

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

GENERAL  
17019/00312  
PRI 8

REFERRAL

To: Secretary of Defense

Date: September 28, 1967

ACTION REQUESTED

- Draft reply for:
  - President's signature.
  - Undersigned's signature.
- Memorandum for use as enclosure to reply.
- Direct reply.
  - Furnish information copy.
- Suitable acknowledgment or other appropriate handling.
- Furnish copy of reply, if any.
- For your information.
- For comment.

NOTE

*Prompt action is essential.*

If more than 48 hours' delay is encountered, please telephone the undersigned immediately, Code 1450.

Basic correspondence should be returned when draft reply, memorandum, or comment is requested.

REMARKS:

Description:

Letter:  Telegram:  Other:

To: The President  
 From: Mr. Talbot Feild, Jr., House of Representatives, State of Arkansas  
 Date: September 22, 1967  
 Subject: Hope Star Newspaper, Hope, Arkansas -- Article re: Comment pertaining to Harry Ashmore's charges against the President regarding alleged peace formula with Hanoi. . . . Permit our military forces to hit the enemy hard . . .

1 *By [Signature]*

By direction of the President:

Joseph A. Califano, Jr.  
Special Assistant to the President

RECEIVED  
SEP 28 1967  
PRESIDENTIAL FILES

13/12/1



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

October 18, 1967

(10)  
FA5  
RA4  
RQ2  
FG440  
ST  
FG165  
FI-2  
FG11-1

MEMORANDUM

TO: Marvin Watson  
FROM: William<sup>x</sup> Connell *WC*

On September 21st the Vice President and Governor<sup>x</sup> McNair, *Robert E.* dedicated a new mental health facility in Greenville, South Carolina. The project had been approved by HEW prior to the President's freeze on new awards. HEW, however, held the award waiting for submission of the low bid on construction, and applied the President's freeze order to this particular award.

Jim Kelly, the Controller of HEW, is now reviewing this and about 200 other awards to see whether the contracting should go forward and still be in compliance with the President's freeze on new construction. Given the Vice President's dedication of the facility on September 21, Congressman Ashmore is about to attack the Administration for renegeing on its commitments.

Since the project had been approved prior to the President's order, I am hopeful that we can avoid possible attack by Ashmore by having the project go forward. Jim Kelly's phone number is code 13, ext. 23193.

original sent to Director Charlie Schultze for his handling; October 18.

Nothing else sent to Central Files as of 10/27/67

BB1

RECEIVED  
PBI

(4)

September 23, 1967

Stuenkel, Adlai  
Finnegan, Jim  
Knight, John  
Ashmore, Harry

Dear Jim:

I found comfort and, I must admit, some entertainment in your recollections of the 1956 Democratic Convention in Chicago. Suffice to say that, in politics as in life, the more things change the less they change at all.

Sincerely,



Mr. James<sup>x</sup> Rowe  
Corcoran, Foley, Youngman  
& Rowe  
1511 K Street, Northwest  
Washington, D. C. 20005

LBJ:CMM:pcs-2

RECEIVED  
SEP 25 1967  
CENTRAL FILES

**GENERAL**

ND19/00312

September 21, 1967

Dear Congressman:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your September 18 press release containing the text of your remarks on the Floor on the Ashmore article.

HARRY

The President has asked me to tell you how much he appreciated your helpful words.

Sincerely,

*Barry*  
**Barry Sanders**  
Legislative Counsel  
to the President


Honorable Samuel S. Stratton  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D. C.

jl/jf

HC

FILE MEMO:

See: C.F. FC, for corresp., 1/7/66 re Thomas GRIFFITH, CHIEF FOR THE STUDY OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS, Harry S. ASHMORE, TDSI, Giorgio LA PERA, Amintore FANFANI, POST-DISPATCH, and Don GRANT.



**EXECUTIVE**

**FGI**

**September 17, 1965**

**Dear Harry:**

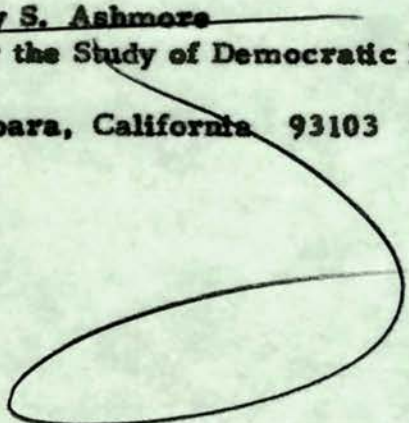
**I'll try to see you Friday, the 24th, or Monday, the 27th. If you will call the office (456-1414) when you get to town, we will see what we can do.**

**Meanwhile, I am glad to have your essay on the intellectuals vs. the President, and I look forward to reading it.**

**Sincerely,**

**McGeorge Bundy**

**Mr. ~~Harry S. Ashmore~~  
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions  
Box 4068  
Santa Barbara, California 93103**



*OK*

July 21, 1965

EXECUTIVE (4)  
FE3-1  
IT47-26  
PUL-2/P\*

Dear Mr. Patterson:

I share your feeling that <sup>x</sup>Harry Ashmore has  
contributed a rare bit of insight into the char-  
acter of Ambassador <sup>x</sup>Stevenson., *Adlai*

I'm deeply grateful to you for sharing it with  
me.

Sincerely,

*LBJ*  
LYNDON B. JOHNSON

<sup>x</sup>  
Mr. Hugh B. Patterson, Jr.  
Arkansas <sup>x</sup>Gazette  
Little Rock, Arkansas

LBJ:JV:ny

/

RECEIVED  
JUL 22 1965  
CENTRAL FILES

gk  
S-3-10-65-18269  
University of Missouri  
Office of Public Information  
Room 223, Jesse Hall  
Columbia, Missouri - 65202  
Gibson 9-9311 DDD Code 314

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

GENERAL (2)

SP  
FGI

April 8, 1965

COLUMBIA, MO., March 16 -- Below Harry S. Ashmore, Pulitzer Prize winner, will deliver at 8 p.m. CST today (March 16) a lecture he is presenting as the fifth series of the University of Missouri. The first lecture is titled "The Man in the Middle," and the second is titled "The Public Happiness." The third, titled "The Enduring Exception," will be delivered tomorrow (March 17) and the fourth, titled "The Enduring Exception," will be delivered on 8 p.m. CST March 17. All are being held in the Auditorium. Mr. Ashmore is chairman of the National Commission on the Status of the Republic, and also director of the Encyclopedia Britannica.

NOTE FOR JACK VALENTI

I am sure you will find especially interesting the comments about the President in this speech by Harry Ashmore.

Buzz

-0-

THE PUBLIC

RECEIVED  
MAY 3 1965  
CENTRAL FILE

It would be useful, I think, to have the lectures are not.

Despite the sponsorship of the Department of Philosophy, and the donor's injunction to "advance the science of Ethics," I will be concerned only in passing with the philosopher's formal pursuit of truth.

One reason for this, as I shall amply demonstrate, is my own philosophical incompetence. I am flattered to appear on this platform in the wake of so thoroughly certified a scholar as my friend, Stringfellow Barr. But his is a world of singing spheres, and curved time, and eternal lessons whispered by ancient stones. Mine is the untidy world of the journalist, a web of erratic compromise where the exceptions are likely to be more interesting than the rules.

It would be a permissible oversimplification to say that my address is to the real, as opposed to the normative, world. I am aware that there are problems about reality, and some doubt that it is

(more)

EXECUTIVE

SP

April 8, 1965

Dear Harry:

Liz Carpenter has passed on to me your recent lecture at the University of Missouri. It is a fine job analytically -- and very much appreciated by me, personally.

Liz represents you well here at the White House -- but I would always welcome your ideas, comments and suggestions on the effort we are making.

Sincerely,



Mr. Harry S. Ashmore  
Chairman, Executive Committee  
Fund for the Republic  
2056 Eucalyptus Hill Road  
Montecito, California

LBJ:HB:mao

*gah*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

GENERAL <sup>①</sup>

SP

///FOR RELEASE AFTER 8 pm  
CST MARCH 16, 1965///  
18269

April 8, 1965

NOTE TO BILL MOYERS

I am sure you will find especially interesting the comments about the President in this speech by Harry Ashmore.

Buzz

*F*  
*speeches*

*Bill, interested*

*N*

RECEIVED  
AUG 19 1965  
CENTRAL FILES

Below is the text of an address by the winning journalist, prepared for March 16) as the first of three lectures series of Brick Memorial Lectures at the general theme of the fifth series is the first of Mr. Ashmore's three "Happiness." The second lecture, " will be presented at 4 p.m. CST ird, titled "The Perils of Calm," at being presented in the Arts and Science airman of the Executive Committee, Fund sector of editorial research and develop- ca.

-0-

BLIC HAPPINESS

to begin by establishing what these

Despite the sponsorship of the Department of Philosophy, and the donor's injunction to "advance the science of Ethics," I will be concerned only in passing with the philosopher's formal pursuit, of truth.

One reason for this, as I shall amply demonstrate, is my own philosophical incompetence. I am flattered to appear on this platform in the wake of so thoroughly certified a scholar as my friend, Stringfellow Barr. But, his is a world of singing spheres, and curved time, and eternal lessons whispered by ancient stones. Mine is the untidy world of the journalist, a web of erratic compromise where the exceptions are likely to be more interesting than the rules.

It would be a permissible oversimplification to say that my address is to the real, as opposed to the normative, world. I am aware that there are problems about reality, and some doubt that it is

(more)

*172-6-6-51*

February 23, 1965

Dear Mr. Ashmore:

I understand you have been invited to serve as a member of the National Citizens Commission to support International Cooperation Year. I just want you to know that I will be personally grateful to you for lending your influential support.

Sincerely,

Lyndon B. Johnson

Mr. Harry Ashmore  
Center for the Study of Democratic  
Institutions  
Santa Monica, California

LBJ:HB:hab

EXECUTIVE

EV 1/1965/ST 32 X4C

February 3, 1965

Dear Harry:

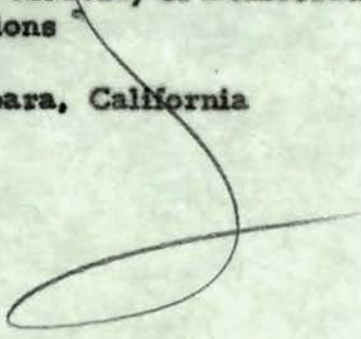
Thanks for your letter and for keeping me up-to-date on the Convocation's progress. May I extend a hearty welcome to the Great Society -- pills, thermometer and all.

Sincerely,

*Bill*

Bill D. Moyers  
Special Assistant  
to the President

Mr. Harry S. Ashmore  
Center for the Study of Democratic  
Institutions  
Box 4068  
Santa Barbara, California



geh

Can't, when he calls  
I'll call - H

(17)

(1)

Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions

Bill Moyers

GENERAL

The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

7G11-8-1/Moyers, Bill

Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California 93103 - WOODLAND 9-3281

New York Office

133 East 54th Street, New York 22, New York - PLaza 3-1340

January 5, 1965

The Honorable William D. Moyers  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bill:

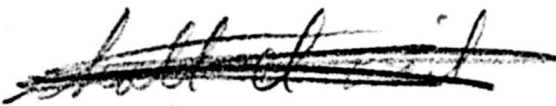
I expect to be in Washington on Friday,  
January 8, and I hope you can clear a little time for  
me.

I'll call your office on Friday morning to  
check on the possibilities.

Regards,



~~Harry S. Ashmore~~





... for the Republic, Inc.  
Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California

From Smith  
stitutions

Pace in  
Miss (8)

File

DATE 31 Dec

To: Bill Moyers

FROM: HARRY S. ASHMORE

EXECUTIVE

IV, 1965/ST32 NYC

FG440  
IT47

I think the enclosed letters to  
Hubert Humphrey and Bill Douglas are  
self-explanatory.

Parten, J.K.  
Hutchins, Robert  
Parrath, Leslie  
Griffith, Thomas  
Donovan, Hedley

You will note that I have described  
the situation at UN as desperate. I hope  
I'm wrong about that, but I don't think  
so. Anyway, if anybody has any ideas  
about how we might use our convocation  
as a fortuitous opportunity to reduce  
the heat, we'd like to help.

Happy New Year,

ASA

RECEIVED  
JAN 4 1965  
CENTRAL FILES

EXECUTIVE

I Up/1965/STB2 Xepc

December 17, 1964

Dear Harry:

Thanks for your letter. With regard to the Humphrey letter, I understand that the matter is entirely in his hands -- not in the White House.

I, too, hope that we have a chance for a discussion concerning the Center's work.

Best wishes for the Holiday Season and the coming year.

Sincerely,

Bill

Bill D. Moyers  
Special Assistant to the President

Mr. Harry S. Ashmore  
Center for the Study of Democratic  
Institutions  
The Fund for the Republic, Inc  
Box 4068  
Santa Barbara, California

EXECUTIVE

JV/1965/5137 X4

December 14, 1964

Dear Harry:

Thank you very much, my friend.  
I was glad to do what I could.

You are of course free to utilize  
the President's letter in the way you mention.  
Best wishes to you for a most successful  
occasion.

Sincerely,

Jack Valenti  
Special Assistant to the President

Mr. Harry S. Ashmore  
Center for the Study of Democratic  
Institutions  
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.  
Box 4068  
Santa Barbara, California

JV:PB:ny

**GENERAL**

JV. 1/1965/ST32 NYC

December 4, 1964

Dear Mr. Ashmore:

Thank you very much for your letter of November 18th to me outlining the background of the invitation which you and Justice Douglas extended to the President last spring to address the convocation being held in February in New York in connection with Pope John's encyclical Pacem in Terris.

The President gave careful consideration to the matter but reluctantly concluded that he would be unable to attend the convocation. He wrote Justice Douglas on the 2nd to express his regrets that he could not attend but that he felt that this symposium, under private auspices, could be an important event in the International Cooperation Year which he proclaimed on October 2nd.

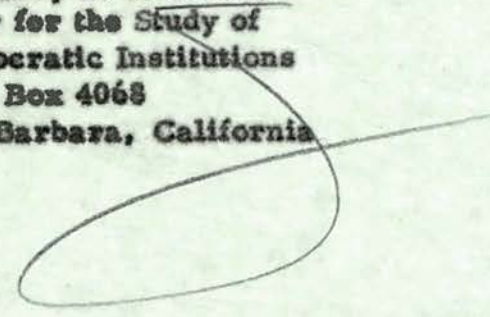
The President asked that I express his thanks to you for your interest in this invitation and to tell you he is sorry he could not send an acceptance.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Jack Valenti  
Special Assistant to the President

Mr. Harry S. Ashmore  
Center for the Study of  
Democratic Institutions  
P. O. Box 4068  
Santa Barbara, California  
JV:hc



5/17/64

✓

EXECUTIVE

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

IV 1/1965 / ST 32 74  
FG 535  
FG 679

December 2, 1964

PC  
RM  
Face in Terris  
FG 11-5  
FOY  
Neal Ford Warner

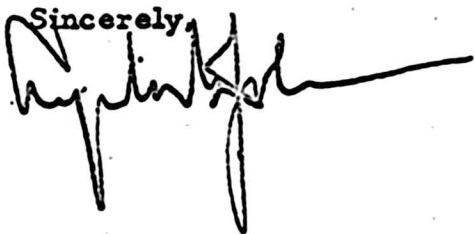
Dear Mr. Justice:

I appreciate your keeping me informed on the planning for the convocation of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions scheduled for February 18-20, 1965, in New York City.

Ashmore, Harry

I regret that I myself will be unable to attend the convocation, but I have no doubt that such discussion, under private auspices, of the problems of peace will provide a major contribution to the greatest single problem of our time. The symposium that the Center proposes can, I think, be an important event in the International Cooperation Year which I proclaimed on October 2.

The idea of assembling in this country outstanding spiritual and intellectual leaders should provide a welcome new dimension to the discussion of these fundamental problems, and help make the International Cooperation Year count in the search for practical programs for peace.

Sincerely,  


The Honorable William O. Douglas  
Associate Justice  
Supreme Court of the United States  
Washington, D. C.

RECEIVED  
DEC 3 1964  
CENTRAL FILES

EF

GENERAL  
(IV/1965/ST32(NYC) ⑤  
FG11-8-1/Moyers, Bill

x CLAREMONT GRADUATE SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY CENTER  
CLAREMONT, CALIFORNIA

November 24, 1964

info only  
N

Personal

Mr. William Moyers  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Moyers:

At the suggestion of Harry Ashmore, I am sending you a copy of a letter I wrote to my friend George Reedy and a copy of a memorandum, which George promised to show the President, regarding the Pacem in Terris Convocation being sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

I recall warmly our conversation last year in Brooks Hays office. I look forward to seeing you again soon.

Yours sincerely,

*Fred Warner Neal*

Fred Warner Neal  
Professor of International  
Relations and Government

FWN:pd  
Encls.

DEC 2 1964  
CENTRAL FILES

September 18, 1967

Dear Senator Dirksen:

The President wishes me to tell you how greatly he appreciated your wise and helpful words this morning about Ashmore's article.

You may be interested in the text of the Department of State's comment and, especially, the enclosed text of Bill Bundy's press conference.

Sincerely yours,

*W. W. Rostow*  
W. W. Rostow

Honorable Everett McKinley Dirksen  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

Enclosures

EXECUTIVE

November 21, 1964

IV, 1965/ST32 Kyr

Dear Bill:

You never bother me with anything that you consider to be of value.

Harry Ashmore has talked to McGeorge Bundy about the project you discussed in your letter.

We are examining now the kind of letter that we can send.

It's always good to hear from you at any time.

Sincerely,



The Honorable  
William O. Douglas  
Associate Justice  
Supreme Court of the United States  
Washington, D. C.

LBJ:JV:mf

asb/

7

7 (5)

*Answer*

Supreme Court of the United States  
Washington 25, D. C.

CHAMBERS OF  
JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

March 30, 1964

**EXECUTIVE**  
IV 11/1965/ST 32 (N.Y. C.)  
Pope John XIII

Dear Mr. President:

I have your letter respecting  
the <sup>\*</sup>Rule of Law Year and the speech  
<sup>\*</sup>Harry Ashmore and I mentioned to you.

I of course respect your wishes  
and your judgment and your desires.

I may, however, renew the sug-  
gestion on the first or second Wednesday  
of November next year, just in case the  
frame of international events may make it  
seem timely and appropriate.

Yours faithfully,

*W. O. Douglas*

The President  
The White House

*\*Encyclical "Pacem in Terris"*

RECEIVED  
APR 3 1964  
CENTRAL FILES

**EXECUTIVE**  
IV 1/1965/ST 32 (N.Y.C.)  
FG 535-  
Ashmore, Harry

Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions

The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California — Woodland 9-3281

February 27, 1964

New York Office  
133 East 54th Street, New York 22, New York — PLaza 3-1340

*File*

Mr. Pierre Salinger  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Pierre:

*William D.* I tried to catch up with you on Monday when Justice Douglas and I came to the White House, but I was told that you were out and ailing. I gather from the wires that you are back at work. I hope you are also recovered.

I wanted to talk with you about a major international convocation to be sponsored by the Center in New York, probably in February, 1965, based upon the secular appeal of the papal encyclical Pacem in Terris. The convocation is described in the enclosed working paper. I also enclose a copy of a note from Justice Douglas to President Johnson regarding our request that he address the convocation. In our conversation the President indicated he thought well of the basic idea, and would give serious consideration to our invitation to address the convocation.

Bill Douglas had gone over this proposal with President Kennedy a couple of months ago, and we were then encouraged to go ahead. U Thant and Ralph Bunche at UN are also giving us full support. We are, of course, keeping the State Department informed.

We have scheduled a preliminary planning conference in Racine, Wisconsin, on May 17-19. (We are in Racine because the Johnson Foundation is there and is financing the preliminary meeting.) We have had a high percentage of acceptances from those we have invited from here and from abroad. One we have not yet heard from is Aleksei Adzhubei, the Soviet editor with whom you have had some dealings.

Would you drop Mr. Adzhubei a note on our behalf and urge him to attend the Wisconsin meeting? I have discussed this with Georgi Kornienko, the Minister-Counselor at the Soviet Embassy, and he tells me he also has mentioned the matter to you.

RECEIVED  
APR 1 1964  
CENTRAL FILES

Mr. Pierre Salinger - 2 - February 27, 1964

We are, of course, particularly anxious to have a Russian representative at the planning session. This is the time when we will work out the final details of the agenda, and we want to have a full and completely frank discussion of any of the especially sensitive areas.

I'll appreciate your help on this.

Regards,



Harry S. Ashmore

Enclosures

cc - Mr. Georgi Kornienko

December 15, 1963

McGeorge Bundy

1A

Dear Harry:

I have your note of the 3rd, and I am glad to know you are keeping up your campaign to make Harvard do something I myself doubt if it ought to do. Fortunately, I have nothing whatever to say about the matter, and that makes one hurdle the less for you.

Sincerely,

McGeorge Bundy

Mr. Harry S. Ashmore  
Encyclopaedia Britannica  
Box 4068  
Santa Barbara, California

100/

MEMORANDUM

EXECUTIVE  
FG105

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 27, 1965

FOR DOUG CATER

*(John Steeves)*

I don't know him, and even more troublesome, the President doesn't either. If you think highly of him, assert yourself. What do you think of Harry Ashmore as a possibility?



Harry C. McPherson, Jr.

*John M.<sup>x</sup> STEEVES*

gab/



GENERAL  
AR 5  
761

x  
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions  
THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.  
Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California 93103

September 10, 1965

The Honorable William D. Moyers  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bill:

You were kind enough to call me about an earlier and much shorter version of the enclosed manuscript, which is expanded from the addresses I delivered at the University of Missouri last winter.

As you will see from the enclosed to Hedley Donovan I am making another pass at LIFE. I'm also asking my agent, Willis Wing, to make a special effort to place the piece in England, with the idea that European exposure might be specially helpful.

I expect to be in Washington from Friday, September 24, until Tuesday, and I hope we'll get a chance for that delayed talk.

Regards,

Harry S. Ashmore

Enclosures

RECEIVED  
APR 23 1966  
CENTRAL FILES

*file*

**ASHMORE, HARRY**

Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions

The Fund for the Republic, Inc.

Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California — WOODLAND 9-3281

February 27, 1964

New York Office

133 East 54th Street, New York 22, New York — PLaza 3-1340

Mr. Eric Goldman  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Eric:

I got by your new head-, or side-quarters the other day and tried to find you, but apparently it was one of the days when you were back at the ranch in Princeton.

I didn't plan to volunteer to be pulled in by the window, but I did want to offer congratulations, and fill you in on a project we are working on at the Center.

Justice Douglas and I came over to extend an invitation to President Johnson to address a major international convocation we are planning for New York early next year, as per the attached note from Bill to the President. It will be based, as you will see from the working paper, on the papal encyclical Pacem in Terris, but will be wholly secular in character. Indeed, a primary purpose is to explore areas of intellectual agreement which can embrace the members of the several True Faiths and the official atheists of the Soviet bloc.

We had been encouraged to go ahead with this by President Kennedy and U Thant at the United Nations, and Bill and I were pleased with President Johnson's response. I don't know whether this is a matter that is likely to land formally in your new bailiwick, but in any event we'd like to have your advice and counsel.

Regards,



Harry S. Ashmore

Enclosures

*Filed by Mr Goldman's office*

RECEIVED  
AUG 22 1966  
CENTRAL FILE

February 25, 1964

Dear Mr. President:

After Harry Ashmore and I left you yesterday we reviewed the entire situation concerning the Conference which the Fund for the Republic desires to put on concerning Pope John's famous Encyclical - **PACEM IN TERRIS**.

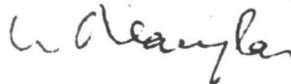
We concluded that we would defer the Conference until either the first or the second weekend in February of 1965. It would be held in New York, and it would be wonderful if you could open it as the leader of the Free World, summoning the best brains from all the continents to come together with ideas and plans for a Rule of Law as a solution of the world's growing problems.

In this connection, the occasion might be a suitable one to announce 1965 as the Rule of Law Year.

The International Geophysical Year was an outstanding success, and there is no reason at all why the best brains among the lawyers, historians, and government specialists across the globe cannot come up with something as meaningful and as enduring as did the geophysicists.

As I said, the Conference will be entirely financed by private sources, it will be secular not religious or sectarian, and there will be no participants who are not cleared by our group with the State Department.

Yours faithfully,



The President  
The White House

Staff Paper; CONFIDENTIAL

## THE REQUIREMENTS FOR PEACE

### A Proposal for a Major International Conference on Pope John's Encyclical Pacem in Terris

"In the highest and most authoritative assemblies, let men give serious thought to the problem of a peaceful adjustment of relations between political communities on a world level." Pacem in Terris

The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions proposes the convoking of a major international conference based on the concepts of the last Encyclical of Pope John 23rd, Pacem in Terris, in which the world's leading statesmen and thinkers would address themselves to the question of translating the principles of the Pope's plea for peace into a program of action. The conference would be held in New York in mid-December, 1964, or early January, 1965, and would be preceded by a small preparatory conference of some of the participants this coming April.

(The Convocation may be dedicated to John F. Kennedy, if it seems in good taste and desirable to do so. Permission to dedicate the Convocation to the late President would be sought from his family,)

#### Significance of the Pope's Encyclical

Pacem in Terris, issued in April, 1963, represents the effort of Pope John to draw on the moral and practical wisdom of the West to chart a peaceful course for the world. It ranks high among the profound and significant documents of the century. It is of utmost importance that it be widely known and analyzed and, above all,

applied to the present international situation, as it is certain the Pope intended that it be. Coming as it does from a source which is apart from national politics and which speaks with authority in the name of the highest Western values, Pacem in Terris offers the best hope yet that mankind can find a way out of the morass of the Cold War without resort to international conflict.

The Encyclical, addressed as it is to "all men of good will," transcends the bounds of Catholic doctrine and, indeed, transcends religion in a narrow sense. It is a clear statement of the truths and principles of international affairs, a perceptive and courageous political document and a great moral precept. The Requirements for Peace is no abstract and theoretical tract based on an idealized world. It takes full account of the realities of the world as it is. The Encyclical thus amounts to a practical guide to survival in many significant ways:

1. It furnishes a distinctive Western concept for "co-existence." Communism as a doctrine is distinguished from Communism as represented in states and political systems. Communism as a doctrine is rejected, but Communism as a system, the Communist state, cannot be, because it exists. The world of nation-states is seen as a world of political pluralism, with no political systems by nature either superior or inferior; in all of them there is both good and evil. The position of the Encyclical is founded on the Augustinian Compromise, which accepts the co-existence of God's moral order, the City of God, with imperfect man and his immoral, or non-moral, institutions. Acceptance of

this reality is seen as the highest moral position, for unless it is accepted man is in danger of committing self-destruction, which would be the highest immoral act.

2. In the thermonuclear age, just wars are seen as impossible. War is possible but not inevitable; it depends on men, not systems. Therefore, it is vital that foreign policies be based on the principle that international conflicts can only be solved -- aside from war -- by negotiation and reconciliation.

3. The Encyclical is also a plea for prompt action on disarmament. In previous eras armaments were merely a reflection of international tensions, were limited in their effects, and did not need to be dealt with directly, in and of themselves. Today there is a need to deal with thermonuclear arms directly since they themselves constitute a great danger to all nations and to all men.

4. While both nationalism and internationalism exist in the world, there is a need for world organization because the nation-state system as it is no longer corresponds to the objective requirements of the common good. The moral order itself demands an international public authority based on agreement among the nations. Specifically and first of all, the United Nations must be strengthened and enlarged.

Not the least important contribution of Pacem in Terris is making clear the distinction between Communist doctrines and Communist systems. Without in any way altering the Roman

Catholic opposition to Communism as an ideology, it shifts the Church's position from active, political anti-Communism to a position of détente with the reality of Communist power in international politics. Thus it should no longer be possible for anyone to use the Church's opposition to Communism as a justification for "hard line" foreign policies and against seeking an end to the Cold War through honorable compromise.

Impressed with the profound message in the Pope's Encyclical, and anxious not to misinterpret it in any way, members of the staff of the Center have conferred with a prelate in the Vatican who participated in the formulation of the message. This adviser to the Vatican stated that the interpretations made in this memorandum are correct.

#### Need for Greater Attention to Pacem In Terris

There is the greatest need for publicizing and analyzing the concepts of the Encyclical and for focusing international attention on it. In terms of its potential for international politics, Pacem in Terris is only incidentally a Roman Catholic document. Consideration of its message must be undertaken in secular fashion with equal attention paid to similar concepts enunciated by Protestant and Jewish -- and all non-Catholic -- sources.

The Encyclical thus far is inadequately known. Many non-Catholics consider it only a Roman Catholic affair. Some elements in the Roman Catholic Church are less than enthusiastic about it. Others feel it is mainly a religious or moral abstraction. Pacem in Terris has been neglected -- or opposed -- for political

reasons, for it runs counter to attitudes which have been built up and allowed to fester over a long period. There is a danger that Pope John's plea for peace will come to be thought of -- if at all -- only as another Papal pronouncement.

This in part results from and in part contributes to -- especially in the United States -- a cold war immobilisme in which many statesmen and thinkers have perceived the need for change but have been inhibited from action by public rigidity. With proper international and interdenominational understanding and support, the principles of the Pope's Encyclical can provide an authoritative basis for a more enterprising foreign policy. For those who feel the need for a re-invigoration of policy the Encyclical is a unique opportunity.

While there should be no attempt to "use" the Encyclical for support of particular foreign policy positions, discussion of it should focus on specific policies of the United States and other nations, especially as they relate to disarmament (and armament), recognition and non-recognition, military alliances and foreign intervention, and support and expansion of international bodies, the United Nations in particular. Above all, there should be included that step which President Kennedy so eloquently urged in his last major pronouncement on foreign policy: a basic reconsideration of our attitudes toward the Soviet Union and -- also -- of their attitudes toward us.

Proposal for A Convocation

The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions desires to draw on its experience in convoking major international convocations -- in New York, Los Angeles, Athens and elsewhere -- to initiate a great discussion of the principles of Pacem in Terris, the final and historic Encyclical of Pope John XXIII.

The idea of such a Convocation has the strong backing and support of high officials of the U.S. Government and the United Nations, including Secretary General U Thant and Under-secretary Ralph Bunche. A proposed program for a three-day conference has been fashioned largely with the advice and approval of these officials. The following program indicates the type of Convocation proposed and the type of participants who would be invited:

The Requirements for Peace

First Day

Chairman: William O. Douglas, Chairman of the Center

Message from the Vatican: Cardinal Suenens

Opening Remarks: The President of the United States

Theme: The Encyclical as a Guide to Co-Existence

"...there are no political communities which are superior and none which are inferior by nature. All political communities are of equal dignity." Pacem in Terris.

(Brackets () indicate additional or alternate participants.)

Morning Session: two papers

Walter Lippmann

Aleksei Adzhubei

(Konrad Adenauer)  
(Giovanni Gronchi)

Luncheon: speaker, Pandit Nehru

Afternoon Session: two comments

Jomo Kenyatta, Prime Minister, Kenya

Bertrand de Jouvenel, economist, philosopher, France

(Leo Mates, former Yugoslav Ambassador to U.S.)  
(Charles P. Taft, church leader, United States)

Discussion

Rapporteur: Member of Staff  
of Center

Second Day

Chairman: Paul G. Hoffman, Honorary Chairman of Center

Theme: The Encyclical as an Ecumenical Guide to International Conduct.

"Disagreements must be settled...by a mutual assessment of the reasons on both sides of the dispute, by a mature and objective investigation of the situation, and by an equitable reconciliation of differences of opinion... Justice, right reason, and humanity urgently demand that the arms race should cease." Pacem in Terris.

Morning Session: two papers

George F. Kennan, scholar, former Ambassador, U.S.

Mikoyan or Gromyko, Foreign Minister, USSR

(Harold MacMillan, former Prime Minister, U.K.)  
(D. D. Eisenhower)

Luncheon: speaker, Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense, U.S.

Afternoon Session: two comments

Jean-Paul Sartre

Thomas J. Watson, Chairman, International Business Machines

(President H. Ukai, International Christian Univ., Tokyo)  
(Bishop R. H. Mueller, President, National Council of Churches)

Discussion

Rapporteur: Member of Staff  
of Center

Banquet: Chairman, Secretary of State Dean Rusk

Speakers: Paul-Henri Spaak

U Thant

Third Day

Chairman: Robert M. Hutchins, President of the Center

Theme: The Encyclical as a Practical Guide to World Order

"The moral order itself demands...public authorities which are in a position to operate in an effective manner on a worldwide basis. The United Nations Organization [should] become ever more equal to the magnitude and nobility of its tasks." Pacem in Terris.

Morning Session: two papers

David Ben Gurion, former Premier, Israel

Adam Rapacki, Foreign Minister, Poland

(Sen. J. William Fulbright)

(Harold Wilson, leader, Labor Party, U.K.)

Luncheon: speaker, Gamal Abdel Nasser, President, U.A.R.

Afternoon Session: two comments

Grenville Clark, author and lawyer, U.S.

Andrew Shonfield, Director, Royal Institute of International Affairs, U.K.

(Sir Muhammed Zafrulla Kahn, Judge of the International Court, Pakistan)

(I.I. Rabi, former Chairman, President's Science Advisory Committee)

Rapporteur: Member of Staff  
of Center

Closing Remarks: Mrs. John F. Kennedy

Attendance at the conference would be by invitation only. It is planned to invite 700 outstanding Americans and foreigners. One hundred of these would be guests of the Center, composed of the Center's associates, consultants and other experts. One hundred would be guests of the co-sponsor. The remaining 500 invitations would be distributed to leaders in the fields of politics, journalism, religion, education, business and labor and heads of diplomatic missions in Washington and at the United Nations,

Great attention would be paid to promotion and publicity in order to focus widespread attention on the conference and on the significance of the Pope's Encyclical. All possible uses would be made of mass media, including live television to the extent it would not interfere with the program. Closed television circuits might bring the proceedings to particular groups, e.g., the American Association for the United Nations, World Affairs Councils and Councils and Committees on Foreign Relations in various cities. Provision would be made for coverage by the American press and radio, the U.S. press corps and foreign correspondents. Tapes of proceedings would be made available for public and academic use, and efforts would be made to publish the major papers and commentaries\* in book form.

---

\* The Center has had favorable experience with its convocations during the past year; two books, numerous articles in popular and learned journals, and several pamphlets resulted from them. Fifteen hours of video tapes are still in use.

The Preliminary Conference

It is proposed to precede this major international convocation with a smaller two or three day Preliminary Conference sometime in May (1964), involving some 25 to 30 persons, 10 to 12 of whom would come from abroad. The Preliminary Conference could be held anywhere in the United States.

The purpose of the Preliminary Conference would be three-fold; (1) it would give an international, as against a purely American, basis to the planning and calling of the major Convocation; (2) the conferees would provide counsel on the substance and editorial composition of the program and on the selection of the participants; (3) it would establish a group of emissaries here and abroad to assist in conveying invitations to major participants and encouraging world-wide interest in the Convocation.

In addition, it is expected that the Preliminary Conference next May would attract considerable public attention -- both from the nature of its proceedings and the calibre of those taking part in it -- and would thus stimulate immediate interest in the Encyclical and the high purpose of this endeavor. Although the "advisory sessions" of the Preliminary Conference would not be public, it will be possible to invite some persons interested, including the press, to a one-day discussion of the Encyclical and forthcoming Convocation in which all participants in the May Conference would be invited to join.

A partial list of those invited to take part in the Preliminary Conference includes: Aleksei Adzhubei, editor of Izvestia; Giovanni Gronchi, former president of Italy; Bertrand de Jouvenel, French political scientist and philosopher; Adam Schaff, leading Polish sociologist; Abba Eban, Israel; Leo Mates, Director of the Institute of International Politics and Economics in Belgrade and former Yugoslav Ambassador to the United States; Pastor Martin Niemöller of West Germany; Andrew Shonfield, director of the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London; Prof. Taha Hussein, former minister of public instruction of Egypt and former Rector of the University of Alexandria; Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, Pakistani ambassador to the United Nations and recently renamed a judge of the International Court; I.I. Rabi, former Chairman of the President's Science Advisory Committee; C. V. Narosimhan, UN Undersecretary for General Assembly Affairs; Ralph Bunche, UN Undersecretary for Special Political Affairs; Bishop R. H. Mueller, president of the (U.S.) National Council of Churches; Brooks Hays, assistant to the President of the United States and Baptist lay leader; Senators Pell of Rhode Island, Fulbright of Arkansas and Kuchel of California; Hudson Hoagland, president of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; Prof. Hans Morgenthau of the University of Chicago; George F. Kennan; John Oakes, editor of The New York Times editorial page; Eugene Rabinowitch, editor of The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists; and Joseph Johnson, president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Working Papers and Agenda for the Preliminary Conference will be supplied by the staff of the Center. Staff members preparing these materials will serve as Rapporteurs for the Convocation.

### Impact of the Convocation

There can be no doubt of the high purpose to be served by a Convocation dealing with the principles of the Pope's Encyclical, But the significance of a Convocation on Pacem in Terris would go far beyond a consideration of the Encyclical itself, It is our hope that the Convocation, bringing together the political and intellectual leaders of the world in the context of these principles, would serve the universal welfare in the broadest way and have a perceptible effect on the chances for peace. There may never again be such an opportunity to appraise The Requirements of Peace.

Name	Date
Eparks	10-1-68