Colonel Hayward concluded with a challenge. "If there ever comes a time," he declared, "when there must be what there is not now, a discord between *The Star Spangled Banner* and *The Sidewalks of New York*, there must be no doubt about which tune the Chief Executive [the reference is to Al Smith, of course—Eds.] of this state will sing."

—Col. William Hayward, U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of N.Y., speaking against repeal of the prohibition enforcement measure in N.Y. State, May 31, 1923. Quoted in *The Long Thirst*, by Thomas M. Coffey (Norton, 1975)

The Oil and the Oyster

Why should the Arab states charge any less for oil than they can get? Just because this question is an obvious one, it does not mean that it can be ignored. Wealth opens up new vistas. The more opportunities wealth brings—opportunities not only for the wealth itself but for the power it buys—the more eagerly wealth will be pursued. Within the Arab world the unifying force of enmity to Israel will be replaced by the bonds of limitless booty. Maintaining the unity of OPEC to keep the price high would become more important than anything else precisely were the main distraction—Israel—to be removed from the scene. Israel has been, for America, a sentimental favorite; oil now has made Israel an indispensable irritant without which the oyster of Arab oil price solidarity cannot be pried open.

—Edward Friedland, Paul Seabury, and Aaron Wildavsky, "Oil and the Decline of Western Power," *Political Science Quarterly*, Fall

Peking Dialectic

A reporter who asked Ma Yu-chen, Chinese Information Director, if it was possible for United States journalists to meet with Chairman Mao Tse-tung got this response:

"Your wish is impossible to fulfill. Your question is impossible to answer."

New York Times, December 3