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(Unedited Transcript)

Geno Baroni is two years older than I am. When we met first, we really clicked. I think Larry (unintelligible) a reference to that in the book. It was the coming of the Carter campaign. Geno had many questions. We discovered as we started talking with each other that we had a great deal in common in our backgrounds. We were -- we both had had an experience I guess that we didn't acknowledge, that made us both quite insecure and uncertain of ourselves in the company of which we traveled. We covered that up with a little ambition and glibness. We told stories actually the first time we sat down. We were supposed to talk about some issues of the platform, but we started talking about our families, and the wonderful memories, and the rather horrid memories we had. I still remember telling Geno that the talk in my family as I grew up, a family of five children, was about my father, his experience which he told over and over again -- unfortunately, too many times under the influence of alcohol -- of losing his leg in the mines. The mule kicked him over. And at that time, I guess it was down in a place called Naugatuckett (phonetic), West Virginia. By the time they rescued him or got him out into the hospital, they had to amputate fairly high up on his leg. And he was wrapped in a blanket afterwards the hospital service had left on the porch of his parents. Geno and I -- he had stories somewhat similar to that about the kind of social reality of which we grew up -- we knew of each other a little before that, however, because I had the opportunity on the faculty at Yale, to teach a course which Geno was very interested in and actually knew about when we met. I went to Yale in the early 1970s, I had a degree that I had been involved in the political campaign in, and I was given the opportunity at least for one seminar each semester to teach a course I wanted to teach, and I chose one that made Kingman Brewster and some others rather nervous. It was about a book that had just been published by Andrew Greeley. A few years ago I decided to find a copy of the book -- and I went to Amazon. As you know, you can buy the used copy. This one was discarded recently by the Miami-Dade community college library, so I don't want you to think I swiped it -- Why Can't They Be like Us? Very much like this quotation we have from Geno here on the wall. I don't know how many of you remember that particular period. African-Americans were making us aware of what it was like to grow up and raise children in a society in which very little of your past or heritage was reflected in the history. Of course in those days, we had public schools and people sort of studied history. But Andrew Greeley was raising the question about many other Americans who had the same experience. I taught the course. It got a good enrollment. The second semester was the stunning one for me, because as I'd finished the course, a group of students came to me from Appalachia, and asked me to teach a course on the culture of Appalachia. They were engaged in the same search. Actually, one of them was Skip Yates who's at Harvard now, and who grew up in West Virginia, as I did. Well, all that's aside.

Look, I have to make a deep, profound apology to all of you, if it's all right, on behalf of Dr. Curtis and others, because Geno was here over the weekend. Geno knows about this meeting, and is absolutely delighted, as you can imagine, that we are here getting together. Alan called me on Friday and said, We've just had the vibrations that Geno is so

curious you're having this meeting. He's so delighted, 20 years after his death. Father Brian," he said, "has some influence up in heaven, and he's arranged for Geno in a kind of a Charles Dickens kind of a thing, to come back for 24 hours. And he's coming back to Pennsylvania, but he's gonna come in to Washington." It's late on Friday. "Could you spend some time with him over the weekend?"

"Well, what an opportunity," I thought. And I had been thinking a lot about those 20 years between Geno's death and the present time. I had a brief phone conversation. I think Geno was on a mobile phone, actually, that had a lot of static before he came.

"Where is the meeting?" He said.

I said, "it's at the Hogan Hartson Building."

"Hogan Hartson, that's a law firm, isn't it?"

I said, "Well, law firms, buildings, that's part of what we're going to talk about, Geno, in terms of the last 20 years."

"Well, where shall we meet?"

I said, "there is a little place called 'The Bread Line' down on Pennsylvania Avenue, near 17th Street. I'll meet you there, you know, 11 o'clock Sunday morning, and we'll sort of start. I'm eager to tell you everything that's happened in these 20 years."

We met. Geno of course immediately said, "I'm so delighted you're down here, I've always so enjoyed going to the White House and I wanted to go up and" I said, "No, Geno, that's not where we're going today. The White House is blocked off with barriers. I thought we would meet here because I wanted you to see the real source of shaping the culture and the society.

There's the World Bank. And then they've got that second building. And then there's the third building. The IMF is just finishing this large building." And Geno's eyes were blinking as he looked at these incredible modern constructions. I said, "Geno, that's where the real shaping and power is today, although it's as if US policy were sort of set there, with a lot of international staffing."

"Oh," he said "I -- well, tell me more about it."

Well, I told him about my second opportunity after the Carter administration, to come back into the government.

I was a president of American University, a place much in the news these days. And in the early nineties -- I never expected Bill Clinton to become president, but I think he offered me, I think at one point he said, recklessly, any position I wanted in the new administration.

But I went to the USIA because I had an idea, that the Cold War was over and we had this incredible opportunity to bring together and redefine ourselves as a nation, how we wanted to present ourselves to the world. And it was sort of the end of an incredible era.

And many friends with whom Geno and I had had relationships -- one of whom I brought on as my deputy director of USIA -- we had gone separate ways. I'll pause a moment to let you know Penn Kemble, as some of you may know, died last week. Penn and I had

such different backgrounds. I used to say to the White House, these young kids would say, "how is it you and Penn Kemble are working together?"

I'd say, "well, Penn Kemble and I started a long time ago, probably before you were born, and we understand a lot of things in common. And besides, we're the only two people in the room who understand what a Shackmanite is."

But I would tell him the story about Bill Clinton's first foreign-policy speech. It was at American University, at my invitation. It was just at the end of February.

It's an incredible speech, you can't find it actually in all of the archives now. I'm gonna take it up next week to Hofstra, where they're having a seminar on the Clinton administration. But Clinton had painted a picture of emerging globalization, but with all the right nuances. He understood some of the things that Condi Rice is now saying in Latin America, about where we screwed up a bit with the way we set the policies. He talked a great deal about the problem of the deficit. But he painted that picture.

As he came down off the platform at American University, it's one of the few speeches perhaps he had a chance to write, himself. As I remember, he started late because he was sitting in the car writing it. As he came down off the platform, somebody from the White House rushed up to us. The World Trade Center had been bombed that morning, you remember the bomb in the basement, the first bombing of the World Trade Center. And not long after that, because we did need to trim some budgets, one senior member of the administration went up the Johns Hopkins and said, "Not only do we stand for democracy, but we are expanding and creating democracy in the world. And that's our mission."

And then later, a secretary of state said, "we are the indispensable nation. We stand taller than anybody else, and see further," and all as a part of an elaboration on being the last remaining superpower.

And then I would try to tell Geno how all that evolved in shaping and struggling for who we were as a nation. Actually, what Andrew Greeley in Chicago was writing in '71 had already been discovered by Richard Nixon's staff. I remember being told by some of those people, they discovered how many ethnic language papers there are still in the United States -- this is 1971 -- and how many groups could be reached with a political strategy.

In any event, I took Geno while he was here to two other spots, which I picked just to sort of dramatize what happened. I took him to a Starbucks. God, did he love Starbucks. He couldn't figure out, first of all, all those people with computers. He remembered the computer, yes, for e-mail. But all the things they were doing in Google, totally -- I thought I'd never get him out of there. One kid showed him Google, and he wanted to just stop and look at it. And he loved the idea of a place to sit down -- and I can't remember how many soy lattes he had, but he told me there was no Starbucks in heaven.

The other place I wanted to take him was the Whole Foods market up here, just to the east of Dupont Circle. And the people who were there -- again, Geno loved food, and he loved all the things that we saw as we went in there: the flowers from Chile, the fruits, the vegetables. He loved the mixture of young people who were coming through: not all kind of sort of a suburbanite, very few -- I don't think any ties. He was stunned by it.

I said, "Well Geno, this is another picture." I told him a little bit about the inner harbor in Baltimore, which when I started working there six years ago, was practically barren, one building built by the kids I'm working for in the Sylvan Learning Systems, through the Jack Kemp -- the whole area is incredible now: the power, the energy, the sort of mind of the entrepreneur.

We then talked a little bit about the mind of the educator and the mind of the politician as we were walking along, but time was running out. I had saved some clippings for him to look at. I wanted him to see the Saturday edition of -- oh, by the way, we got to talking about papers.

Up in heaven, he reads the "New York Times," he says, he does get it occasionally, and he's trying to get them to get the "Village Voice," they just won't do it. No "Chicago Tribune."

I said, "You know, I read the "Times," but that's not the key paper for me anymore, Geno. Even in terms of the issues that provoke thinking, it's the 25 "Financial Times." It's a British paper, but I get it delivered to my door, it's here. I just took this clipping for you today about the head of the UAW, it's entitled, "The Lonely Pragmatist," one of their profiles on Saturday, 'cause the man just negotiated away health benefits and some of the pensions for employees, but I think in large measure they probably understand. In a sense, we're at almost a stage in the labor movement where he's become a hero because he is saving jobs."

I told him that the mayor of New York now will probably be reelected -- although I like very much what the Democratic candidate is saying -- he's a man who raises no money from anybody for his campaign, it all comes from his own pocket. I told him that Bloomberg was fired by Solomon in the early 1980s, just a few years before Geno's death. And then he started a business, worldwide, based on communication of shifts in changes in currency and finances, and has become a billionaire.

I told him how he hires in New Jersey about 300 people in a call center, and what a good life they have in many ways, the training, the meals that are there. And the struggle I understand that that company is going through with the analysts and everybody else that 26 looks at it every week about whether they're gonna have to outsource those.

Well, there's so many other things we talked about the Serse and Corta (phonetic) stories in Washington. He couldn't believe what's happening there. It was a Sunday so I was able to show him the "Outlook" section yesterday, where a man described the gentrification of Washington as a change, not a conspiracy. Geno looked at it, thought about it a little bit.

But I guess the thing that capped it all off, he didn't have to leave until this morning, it was very early this morning. And the "Financial Times" issue today came out, and right on the front page is a story about the upcoming talks in Doha, and I want to read to you just a bit -- there's so many other things I'd like to show you, the books we talked about, but only two more things -- the article is entitled "Doing More for Doha," and this is the subtitle: "Success of the Trade Talks Is a Moral Issue," says Paul Wolfowitz. And inside, Wolfowitz actually makes a bit of a case, in terms of the lives of a lot of people around the world.

Well, in conclusion I wish I had remembered, there is that last book published by Michael Harrington. 27It's a book I will always keep close at hand, I want my grandson to have it. The book is called The Long-distance Runner -- sorry, not The Loneliness of the Long-distance Runner.

You remember, Michael had cancer very much like Geno's. He died a few years later. The reason I want my grandson to read it is that he says that because Joe Duffy was running the platform for the Carter years in '76, the '76 Democratic platform was probably the most liberal in the history of the Democratic Party. I'm not quite sure I -- I think there's a little B.S. there, but I love it anyway. I just want to read to you the last part after Michael talks about his life, and the long-distance run.

"Perhaps my long-distance run has been an exercise in futility. Perhaps the name of a noble, plucky, romantic futility, but futility nonetheless. And if that were the case, was I not another Quixote, the charming representative of an idea whose time had long gone?"

Well, he decides not. But this is the incredibly prophetic section that Michael Harrington wrote. The book was published in '88.

"The fundamental truths of these times is radical. It's not my use of the word 'socialism' that 28creates problems for me, is that the word asserts the need for a systemic and international transformation. If humankind is to live in freedom in the 21st century," and that I think is true, and even the only possible practicality, "the utopians in the negative sense of the term are the pragmatists who mistakenly believe that society can survive political, economic, social, and military upheavals, can cope with what is a transition to a new civilization, by squatting in the middle of the road. The men and women of power who think that are wrong, and time will brutally destroy their illusions.

"All of which does not mean that I am right. It is indeed possible for the mass majority of humanity to control democratically and consciously the massive forces that are changing the very conditions under which we live. But that may not be possible. Well, human history could turn out to be a tragedy, and the dream of freedom an interlude. But if the best values of humanity are to survive, then we will have to go down the road which I have been running. In my lifetime, there has been a revolutionary" -- now, this is written in '88. You have to realize, I hope you understand what dramatic changes there have been since Geno's death. 29

"In my lifetime, there has been revolutionary internationalization of the global economy. I will never forget standing in Nairobi just recently," Nairobi, "and watching poor people making napkin rings, and learning that some of them will be sold to fashionable people who shop at Gubbs (phonetic) department store in San Francisco" -- of course you can get them at Costco, now -- "it was a revelation specific as the shabby square where I stood with boxes in which some of those people were living, of the oneness of the world. It is simply not serious to think that the new planet being created by our revolutionary economic ingenuity can forever run on the basis of a nation-state system that dates from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There is a technological revolution underway that may bring the very permanence of biological life, as well as the material production process" -- that may change.

“There is a crisis in values, a dissolution of the ethical and religious certainties that provoked the ideological integration for human society. That this provokes sometimes a desperate fundamentalism in the United States, or the Third World, is simply one more demonstration of how radical and irrepressible these trends are.”0030

Well, I wish that Mike had been able to come back as well, and I could have taken them both to Starbucks, and we could have talked through the incredible changes, the creativity, the fact that though we talk about the increases in poverty, the figures are so much in dispute because of the drama and the change. And yet, because I think the most important work now is a word we didn't use much when Geno was here. That word is “sustainability.” I don't know whether globalism can sustain. And I end by saying the last thing I gave Geno to take back, he wasn't sure they would let him into the gates of heaven with it, was Dan Yergin's book, *The Commanding Heights*, in which he tells us this globalization is not new. This has happened in the past. It rose in the end of the nineteenth century, just at the beginning of the twentieth century it was booming. And then it collapsed, and it took a long time for it to come back. But it has happened before, although not certainly the scale.

Geno was excited by all of it. He wanted to give you his greetings. I deeply apologize that I couldn't be here, but he had to be back. Thank you.