UPI-142

(DESALINATION)

WASHINGTON--ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSIONER JAMES T. RAMEY GAVE CONGRESS AN OPTIMISTIC REPORT TODAY ON PROSPECTS FOR THE USE OF NUCLEAR ENERGY TO MAKE FRESH WATER FROM THE SEAS, BOTH HERE AND IN COOPERATION WITH NATIONS ABROAD.

THE SENATE INTERIOR COMMITTEE WAS ALSO TOLD, BY A SPOKESMAN FOR AN EXPERIENCED DESIGNER OF DISTILLATION EQUIPMENT, THAT THE COSTS OF LARGE-SCALE DESALTING CAN BE RATHER ACCURATELY PREDICTED NOW--AND THAT THOSE COSTS CAN BE EXPECTED TO DECREASE AS SUCCESSIVE PLANTS ARE BUILT.

RAMEY TESTIFIED THAT "THE PROGRAM WHICH WE ARE UNDERTAKING, WHEN TAKEN TOGETHER WITH THE PROGRAM OF INTERIOR, PROVIDES A REALISTIC PATH TOWARD OUR OBJECTIVES. WITH THE CONTINUED SUPPORT OF THE CONGRESS AND ITS APPROPRIATE COMMITTEES OUR OBJECTIVES CAN BE ACHIEVED.

OUTLINING SHORT AND LONG-TERM PROGRAMS FOR NUCLEAR DESLATING, RAMEY SAID NUCLEAR ELECTRIC PLANTS ARE NOW "COMMERCIALLY AVAILABLE" WHICH CAN BE ADAPTED TO DUAL-PURPOSE OPERATION. DESIGN STUDIES OF NUCLEAR REACTORS AND POWER PLANTS ARE IN PROCESS, HE SAID, TO SELECT THE BEST FOR COUPLING WITH A DESLATING OPERATION.

THE TESTIMONY ON DISTILLATION WITH FOSSIL FUELS CAME FROM MARK R. DUSBABEK, SPOESMAN FOR THE FLUOR CORP. LTD. WHICH HAS DESIGNED A NUMBER OF OPERATING DE-SALTING PLANTS INCLUDING THE SO-CALLED POINT LOMA PLANT WHICH IS NOW PROVIDING FRESH WATER FOR THE U.S. NAVAL BASE AT GUANTANAMO BAY, CUBA.

DUSBABEK TESTIFIED THAT DISTILLATION IS PRESENTLY THE CHEAPEST DESALTING TECHNIQUE AVAILABLE. HE PRESENTED COST ESTIMATES FOR A 150 MILLION GALLON-PER-DAY DESALTING PLANT, USING A COMMERCIALLY AVAILABLE STEAM GENERATOR, WHICH WOULD PRODUCE FRESH WATER AT A COST OF ABOUT 24.3 CENTS PER THOUSAND GALLONS. THE ESTIMATES ARE ACCURATE WITHIN 10 PER CENT, HE SAID, SINCE MOST OF THE COSTS CAN BE ACCURATELY PREDICTED.

COUPLING SUCH A PLANT WITH A POWER PLANT, HE SAID, WOULD CUT THE COST ABOUT FIVE CENTS, TO ABOUT 30 CENTS PER THOUSAND GALLONS. EXPERIENCE SHOWS, HE SAIDN THAT "SUCCESSIVE PLANTS ARE ALWAYS CHEAPER (IN PRODUCTION COSTS) THAN THE PRECEDING ONES."

5/19--EG316PED

[1965?]

Inter-Office Communication

March 29, 1965

To Walter

From Irving

Subject Seymour Melman Article: "The Three Anxieties"
Saturday Review, April 3, 1965

In the attached article from the Saturday Review, Melman touches on the basic theme of your peace proposal, but hardly scratches the surface.

IB:mp
oeiu 42
Att.

Saturday Review
April 3, 1965

THE THREE ANXIETIES

Can Men Find Jobs?
Can Prosperity Last?
Can War Be Avoided?

By SEYMOUR MELMAN

THREE ANXIETIES are now deeply felt by many Americans: anxiety about jobs, anxiety about our ability to prosper without defense work, and anxiety about the sustained threat of war.

At the heart of the anxiety about jobs is a feeling of uncertainty caused by the young people who are coming into the labor market at a rate of a million and more each year. Then, too, there is the visible desire of millions of Americans seeking equal job opportunity. Furthermore, the continued mechanization of work—the source of our productiveness—compels readjustments that are sometimes painful. All these conditions make many Americans fearful of their prospects for the future.

But there need be no fear if we make intelligent use of our talent to create new markets and new jobs for our people.

For twenty years we have concentrated on defense. We have lavished our productive resources without stint to create a defense system that would ensure the independence of our nation and help protect our allies. We now have by far the most powerful defense force in the world.

But this was not accomplished without cost. We have been spending half of our federal tax dollars for defense. The majority of our engineers and scientists have been drawn into this work.

While we have concentrated on defense, we have spent less and less of the federal tax dollar for every sort of human welfare. In 1939 the federal government spent 42.5 per cent of its budget on housing, health, labor, and education. In the budget that has been tentatively drawn up for 1965, federal funds for these purposes total 7.4 per cent.

While many new industries were created by private investment and by government defense spending during the last decades, several of our most basic industries have become economically and technologically depleted.

We are in the unenviable position of having the oldest stock of metalworking machines of any major industrial country. Our stock of these basic machines is getting older. In other countries it is getting younger.

Our oceangoing commercial fleets are composed of aging vessels. The American oil tanker fleet is now the oldest fleet of its sort in the world.

Although Americans consume more fish every year, the American fishing industry has not advanced as far technologically as the fishing industries of other countries have.

In these and other fields, markets have been contracting and jobs have been becoming scarcer.

In concentrating talent in the defense field we have drawn capable men and women away from the all-important work of teaching in our schools. The fact that a third of the young men up for selective service cannot pass the physical and educational tests is a warning signal we dare not ignore.

We must also set to work to improve housing; to conserve and develop our soil, forests, parks and waterways; to control air and water pollution; and to renew our great railroad system.

How can we convert these areas of depletion into markets and jobs for Americans? Consider education, a basic responsibility of our local and state governments. If we wish to bring American schools up to a good standard, we will have to spend about $14 billion more a year for education than we now spend. If the people holding the varied jobs created by such upgrading were paid an average of $8,000 per year, 1,750,000 new jobs would be added to the economy.

We should bear in mind the fact that education, like other kinds of human care of human beings, is not likely to become widely automated.

Recently the Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower calculated the cost of meeting the backlog of national needs in housing, urban renewal, mass transit, highways, pollution control, soil and forest conservation, and community planning. These new markets, they reported, require financing of $43 billion to $53 billion per year for ten years, then $31 billion to $41 billion per year for another decade. New markets that are financed at a level of $50 billion per year would directly generate 6,250,000 jobs (assuming $8,000 as the cost of an average year of work to be done). The productive nature of this work would multiply indirect employment. The prospect of 8,000,000 to 10,000,000 new jobs in new markets is what America needs to make a start at erasing unemployment—especially of Negroes and young people.

USEFUL work for all as a national condition is within our reach. New markets and new jobs for Americans are the indispensable requirements for peace.

Even though some of the needs of our people will be met through private capital, public financing will also be required. In many instances the two may be combined. Decentralized administra-

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Seymour Melman is an author and professor of industrial engineering at Columbia University. This article is adapted from his forthcoming book *Our Depleted Society*, to be published by Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

tion can be used to avoid the growth of unwieldly central bureaucracies.

The U.S. highway program suggests a model for financing large national projects through public funds. In this instance the federal government provided 90 per cent of the funds and the states 10 per cent. The proportion can be varied for the whole range of new market areas according to average income per person. The states, counties, or cities with lowest average income per person could receive 95 per cent of capital needed from federal funds. The areas with highest income per person could receive only 50 per cent. This would concentrate new job-creating investments at the points of greatest need.

A first-year effort could start with a modest $5 billion for these purposes. Immediate planning of new investments should be started so that the rate of new financing could be raised swiftly to $10 billion the second year and $25 billion the third year.

Employees in defense industries are particularly worried about their future. We must all remember that these men and women were called to this work by all of us. We therefore have an obligation to them when their particular work is no longer required.

The most important way to enable a smooth changeover to civilian work is a healthy, growing economy that offers new markets and new jobs in many spheres. But defense industry and defense employees have special problems of converting their enterprises or organizations to civilian work. For this purpose Senator George McGovern, of South Dakota, has initiated legislation for an Economic Conversion Commission by which the federal government could encourage conversion planning in the states and the industries that are most concerned.

The need is for practical plans so that our skilled naval shipyard workers, for example, could apply their talents to the construction of badly needed cargo, passenger, fishing, and other vessels. We will find ways to develop new professional opportunities that will be highly constructive for our country. Our schools of education, engineering, and science should be encouraged to help men and women with science and engineering training and experience to become teachers of science and mathematics in our high schools, public schools, and junior colleges, where their talents are badly needed.

By realistic conversion programs we will make the completion of defense work into an opportunity and not a penalty for all concerned.

Some Americans have found the tensions arising from the long-sustained threat of war so hard to bear that they hope for some ultimate showdown that could decide the great struggle between East and West. Behind this anxiety is the fact that both we and the Soviets have built great nuclear arsenals whose use in a nuclear war would mean defeat for all, regardless of who made the first move.

Since the Cuban missile crisis the Soviets and we have been negotiating tension-reducing steps to safeguard peace. The test-ban treaty, the hot-line agreement, and the agreements on Antarctica are important precedents.

The present nuclear standoff can be made into an opportunity to use the still-unmatched productive might of our country to launch a new sort of world contest—a world-wide war on poverty.

From a political standpoint it is significant that such a project would require no negotiation or approval from the Soviet side. Bold initiative from the United States would have an electrifying political and economic effect throughout the world. It would transform the conditions under which the American people must consider solutions for both international and domestic problems.

Greater success in a world war on poverty gives political advantage, but lesser success does not impose damaging loss. The very act of participating in such a contest has a life-serving and freedom-serving effect for all the societies involved.

Priority to a world-wide war on poverty includes none of the war-threatening hazards connected with nuclear brinkmanship.

For the American people this means there need be no dread of an ever-threatening nuclear war.

Within a framework of a vigorous program for new markets and new jobs there need be no fear for jobs when defense plants and military bases are closed. There need be no fears of competition for existing jobs.

To meet the challenge of a constructive American program in support of freedom, based upon the still-unmatched industrial system of the United States, the Soviets would be compelled to take disarmament far more seriously than they do now. For, otherwise, the continued strain upon their resources, making it impossible for them to meet a bold U.S. economic challenge in the world, could force the Soviet Union into a permanently second-class political-economic position.

New markets and new jobs for Americans are the key to solving some of our most basic problems. Through these we can find our way to growing prosperity and peace for all our people—peace at home and peace among nations.

"Play me or trade me, Weintraub! I'm not helping the team when I'm on the bench."

TRANSMITTAL SLIP

TO: Walter Reuther

FROM: Paul Schrade

_____For your information

_____Note and return to me

_____Per your request

_____For your action

Comments: The Pacem et Terris Conference was one of the Center's best. Wish I had been able to make it.

2

MAY 7 1965

Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions

Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California 93103

RECEIVED
MAY 3 1965

Mr. Paul Schrade, Director
UAW - Region 6
8501 South San Pedro Street
Los Angeles 3, California

Dear Mr. Schrade:

You have probably seen some of the many newspaper and magazine stories about the Center's great International Convocation "Pacem in Terris" -- Peace on Earth -- held in New York in February. The enclosed booklet gives a sampling of those stories.

This Convocation and the attention it received is evidence of the Center's tremendous influence in the world of ideas.

No other organization has the stature, the international reputation and the "know-how" to bring together persons of such high caliber to discuss the critically important problem of Peace.

But staging such Convocations represents only one of the many ways in which the Center acts in helping to preserve our democratic way of life.

Our pamphlets, booklets and other publications now have a circulation all over the world of about 5½ million copies. Also, more than 5,000 copies of our Tapes have been sold, and are widely used in school and college classes.

You may not realize that the Center's ability to continue to exercise this widespread influence is in jeopardy. As President Hutchins pointed out in the Annual Report: "The Center's financial position is rapidly approaching the critical stage."

Only through regular financial support can the Center continue to sponsor such great Convocations as "Pacem in Terris", to conduct the high-level discussions, or to issue the publications and tapes which are used by hundreds of thousands of influential persons.

★ ★ ★ ★

The Center's vital work can continue if, along with other intelligent and concerned Americans, you continue your support of the Center with your Membership.

Your previous Membership contribution was $100. Because of the critical need, do please consider an increase in that amount this year.

In any event, I hope you will return the enclosed Membership form as soon as you can.

Cordially yours,

Tom E. Shearer

Tom E. Shearer
Director of Development

Enclosures

PACEM IN TERRIS

PEACE ON EARTH

A Sampling of the Press Record
of an International Convocation to Examine the Requirements for Peace
Assembled in New York City, February Seventeen through Twenty, 1965.
The Convocation was Organized and Sponsored by
The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

A Sampling of the Press Record of the Center's International Convocation

This scrapbook is a minuscule sampling of the several thousands of newspaper and magazine stories and editorials from all over the United States and many other parts of the world reporting on the International Convocation on the Requirements for Peace that the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions held in New York City February 17-20, 1965.

Opening with a ceremony in the General Assembly Hall of the United Nations, at which some 2500 people were addressed by the Vice-President of the United States, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the President of the General Assembly, U.S. Representative to the United Nations Adlai E. Stevenson, and Director of the U.N. Special Fund Paul G. Hoffman, the Convocation heard in the succeeding three days from high-ranking statesmen and leading scholars representing some twenty different countries. The entire proceedings were recorded for live television and radio use, and edited tapes are currently being broadcast over the Educational Television and Radio networks, as well as a number of other stations. Audiotapes are available for purchase from the Center. Films are in preparation.

As Robert M. Hutchins, President of the Center, said in his opening remarks, the Convocation was not an ecumenical council assembled to debate religious topics, although it took as its point of departure the famous encyclical of Pope John XXIII, *Pacem in Terris.* It was a political meeting. "The question was, how can we make peace, not peace through the medium of war, not peace through the dreadful mechanisms of terror, but peace pure, simple, and durable. If the principles of *Pacem in Terris* are sound, how can they be carried out in the world as it is? If they are unsound, what principles are sound, and how can they be realized today? What does it mean to 'coexist,' and how can we do it?"

The response of all the communications media, the reactions of the remarkably varied audience that attended the Convocation, the thousands of inquiries that have come into the Center since the conference, the "follow-up" meetings being planned by organizations both in the United States and abroad, all attest to a public impact well beyond the expectations of the Center. The studies of the Center are chiefly directed at discovering whether and how a free and just society may be maintained under the novel conditions that characterize the second half of the twentieth century. The object of these inquiries is to try to get the issues clear, and to widen the circles of public discussion about them. The distinguished participants in the Center's International Convocation unquestionably did much to clarify the issues surrounding the most pressing problem of this era—peace—and it is equally apparent that their important contributions widened, and will continue to widen, the circles of discussion.

"It is time," said Robert M. Hutchins at the start of the Convocation, "to open a new conversation about the requirements of peace on a level somewhere between apathy and panic, and this side of the irrelevance of propaganda." The Convocation amply fulfilled these requirements. Its influence will be felt for a long time to come.

World Government Needed, Historian Toynbee Declares

NEW YORK (AP) — Famed British historian Arnold J. Toynbee declared today that civilization has reached a point when the very continuity of the human race depends on formation of world government.

"It is the mutual interest of the nations to subordinate their national sovereignty to world authorities," he said. "This is the only condition on which the nations can survive in an atomic age."

A global peace conference also heard Sen. J. William Fulbright, D-Ark., chairman of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, urge an end to the cold war's rival "tyranny of abstract ideas."

"We must strive to induce the world's great nations — especially the Soviet Union and the United States — to adapt their ideologies to the human requirements of a changing world," Fulbright said.

"I believe that there has been some progress in this direction. Both sides are showing some tendency to cut their ideologies down to size."

The appraisals came as more than 2,000 scholars and statesmen from around the earth began the final day of an unusual, four-day "International Convocation on Pacem in Terris — peace on earth."

That was the title of the late Pope John XXIII's widely hailed 1963 encyclical, which sparked the gathering here, under private sponsorship of the center for the study of democratic institutions.

The white-thatched Toynbee, whose vast learning and probing analyses of the human story have given him Olympian stature among historians, urged joint U.S.-Soviet action to curb spread of atomic arms.

"Cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union requires mutual trust," he said. "This requires both of them to take big risks.

"For each of them, these risks would be smaller than the present risk that they are both running through waging the Cold War with each other."

He said "mere coexistence" will not long suffice to cope with conditions in man's "new kind of world."

Technological advance, he said, makes it "increasingly diffiult to solve our problems on any scale short of a world-wide one."

The job, he said, "can be dealt with only by world-wide authorities with effective power to override the national governments."

Fulbright said that coexistence of the East-West power blocs will remain "precarious and uncertain" until they "develop empathy one for the other."

Fulbright suggested that nations which "now view each other with such suspicion" approach one another instead in the spirit of Pope John's words to former Soviet Premier Khrushchev's son-in-law: "'They tell me you are an atheist. But you will not refuse an old man's blessing for your children.'"

Charleston, S.C.
Post
February 20, 1965

Pope Urged Drive On Friendship

Says Nations Must Shun Armed Conflict

NEW YORK (AP) — Pope Paul VI told a global peace conference today that all nations have a duty to foster friendship and shun armed conflict in "the present grave international crisis."

Failure to do so, he said, "would have incalculable and frightful results for all mankind."

His message came as eminent scholars and statesmen from around the world met to seek practical steps for preserving peace in an era of tension and nuclear weapons.

The gathering, inspired by the encyclical, Peace on Earth, of the late Pope John XXIII, brought together an illustrious company of intellectuals and government leaders.

About 1,500 of them, from the West and the Communist East, were registered for the three days of discussions.

The affair, privately sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, was titled "International Convocation on Pacem in Terris (Peace on Earth)."

Nobel Prize-winning physicist Linus Pauling told an initial working session the "injustice and immorality of the great wars of the past would be far transcended by a great war in the nuclear age.

"Instead of tens of millions, hundreds or even thousands of millions of human beings might be killed. Great nations might be exterminated. Civilization might come to an end. There is even the possibility that the human race would not survive the catastrophe."

Pope Paul, in a telegram relayed through Francis Cardinal Spellman, archbishop of New York, voiced a "prayerful desire" that the deliberations here "lead to positive action for world peace."

At this critical time, he said, all nations have a "collective responsibility" for "the preservation of friendly relationships and the avoidance of armed conflict which would have incalculable and frightful results."

He a

Little Rock, Ark.
Democrat
February 18, 1965

Pittsburgh, Pa.
Press
February 18, 1965

Alternative To War Vital, Scientist Says

By H. D. QUIGG

NEW YORK, Feb. 18 (UPI)—Man must find a rational and moral alternative to war, Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel Laureate, said today.

The chemist said he believed "we have now reached the time . . . when war will be abolished . . . and will be replaced by a system of world law based upon the principles of justice and morality."

He fixed no definite time for that eventuality.

Dr. Pauling, who won the Nobel Prize for chemistry in 1954 and the Nobel Peace Prize in 1962, was a panel speaker in an international private convocation called to examine the requirements of peace.

The meeting was sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

"I believe it is a violation of natural law for half of the people of the world to live in misery, in abject poverty, without hope for the future, while the affluent nations spend on militarism a sum of money equal to the entire income of this miserable half of the world's people," Dr. Pauling said.

War has become increasingly unjust and immoral both in magnitude and in distribution of suffering, he said, adding:

"Great nations claim the right to sacrifice human lives and to take human lives.

"Instead of being citizens who volunteer to protect their families and their country, soldiers often have been forced into military service, sometimes with execution as the alternative.

morality of the great wars of the past would be far transcended by a great war of the nuclear age . . ." Dr. Pauling said.

"Instead of tens of millions, hundreds or even thousands of millions of human beings might be killed . . . Civilization might come to an end. There is even the possibility that the human race would not survive the catastrophe.

"As rational and moral human beings we are forced now to find a rational and moral alternative to war."

Robert M. Hutchins, president of the center, opened the session. He said the convocation would seek to find out if practical agreements to world peace were possible.

The sessions were called before an invited audience of intellectuals from 14 countries. The four-day conference was inspired by the 1963 "peace on earth" encyclical of the late Pope John XXIII.

At opening ceremonies last night in the United Nations General Assembly hall, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey said in the main address that the United States seeks no wider war in Vietnam.

"Our policy is clear. We will continue to seek a return to the essentials of the Geneva accords of 1954. We will resist aggression. We will be faithful to a friend," Mr. Humphrey

(De notre correspond. particulier.)

New-York, 22 février. — Rarement un congrès international a rassemblé une assistance plus impressionnante que la conférence centrée sur l'encyclique *Pacem in terris* tenue la semaine dernière à New-York. On a vu monter à la tribune de la magnifique salle de l'hôtel Hilton des hommes aussi importants que MM. Pietro Nenni et Paul - Henri Spaak, l'historien Arnold Toynbee, des académiciens soviétiques, MM. Carlo Schmid, Aba Eban, lord Caradon, Sir Zafrullah Khan, M. Thant, une pléiade d'Américains et même des personnalités de l'Allemagne de l'Est.

Rarement on a vu une audience plus brillante : des universitaires, des écrivains, des artistes, des diplomates et, bien sûr, une multitude d'hommes d'affaires américains, qui dans ce pays patronnent et financent chaque événement intellectuel, culturel et suivant chaque rencontre internationale (selon certaines rumeurs le congrès *Pacem in terris* a coûté à la fondation Ford, qui l'avait financé, 250 000 dollars). On a remarqué également parmi l'audience un fort contingent de prêtres catholiques, de rabbins, de représentants des pays communistes, ce qui a permis à un invité d'affirmer qu'il n'y avait rencontré que « des prêtres, des rabbins et des communistes ».

Le congrès, précédé d'une grande publicité, avait mobilisé tant la télévision que la radio ou la presse écrite de nombreux pays. Certains débats ont même été retransmis en direct. On hésite pourtant à affirmer que la réunion de l'hôtel Hilton marquera le début d'un mouvement favorable à la paix mondiale. Cela, d'abord, est dû à la multiplication de congrès internationaux de toute sorte, prolifération qui, nulle part, n'a atteint des proportions aussi fantastiques qu'aux Etats-Unis, où il est difficile de distinguer les initiatives vraiment sérieuses des entreprises à caractère essentiellement touristique.

Les critiques de M. Kennan

Mais, plus important encore est le fait que l'espoir mis en un dialogue entre l'Occident « bourgeois » et l'Orient communiste ait été déçu. Les débats du congrès ont en effet confirmé une nouvelle fois qu'il ne suffit pas d'inviter des personnalités marquantes du camp socialiste et de les laisser s'exprimer pour obtenir ce dialogue. Ce qui est nécessaire, c'est un minimum de franchise, de volonté de reconnaître ses propres erreurs et de comprendre le point de vue de l'autre camp. Or si d'un côté on a entendu M. George Kennan, par exemple, approuver le plan Rapacki, prévoyant une zone désatomisée en Europe, critiquer d'une manière assez dure des institutions comme l'O.T.A.N. et le Marché commun, préconiser même une nouvelle attitude de l'Occident envers l'Allemagne de l'Est (ces déclarations ne manquant pas, bien sûr, de provoquer un petit scandale aux Etats-Unis, mais fournissent tout de même matière à réflexion à tous les Américains qui ne se contentent pas de répéter des slogans préfabriqués), on n'a rien observé de semblable de l'autre côté. Le rédacteur en chef adjoint de la *Pravda*, M. Inoziemtsev, l'académicien Joukov, le théoricien marxiste polonais Adam Schaff, ont non seulement répété les thèses officielles de leurs gouvernements sur la coexistence pacifique sans se permettre le moindre écart, mais ils ont également refusé d'admettre que la politique de leurs pays respectifs ait pu contribuer à la guerre froide et aux difficultés rencontrées aujourd'hui pour la liquider. Dans ces conditions, on ne pouvait guère établir un dialogue, et de nombreux auditeurs n'ont pas craint d'exprimer leur déception.

Paris, France
Le Monde
February 23, 1965

Bridgeport, Conn.
Post
February 16, 1965

Convocation On Encyclical Of Pope John

Hubert H. Humphrey, Vice President of the United States, will speak here Wednesday at the opening ceremony of a four-day international convocation, keyed to Pacem in Terris, the encyclical of the late Pope John XXIII.

The opening ceremony will be held at 7:15 p.m. in the General Assembly Hall of the United Nations.

Other speakers will be U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations; Alex Quaison-Sackey, President of the United Nations General Assembly, and Adlai Stevenson, Permanent Representative of the U. S. to the United Nations, and Paul Hoffman.

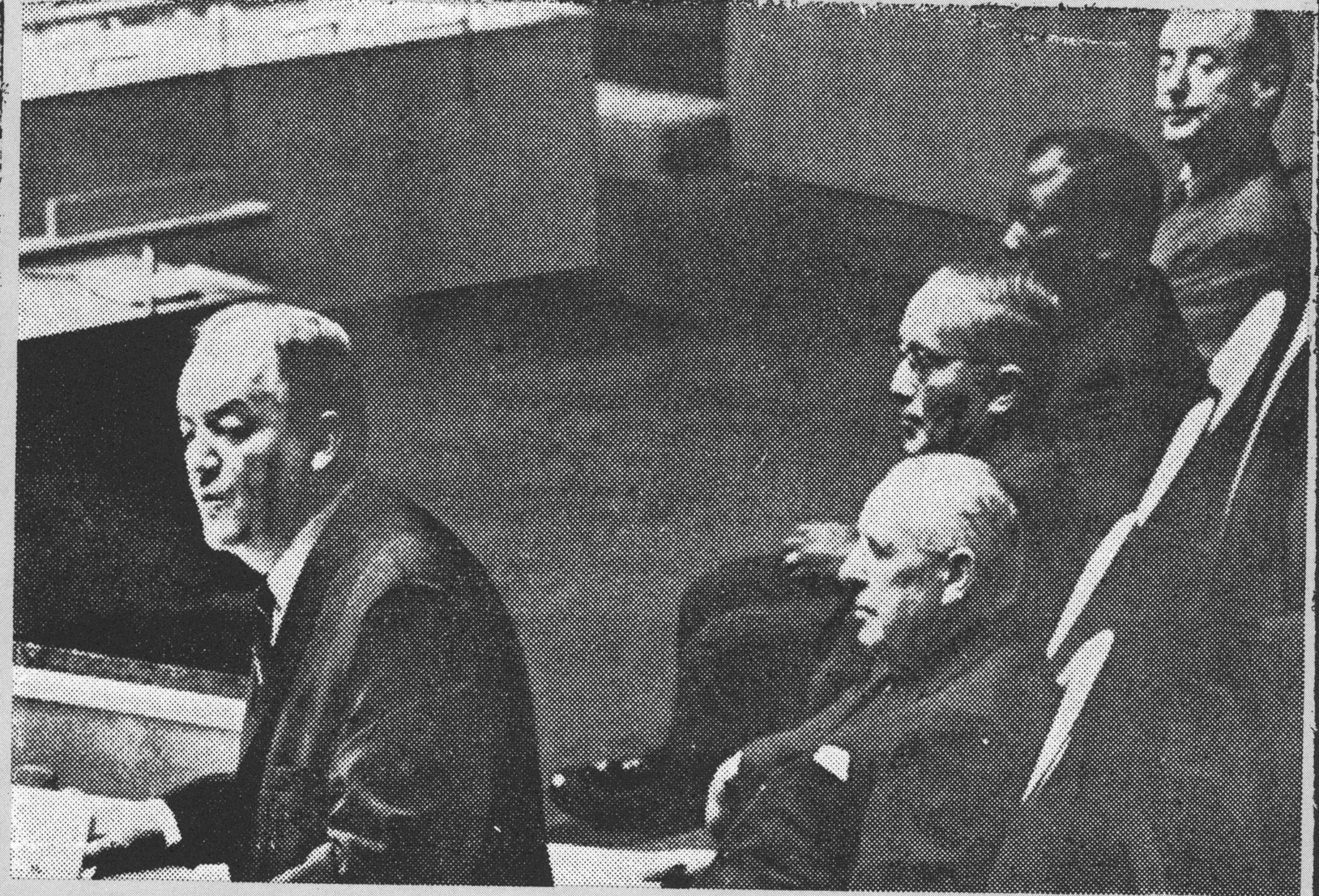
Following this inaugural session, the convocation will continue Thursday through Saturday at the New York Hilton Hotel.

Commenting on the meeting Most. Rev. John J. Dougherty, Auxiliary Bishop of Newark, Assistant to the Chairman of the Administrative Board for U. N. Affairs and President of Seton Hall University, said:

"Pope John XXIII addressed Pacem in Terris not only to the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops and Bishops in communion with Rome, but to the clergy and faithful of the whole world, and to all men of good will.

"The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions proclaims its good will in sponsoring an international convocation on the great encyclical. It was the hope of Pope John that the encyclical would have practical political effects.

"How splendidly his hope will be realized when, guided by the beacon of his teachings, world leaders will search out the requirements of peace. The



AP Wirephoto

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY SPEAKS IN NEW YORK CITY WEDNESDAY
He addressed the opening session of Pacem in Terris in the United Nations hall.

Humphrey Warns on A-Arms

SEE STORY PAGE 1

By EVA HODGES
Denver Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK — Vice President Hubert Humphrey Wednesday night warned against the spread of nuclear competition.

The explosion of a nuclear device by Communist China in 1964 has impressed upon us once again that "nuclear competition is no longer limited to just a few or two super powers," he told a session of the International Convocation on Pacem in Terris.

"In addition to Europe, we now have the problem of finding ways of preventing the further proliferation of nuclear weapons in Asia, Latin America, Africa and the Middle East."

Referring to Pope John XXIII's final encyclical, Pacem in Terris (Peace on Earth), the vice president recalled that John had written, "it is not possible to preserve lasting peace if glaring economic inequality" persists among the peoples of the earth.

Those who have been "more blessed with this world's goods," Humphrey said, "must heed the Pope's plea to assist 'those political communities whose citizens suffer from poverty, misery and hunger, and who lack even the elementary rights of the human person.'"

"We must do this out of compassion — for we are our brother's keeper," the vice president said, "and we also do it out of self-interest as well — for our lot is their lot, our future their future, our peace their peace."

Alex Quaison-Sackey, U.N. Assembly president, expressed confidence that the convocation on Pacem in Terris will "help in scattering the clouds which darken the sky."

Pope John, he said, "stirred the conscience of all men" and reminded them that "love is the saving grace of humanity — the redeeming weapon against hatred."

Denver, Col.
Post
February 18, 1965

Milwaukee, Wis.
Journal
February 24, 1965

Narrowing of the Gap

A genuinely hopeful thread of agreement that ran throughout the recent international "Pacem in Terris" convocation in New York city concerned the struggle between communism and capitalism.

Representatives of both camps noted a discernible narrowing of ideological chasms that seemed to keep east and west irreconcilably opposed during most of the early postwar period.

The frankest expression of this point of view came from Dr. Adam Schaff, member of the central committee of the Communist party of Poland. Neither east nor west has a monopoly on truth, he stated.

"You in the west are bringing more and more planification of your economy. We are bringing in more democracy, more liberalization. If you think we are not going fast enough, remember we are very young. We are moving fast," he said.

Senator William Fulbright (Dem., Ark.) made this observation:

"Compared with 10 years ago . . . the world's great nations appear, tentatively at least, to be pursuing their aims with no less vigor but with more imagination and less of the excess of zeal that characterized the first period of the cold war."

He added: "Both sides are showing some tendency to cut their ideologies down to size. There seems to be a growing willingness to admit that old theories are of limited utility in solving new problems. . . . There seems to be a growing recognition that the convictions that inspire men to constructive action can, when too fervently held, blind them to changing realities and lead them into ill conceived or disastrous ventures."

A notable exception to this trend, of course, is Communist China, which was not represented at the convocation. Hopefully, the day will come when there is a chair at such gatherings for representatives of nearly a fourth of the globe's population. Then, perhaps, mankind will begin to expand constructively on the idea that was stated so movingly by President Johnson in his inaugural address: "We are all fellow passengers on a dot of earth. . . . How incredible it is that in this fragile existence we should hate and destroy one another. There is world enough for all to seek their happiness in their own way."

Pacem In Terris

Diplomats, scientists, theologians, educators, journalists, philosophers, economists, authors, jurists, government officials — nearly 2,000 of the most distinguished thinkers and doers from half the nations on earth.

Such was the convocation assembled in New York for three days last week in the most unusual reaction to a papal encyclical in possibly all history.

THE ENCYCLICAL, of course, was Pope John XXIII's call for peace on earth. This was a remarkable document by a remarkable man.

Pacem in Terris is unique in that it did not address itself merely to members of the Roman Catholic Church, nor even to all Christians, but to "All Men of Good Will."

And the response to it in the meeting in New York was unique in that those who assembled came not only from all of the Western World, but from Soviet Russia from Asia, from Africa. Not only Catholics and Protestants were present, but Jews and Hindus and Moslems and Shintoists and professed atheists.

WHILE INEVITABLY a discussion of Pacem in Terris had strong spiritual and religious overtones, peace on earth necessarily, in this day and age, requires political and social action.

The entire spectrum of human involvement and human activity must be engaged if there is to be peace.

That is why economists and diplomats and scientists and government officials were important to this gathering.

Peace on earth is an intensely practical matter; at this moment without question the most pressing practical problem confronting every nation and every person on the globe.

WHEN THE SPONSORS of this conference — the Ford Foundation endowed Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, and the Johnson Foundation of Racine, Wis. — laid their plans, they could not have known how perfect their timing would be.

With the escalating dangers in South Viet Nam, the impending explosion of another nuclear device by Red China and the stalemated suspension of the General Assembly of the United Nations all within the week, the sobered world was eagerly prepared for wisdom of such a body.

OF COURSE a convocation of this nature could not well arrive at specific answers to particular problems, nor put into effect any implementing measures.

Nevertheless, from such old hands in foreign relations as George M. Kennan, long one of the State Department's great experts on the Soviet Union and European affairs, there were some hard-headed suggestions as to alterations in American foreign policy which Washington at this time will doubtless give some prayerful thought.

It is possible that not only the United States and its allies, but the Communists as well, may be sufficiently shaken by the magnification of peril in recent days to heed his appeal that both sides have more faith in the good intentions of each other.

"Our sole hope," Ambassador Kennan warned, "lies in the possibility that the adversary, too, has learned something from the sterility of past conflict.

THEOLOGIAN PAUL TILLICH may best have summed up the spirit of the conference and what may come of it, when he said:

"We cannot hope for a final stage of justice and peace within history, but we can hope for partial victories over the forces of evil in a particular moment of time."

It is all too plain to everyone that if the world cannot achieve a partial victory over the evil threatening civilization as of February 1965, mankind may never survive to see the final stage of justice and peace.

St. Petersburg, Fla.
Times
February 21, 1965

Encyclical 'Peace on Earth' Admired by Scholars—

World Intellectuals Honor Pope John XXIII

Editor's Note: — Hundreds of intellectuals of many persuasions and from many parts of the world gathered in New York this week to bend their collective minds to the greatest problem of man — peace on earth. In the following dispatch, UPI religion editor Luis Cassels explains what brought this mighty array of brain power together.

By LOUIS CASSELS

NEW YORK, Feb. 18 (UPI)—Two thousand brilliant and famous people from all over the world are assembled here this week to honor a man and a document.

* * *

THE MAN IS the late Pope John XXIII. The document is the encyclical "Pacem in Terris" (Peace on Earth), which Pope John issued in April, 1963, just two months before his death.

"Peace on Earth" was the last testament of a man whose simple goodness made him the most beloved pope in a thousand years...and one of the most widely-admired human beings in all history.

Legends grow up about such a man, and they are not always accurate. The most inaccurate of the legends about Pope John is that which depicts him as a very lovable but not very-bright old man. Actually, he had a first-rate mind, as anyone who talked to him quickly discovered. His simplicity was of the heart. Not the intellect.

* * *

THE ENCYCLICAL which he issued just before final illness will stand as sufficient proof of his mental capacity. Among serious scholars, it is rated as one of the most majestic products of human thought, a document which history will rank with the Magna Carta, the Declaration of Independence, and Abraham Lincoln's second inaugural.

That's why people like Adlai E. Stevenson, Arnold Toynbee, U Thant, Linus Pauling, Paul Tillich, George F. Keenan, Earl Warren, Barbara Ward, Paul Henri-Spaak, and Hubert H. Humphrey are meeting here this week to discuss the quest for world peace in the light of the principles laid down by Pope John.

* * *

THE MEETING is officially billed as "an international convocation to examine the requirements for peace." It is sponsored by the center for the study of democratic institutions, one of the Ford Foundation's well-heeled grandchildren. The participants are here as individuals—not as official representatives of their governments.

This is not a Roman Catholic function. Pope John addressed his remarks about peace on earth "to all men of good will." And the response has been as universal as the address.

Among the speakers at the convocation are two well-credentialed Communist intellectuals: N. N. Inozemstev, deputy chief editor of Pravda; and Yevgenyi Zhukov, a director of the Societ Academy of Sciences.

* * *

THE DISTINGUISHED Protestant theologian Paul Tillich told the convocation this morning that Pope John's encylical ranks as one of the great charters of human liberty because it emphasizes throughout "the dignity of every man as a person," and the principle of justice as the basic rule for all relations between men and states.

"There is no difference in this point of view among Jews, Protestants and Humanists," said Dr. Tillich.

"Peace on Earth" offers no magic formula for attaining the goal expressed by its title. On the contrary, it warns statesmen against impatient attempts to impose glib solutions. It differs from the usual appeal for peace in that it tries to outline the basic principles that must be taken into account in any peace effort that hopes to bear fruit.

* * *

FOR EXAMPLE, the pope holds that disarmament and world government are not utopian ideals, but "objectives demanded by reason" in this era of instantaneous communication, rocket travel, and nuclear explosives. He calls upon strong nations to assist with the economic development of poor nations. And he condemns all forms of imperialism — capitalist or Communist — with the simple observation that "no country may unjustly oppress others or unduly meddle in their affairs."

Paul G. Hoffman, the former Marshall Plan administrator who is now director of the United Nations special fund, told the convocation that Pope John's greatest service was that he "renewed our awareness that war and peace are not only political matters but moral matters" and that "a cynical divorcement of the moral from the political has historically been the prelude to disaster."

* * *

HOFFMAN SAID the convocation is "truly unique in purpose, participants and sponsorship."

"Never before, under private auspices, has such a broadly representative group of private citizens and high government officials been convened to consider the practical aspects of a spiritual message."

The agenda of practical questions being discussed at the convocation includes a European settlement, how to stop nuclear arms from proliferating into more and more nations, the ground-rules of coexistence, the account of national soverignty that can or must be surrendered to international organizations at this point in history.

Pope John did not offer pat answers to any of those questions — and the conferees here don't expect to come up with any either. They have met as an act of faith — faith in the proposition that reasonable men ought to be able through discussion to find some way to avoid mutual destruction.

* * *

POPE JOHN would have been delighted.

"In the highest and most authoritative assemblies," he wrote in the encyclical, "let men give serious thought to the problem of a peaceful adjustment on a world level . . . let them study the problem until they find that point of agreement from which they can commence to go forward toward accords that will be sincere, lasting and fruitful."

That is why this brilliant array of men and women is now assembled here.

Schenectady, N.Y.
Gazette
February 19, 1965

Time Magazine
February 26, 1965
(Page 1 of 3 pages)

HENRY GROSSMAN

PANELISTS KHAN, JESSUP, WARREN, QUINTANILLA & TAKAYANAGI

THE REQUIREMENTS OF PEACE

In a time of swords, men dream of plowshares. For much of mankind the dream has seldom been as fervent —or as elusive—as it is today. History's greatest tyranny enslaves half the globe; science and technology offer not only the promise of poverty and hunger conquered but also the threat of civilization destroyed. Each day, from Selma to Saigon, brings evidence that man exists in a climate of risk. Last week the United Nations, which had earlier designated 1965 as International Cooperation Year, reached a stalemate and adjourned for six months.

These overtones of violence and disorder gave all the more meaning to a unique, three-day meeting last week at the New York Hilton Hotel. There, under the auspices of Educator Robert Hutchins' Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, scores of statesmen, diplomats, theologians and philosophers met to discuss the means and methods of bringing peace to the world. The participants included Protestants, Buddhists, agnostics and atheists; but the framework for their thinking was the vision of world order contained in Pope John XXIII's encyclical *Pacem in Terris* (Peace on Earth).

The relevance of that vision was summed up by Vice President Hubert Humphrey at the opening session. "John XXIII presented to the world a public philosophy for a nuclear era," said Humphrey. "It represents not a utopian blueprint for world peace, presupposing a sudden change in the nature of man. Rather, it represents a call to leaders of nations, presupposing only a gradual change in human institutions. It is not confined to elaborating the abstract virtues of peace, but looks to the building of a world community governed by institutions capable of preserving peace. We honor Pope John XXIII on this occasion not because he demonstrated that perfect peace can be achieved in a short time. We honor him because he raised our hopes and exalted our vision. It is the duty of our generation to convert this vision of peace into reality."

"Time presses," declared Robert Hutchins in his opening address. "It is time to open a new conversation about the requirements of peace, on a level somewhere between apathy and panic —and this side of the irrelevance of propaganda."

The conversation took place three times a day, and it involved an exotic mixture of personalities. On the dais waiting to deliver their addresses, Protestant Theologian Paul Tillich sat with that outrider of neutralism, Nobel-prize-winning Chemist Linus Pauling. At another panel, Kremlinologist George Kennan, onetime Ambassador to Russia and Yugoslavia, clashed with Dr. Adam Schaff, the leading Marxist theoretician of Poland.

In the audience of more than 1,500, television's Steve Allen was wedged one afternoon between two intent nuns; U.S. Communist Boss Gus Hall amiably discussed the significance of a speech with his neighbor, a Catholic priest. The meeting also proved a magnet for pacifists and peace marchers; sprinkled heavily throughout the listening throng, they cheered at every hint of banning the bomb.

The broad generality of the topics discussed inevitably produced more cross talk than consensus on the panels. Just as inevitably, many of the grand remedies for world ills brought out in the discussions were familiar nostrums that had been heard too often before—George Kennan, for example, attempted to revive Poland's old Rapacki Plan to denuclearize Central Europe, while ever-hopeful Harold Stassen proposed an arms-free zone on each side of the Bering Strait. Nonetheless, the convocation served the useful purpose of providing an intellectual workshop for a far- and free-ranging discussion of some central ideas and issues that must be faced before any form of peace on earth is won.

LAW

"*Pacem in Terris* reflects the view that men will never live in peace until they have the opportunity to obtain justice under law," declared U.S. Chief Justice Earl Warren. There were no dissenters. Obliquely and directly, a wide variety of panel speakers agreed that the basis of any orderly world community is the rule of law—law viewed not negatively as a social defense against evil but as a positive force for social order. Philip Jessup of the International Court of Justice argued that law today is not only a series of prohibitions but "the mechanism by which society has created devices for people to work together for common ends." Internationally, this kind of positive law includes the great treaties as well as lesser but equally essential agreements that nations have created in order to solve such housekeeping issues as mail delivery and preventing the spread of infectious disease.

SOVEREIGNTY

The development of international law, Warren noted, lags behind the perfection of domestic law. The major reason is a lack of consensus on the meaning and scope of sovereignty. Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan of Pakistan, an International Court justice, and Mexico's Luis Quintanilla, onetime Minister to the U.S., both agreed that traditional concepts of jealously guarded sovereignty should give way to greater acceptance of reduced national autonomy and greater acceptance of international obligations. Said Quintanilla: "Anything happening in any corner of the earth affects sooner or later the entire in-

Convocation Dignifies the Pursuit of Peace

BY LOUIS B. FLEMING

NEW YORK

There were three efforts to wage peace along Sixth Ave. the other day.

On the doorsteps of a hotel at 54th St., 25 half-frozen peacemongers sat in silent vigil to bear witness to their opposition to the course of American foreign policy in South Vietnam.

A half block north, two dozen not-so-chilly peacemongers succeeded in provoking the New York police department into carting them off in a paddy wagon after what one of them described as "practicing a little civil disobedience."

And inside the hotel itself, about 2,000 over-fed and over-heated peacemongers soaked up the wisdom of three dozen "experts" from five continents. Then they went home sobered by the awesome difficulty of doing anything useful.

The proceedings inside the hotel constituted a convocation summoned by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions to revive world interest in "Pacem in Terris"—peace on earth—the title of the remarkable encyclical of the late Pope John XXIII.

In the almost two years since the Pope spoke, the world has behaved as if it had not heard.

The convocation may not succeed in improving mankind's hearing, but at least it has dignified the subject.

In one sense, the convocation was a valiant effort to recapture "peace" from the "nuts"—an unkind way of describing the process of restoring the subject to the mainstream of American and world thought. In another sense, it was a valiant effort to legitimatize the discussion and, more important, to intellectualize the discussion.

With all due respect [illegible] minds

Louis B. Fleming is The Times correspondent at the United Nations.

every complexion and assorted sponsors of fuzzy thought processes, there is really no substitute for clear thinking on this knotty problem.

And for this rare commodity, the sponsors of the convocation recruited for the most part diplomats and politicians, but also a few academicians and a few assorted others.

If it did nothing else, the convocation inspired some fresh thoughts on world relations from the likes of Arnold Toynbee, Paul Tillich, Pietro Nenni, George Kennan and Mrs. Vijaya Lakshimi Pandit.

They developed some specific ideas which may or may not help unhinge the confrontations of Vietnam and Germany; the Caribbean was ignored.

Realities Developed

More significantly, however, they and the other participants developed some realities to the effect that:

—The United Nations is the best institutional arrangement now available for assuring international security. But no one knows how to halt the erosion of its effectiveness and that was so evident when the 19th General Assembly of the United Nations collapsed even as the convocation was debating the requirements of peace.

—There is no likelihood of peace in our times. But there will be opportunities to ease tension—occasions when, as Dr. Tillich said, "we can hope for partial victories over the forces of evil in a particular moment of time."

—Peace can be waged with a modicum of success [illegible] over [illegible]

making. Fear and suspicion are perpetuated irrationally.

This is not a very satisfactory system of answers for the peace-hungry people of the world.

These generalities and abstractions point towards the need for policies of such painful restraint and patience that they pose danger—the danger that the patience and restraint of masses of people will be exhausted and that they will then become susceptible to the tempting, easy, simplistic answers of demagogues.

These realities make evident that there is a need now as never before for statesmen when, curiously, few are in evidence.

But it should not be strange to a reader of Pacem in Terris that this convocation was unable to produce a simple blueprint for implementing the hopes for peace. Pope John's total message has been distorted by a preoccupation with politics.

The Pope spoke, of course, in political terms on the relations between states, of the inter-dependence of nations, of disarmament, of working so that the United Nations "in its structure and in its means may become ever more equal to the magnitude and nobility of its tasks . . ."

But Pope John devoted many more words to the assertion of individual rights and responsibilities as distinct from politics—identifying the treatment of minorities, for example, as an integral part of peacemaking.

And ~~Pacem in~~ Terris is a religious document. More than anything else, the encyclical is a reminder that international political security can be achieved only through acts of faith.

This lesson is hard [illegible] in a world that [illegible] over [illegible]

Los Angeles, Calif./Times/February 17, 1965

Rochester, N.Y.
Times Union
February 17, 1965

'Pacem In Terris' Meeting

New York (AP) — "Love, not fear, must dominate relationships between individuals and between nations."

This was the plea of the late Pope John XXIII in his encyclical, Pacem in Terris (peace on earth).

Today, two years after it was issued, leaders and thinkers from around the world were gathering in New York to consider ways for applying its principles.

"The International convocation on pacem in terris" opens tonight in the United Nations General Assembly Hall.

It continues for three days, with statesmen, theologians and educators from the Western nations and the Communist East analyzing means of maintaing peace.

(Rabbie Herbert Bronstein of Temple B'rith Kodesh in Rochester, representing the Central Conference of American Rabbis, and Dr. Wilbour Eddy Saunders, former president of the Colgate Rochester Divinity School, will participate in the conference.)

• • •

PRESIDENT Johnson has expressed hope the discussions "will provide a major contribution to the greatest single problem of our time."

He said "the idea of assembling in this country outstanding spiritual and intellectual leaders should provide a welcome new dimension" in coping with the problem.

Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey delivers the opening keynote address.

The convocation, sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, was inspired by the document penned by Pope John less than two months before he died.

It was addressed not just to Roman Catholics, but to all mankind. .

'Pacem in Terris'

Peace on earth was the prayerful title of the last encyclical of the Catholic Church's beloved Pope John XXIII. It is also the name of an international convocation to examine the requirements for peace, under direction of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

Pope John, knowing this would be his last letter, wrote with all his vigor and eloquence. It was addressed to all peoples, of all races and religions, who support the cause of world peace. Christians and atheists, democracies and communist states, the Pontiff wrote, must set aside their differences and talk about their common need to survive.

Leading thinkers, scholars, diplomats and distinguished citizens of the United States will be joined by participants from Africa, Britain, France, Germany, Israel, Japan, Latin America, Pakistan, the Soviet bloc, and other nations. They will meet tomorrow in New York to concentrate on the practical effects of the papal encyclical and on its potentialities for constructive political activity.

Robert M. Hutchins, president of the center, summed up the aims of the convocation, saying, "We are far from having achieved a peaceful world, and we need all the ideas and political perception we can get if it is ever to be brought about. There is promise that the convocation will be able to make a solid contribution to the great problem of our time—that ghastly vision of murder and suicide which goes by the name of nuclear war."

Chairman of the sponsors is Paul Hoffman, with Dr. Hutchins as chairman of the convocation, and participating will be such leaders as Vice President Humphrey, U Thant, Adlai Stevenson, Willy Brandt, Senator Fulbright, Arnold Toynbee and many others, whose intelligent approach to the subject discussed in the famous encyclical should produce a major contribution to the most vexatious problem of our times.

"Pacem in Terris" was selected as the basis for the convocation's study because of its world-wide reception, and its expressions of principles by which all men profess to live, and it also asks questions that must be answer[illegible]rld is to survi[illegible]he encyc[illegible]sh look [illegible]ati[illegible] th[illegible]

New York, N.Y.
Journal-American
February 13, 1965

Toledo, Ohio
Blade
February 21, 1965

Toynbee Ties Humanity To World Government

Historian Thinks This Is Only Way Nations Can Survive In Atomic Age

NEW YORK, Feb. 20 (AP)—Famed British historian Arnold J. Toynbee declared today that civilization has reached a point when the very continuity of the human race depends on formation of world government.

"It is the mutual interest of the nations to subordinate their national sovereignty to world authorities," he said. "This is the only condition on which the nations can survive in an atomic age."

A global peace conference also heard Sen. J. William Fulbright (D., Ark.), chairman of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, urge an end to the cold war's rival "tyranny of abstract ideas."

"We must strive to induce the world's great nations — especially the Soviet Union and the United States — to adapt their ideologies to the human requirements of a changing world," Senator Fulbright said.

"I believe that there has been some progress in this direction. . . . Both sides are showing some tendency to cut their ideologies down to size."

2,000 Attending

The appraisals came as more than 2,000 scholars and statesmen from around the earth began the final day of an unusual, four-day "international convocation on Pacem in Terris (peace on earth)."

That was the title of the late Pope John XXIII's widely hailed 1963 encyclical which sparked the gathering here, under private sponsorship of the center for the Study of Demomcratic Institutions.

The white-thatched Mr. Toynbee, whose vast learning and probing analyses of the human story have given him olympian stature among historians, urged joint U.S.-Soviet action to curb spread of atomic arms.

"Cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union requires mutual trust," he said. "This requires both of them to take big risks.

"For each of them, these risks would be smaller than the present risk that they are both running through waging 'the cold war' with each other."

Cites Technical Advances

He said "mere coexistence" will not long suffice to cope with conditions in man's "new kind of world."

Technological advance, he said, makes it "increasingly difficult to solve our problems on any scale short of a world-dealt with only by world-wide authorities with effective power to override the national governments."

British Foreign Minister Lord Caradon, Israel's Deputy Prime Minister Abba Eban, and the director of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, Evgeni Zhukov, also participated in the discussion.

Senator Fulbright said that coexistence of the East-West power blocs will remain "precarious and uncertain" until they "develop empathy one for the other."

The "major barrier to empathy between peoples is their ideologies, which formalize and sanctify their self-righteousness," Senator Fulbright said.

He added that national ideologies can be a "source of strength so long as it is the instrument and not the master of national policy," but becomes an "appalling danger" if not responsive to criticism and changing conditions.

'Compatible With Coexistence'

"It is compatible with coexistence in the world so far, and only so far, as its practitioners are unafraid of skepticism, tolerant of dissent, and make no claim for it of universal validity."

However, Senator Fulbright said, "the ideologies of our time have forgotten how to temper conviction with skepticism, noble purpose with compassion, and high resolve with a trace of humor.

"Instead they have fallen victim to the fatuous illusion that they and they alone are in possession of the keys to paradise . . .

"Admitting of neither doubt nor dissension and devoid of compassion and humor, the 'true believer' makes war in the name of peace and commits murder in the name of human happiness . . ."

Calls For Cooperation

But it appears, the senator added, that the world's great nations — with the exception of China — are beginning to pursue their aims "with more imagination and less excess of zeal" typical of earlier phases of the cold war.

Mr. Toynbee said the chief immediate task of the United States and the Soviet Union is to "cooperate with each other" to stop other states — on both sides of the iron curt

Meet Told Law Sole War Curb

NEW YORK (UPI) — Chief Justice Earl Warren told a blue-ribbon international conference of intellectuals Friday that lasting peace can only be achieved through a rule of law.

Governments and religions should make accomplishment of this goal their preoccupation, Warren said. The chief justice spoke at a privately sponsored peace conference of nearly 2,000 intellectuals from 14 countries.

Another American, former U.S. Ambassador George F Kennan, Thursday issued a plea to both East and West that they accept on faith the ultimate humanity of the other.

Kennan, formerly ambassador to Russia and Yugoslavia and now a professor at the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton, N. J., said there is no hope at all in present Western assumptions that Soviet leaders are totally inhumane. He also urged a basic revision in Western assumptions of Soviet military intentions.

WARREN SAID domestic law has made great progress since ancient times but the same cannot be said of international law.

"If we really want peace on earth, if we believe that order is achieved through law, then we should make world peace through law our preoccupation," Warren said

"First we must agree upon the principles that are essential to peace in our 20th century civilization.

"Then we must advocate and promulgate laws that will make those principles the guiding force in the lives of nations and people everywhere. Lastly we must have forums for their interpretation and enforcement. . .

"This is not merely the job of governments. It is [illegible] th[illegible]

Portland, Oregon
Oregon Journal
February 19, 1965

INTELLECTUALS from all over the world were gathered in New York City for the opening tonight of a symposium on the 1963 "Peace on Earth" encyclical of the late Pope John XXIII sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. Vice President Hubert Humphrey was scheduled to deliver the main address. Soviet representatives were Yevgenyi Zhukov, director of the Institute of History of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and N. N. Inozemstev, deputy chief editor of the Communist newspaper Pravda.

Cincinnati, Ohio
Post & Times-Star
February 17, 1965

Open International Meeting On 'Pacem in Terris' Feb. 18

NEW YORK (NC) — Some 75 national leaders of church and state, including former Presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower and Harry S. Truman, have been named to a committee of sponsors for an international convocation on peace based on Pope John XXIII's encyclical *Pacem in Terris.*

The meeting, to be held here Feb. 18 to 20, will bring together an invited audience of 1,000 for addresses by such world figures as Vice President Hubert Humphrey, United Nations Secretary General U Thant, Chief Justice Earl Warren, Mayor Willy Brandt of West Berlin, and historian Arnold Toynbee.

Names Sponsors

The names of the sponsoring committee members were announced here by Paul G. Hoffman, honorary chairman of the board of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, which is sponsoring the convocation. Hoffman is chairman of the sponsoring commitee.

Among those on the committee are Francis Cardinal Spellman, archbishop of New York; Henry R. Luce of Time-Life; U. S. Ambassador to the U. N. Adlai Stevenson; J. Irwin Miller, president of the National Council of Churches; Sargent Shriver, director of the Peace Corps; Fr. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., president of Notre Dame University; and Fr. John Courtney Murray, S.J., of Woodstock (Md.) College.

In announcing the committee's formation, Hoffman said the upcoming convocation will be "a unique opportunity for leaders of many nations to exchange ideas frankly—ideas that are seldom discussed during official meetings."

Among the nations represented at the meeting will be the U.S., Britain, France, Germany, Israel, Japan, Pakistan, the Soviet Union, and a number of African, Latin American and Soviet bloc countries.

Called Men to Meet

Hoffman said that Pope John in his encyclical "called on all men of good will to meet one another as human beings, despite differing ideologies and political philosophies."

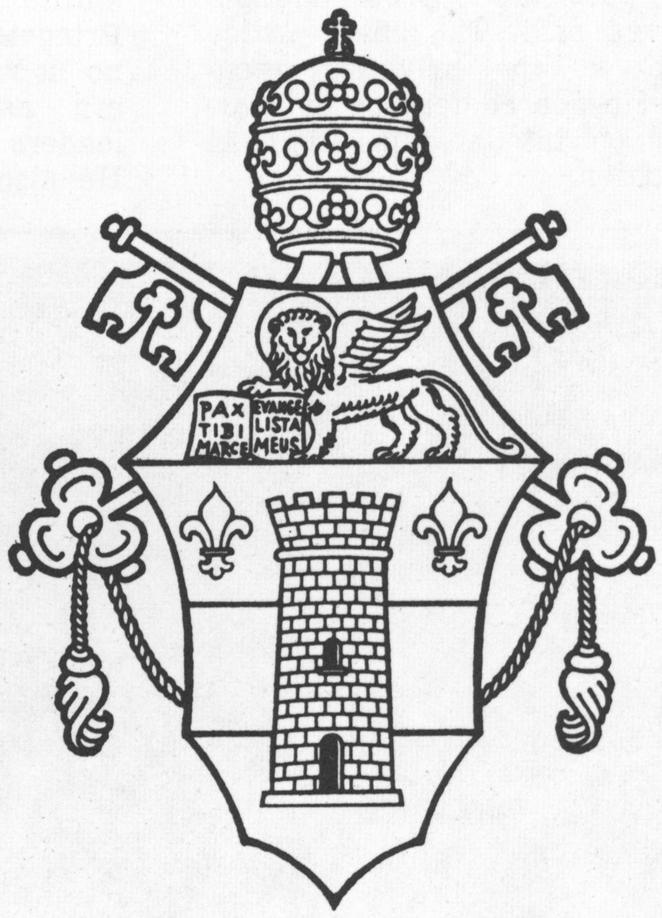
"He regarded humanity as one family and saw all members of this family as closely related," he said. "He enjoined men of all faiths to look beyond national ambitions and consider the terrible danger of nuclear destruction that hangs above mankind."

Davenport, Iowa
The Catholic Messenger
February 11, 1965

Saturday Review
February 13, 1965
(Page 1 of 11 pages)

Saturday Review
February 13, 1965

Pacem in Terris



PEACE ON EARTH AN ENCYCLICAL OF POPE JOHN XXIII

LATER this month a convocation of world leaders will gather in New York City for a historic purpose: to examine the requirements for peace in the context of the encyclical of Pope John XXIII, "Pacem in Terris." Among those who will participate in the three-day conference are Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, United Nations Secretary-General U Thant, Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, judge of the International Court of Justice and former president of the U.N. General Assembly, economist and author Barbara Ward, Senator J. William Fulbright, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, historian Arnold J. Toynbee, and high government officials from the Soviet Union, Poland, Yugoslavia, Great Britain, and Japan, as well as African and Latin American nations.

The convocation, to be held February 18, 19, and 20, was organized and is supported by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, with the assistance of the Johnson Foundation of Racine, Wisconsin. "Pacem in Terris" (Peace on Earth) was chosen as a particularly appropriate starting point because the encyclical addressed itself not only to Roman Catholics but to all men concerned with the search for peace.

In conjunction with the meetings, the Center will soon make available a pamphlet exploring some of the central ideas in "Pacem in Terris." *SR* is privileged in the following pages to publish special adaptations of the articles in that pamphlet. The authors represented are Robert McAfee Brown, professor of religion at Stanford University; Herman J. Muller, Nobel Prize-winning biologist; Everett E. Gendler, rabbi at the Jewish Center, Princeton University; Thomas Merton, the Trappist monk who wrote, among other books, *Seven Story Mountain* and whose article here is drawn from his book *Seeds of Destruction* and reprinted by permission of Farrar, Straus and Giroux; and Norman Cousins, editor of *SR*. A free copy of the pamphlet is available from Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California.

Peace Through Law Should Be World's Aim, Says Warren

NEW YORK (UPI) — Chief Justice Earl Warren told a blue-ribbon international conference of intellectuals today that lasting peace can only be achieved through a rule of law.

Governments and religions should make accomplishment of this goal their preoccupation, Warren said. The chief justice spoke at the privately sponsored peace conference of nearly 2,000 intellectuals from 14 countries.

Another American, former U.S. Ambassador George F. Kennan, Thursday issued a plea to both East and West that they accept on faith the ultimate humanity of the other.

Kennan, formerly ambassador to Russia and Yugoslavia and now a professor at the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton, N.J., said there is no hope at all in present Western assumptions that Soviet leaders are totally inhumane. He also urged a basic revision in Western assumptions of Soviet military intentions.

MADE PROGRESS

Warren said domestic law has made great progress since ancient times but the same cannot be said of international law.

"If we really want peace on earth, if we believe that order is achieved through law, then we should make world peace through law our preoccupation," Warren said.

"First we must agree upon the principles that are essential to peace in our 20th Century civilization.

"Then we must advocate and promulgate laws that will make those principles the guiding force in the lieves of nations and people everywhere. Lastly we must have forums for their interpretation and enforcement. . .

JOB FOR ALL

"This is not merely the job of governments. It is the job of the religions of the world and of every moral force that can be brought to bear in order that the will for peace may abide in the hearts of men everywhere on this globe."

The meeting, inspired by the 1963 "Peace on Earth" encyclical of Pope John XXIII, was called by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, a non-governmental United States organization. Kennan read his paper late Thursday. The four-day conference ends Saturday.

Kennan said the European policies of the Western coalition have had "sterile and unsatisfactory" results. He called for changes, the first of which would be re-examining of the primary reliance on nuclear weapons: He saw no reason why this reliance should be thought permanently essential to the defense of the United States or of Western Europe.

"I think we could usefully re-examine our acceptance of the principel of 'first use' in the employment of any and all weapons of mass destruction, and thus place ourselves in a position where we could proceed more effectively towards the eventual elimination of these weapons, and above all their delivery systems, from national arsenals.

"Without such a change I can see no possibility of halting the present trend towards the proliferation of control of such weapons where all hope of preventing their eventual use. . . would have to be abandoned."

Portland, Maine
Express
February 19, 1965

Inspired By Pope John's Encyclical

World Leaders Seek 'Pacem In Terris'

By Peggy Kerney McNeil
President, Times Newspapers

"Something there is that doesn't love a wall."

Robert Frost might very well have been the late Pope John XXIII's poet laureate and "The Mending Wall" could have been his favorite poem. Pope John was the first Pontiff in many years who walked the streets of Rome.

find the Soviet people to have inhuman traits. He asked for a new act of faith in all people of the other side and declared that "the penalties for over - cynicism in dealing with others are greater than the penalties for naivete." As we have learned from a sad past, said Kennan, so has our adversary.

Adam Schaff, a Polish Communist leader, admitted his creed differs from the encyclical, but said he accepts the goal and aim and particularly Pope John's plea for tolerance.

those principles the guiding force in the lives of nations and peoples everywhere."

Co - Existence Reality

Phillip Jessup, judge of the Court of International Justice, said law cannot exist without an organization and that the U. N. is the proper legal device.

"Co - existence is not a dream," Jessup said, "it is a fact. We do exist side by side in commerce, postal service, air traffic, etc."

in each other and in the U. N. We must arrive at a state of political maturity in which it will be considered statesmanlike, rather than weak, for even a great country to alter its course of action, or to change its national policy in the common interest or in deference to the will of the majority.

"Our approach to peace is often old-fashioned. Some of the U. N. charter provisions are somewhat out of date. It is this anachronism in the charter which is irritable in a middle

Trenton, N.J.
Times
February 28, 1965

Scholars Seize Initiative From Beatniks

By Louis B. Fleming
Special from the Los Angeles Times

NEW YORK—There were three efforts to wage peace along Sixth Av. the other day.

On the doorsteps of a hotel at 54th St., 25 half-frozen peacemongers sat in silent vigil to bear witness to their opposition to the course of American foreign policy in South Viet Nam.

A half block north, two dozen not-so-chilly peacemongers succeeded in provoking the New York police into carting them off in a paddy wagon after what one of them described as "practicing a little civil disobedience."

AND, INSIDE the hotel itself, about 2,000 overfed and overheated peacemongers soaked up the wisdom of three dozen speakers from five continents and they went home sobered by the awesome difficulty of doing anything useful.

The proceedings inside the hotel constituted a convocation to revive world interest in *Pacem in Terris*—the title of the remarkable encyclical of the late ~~Pope John XXIII.~~

Since the Pope spoke, the world has behaved as if it had not heard.

The convocation may not succeed in improving mankind's hearing, but at least it has dignified the subject.

In one sense, the convocation was a valiant effort to recapture "peace" from the "nuts"—an unkind way of describing the process of restoring the subject to the mainstream of American and world thought. In another sense, it was a valiant effort to legitimize the discussion and, more important, to intellectualize the discussion.

With all due respect to beatniks, other nonconformists, sob sisters, militant motherhood, extremists of every complexion and assorted sponsors of fuzzy-thought processes, there is really no substitute for clear thinking on this knotty problem.

And for this rare commodity, the sponsors of the convocation recruited for the most part diplomats and politicians, but also a few academicians and a few assorted others.

If it did nothing else, the convocation inspired some fresh thoughts on world relations from the likes of Arnold Toynbee, Paul Tillich, Pietro Nenni, George Kennan and Mrs. Vijaya Lakshimi Pandit.

BUT IT SHOULD NOT be strange to a reader of *Pacem in Terris* that this convocation was unable to produce a simple blueprint for implementing the hopes for peace. Pope John's total message has been distorted by a preoccupation with politics.

The Pope spoke, of course, in political terms on the relations between states, of the interdependence of nations, of disarmament, of working so that the United Nations "in its structure and in its means may become ever more equal to the magnitude and nobility of its tasks . . ."

But Pope John devoted many more words to the assertion of individual rights and responsibilities as distinct from politics—identifying the treatment of minorities, for example, as an integral part of peacemaking.

And *Pacem in Terris* is a religious document, predicating its plan for peace on the will and power of a single god as known and worshiped by Christians.

More than anything else, the encyclical is a reminder that international political security can be achieved only through acts of faith.

This lesson is hard to swallow in a world that has been told over and over again that threats of war are safer than acts of faith.

Chicago, Ill.
Sun Times
February 24, 1965

SEEK NO DOMINATION, SAYS HUMPHREY

'US Aim: Peace, Freedom'

By GEORGE W. CORNELL

New York, N. Y. — AP — Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey told a dramatic world consultation on peace Wednesday that the United States will leave "no mile untraveled" in pursuit of that goal.

He spoke as philosophers, scientists and statesmen from around the world convened for a four day summit "meeting of great minds" on ways to maintain peace in a nervous, nuclear age.

(The chancellor of the University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee, J. Martin Klotsche, is representing the University of Wisconsin at the conference.

(Father William F. Kelley, president, and two others were representing Marquette university.)

In the present turbulence in southeast Asia, Humphrey said, this country's only aim "is peace and freedom for the people of Vietnam."

"We will resist aggression," he said. "We will be faithful to a friend. We seek no wider war. We seek no domination."

His unusual audience of 2,000, holding their opening session in the United Nations assembly hall, came from every continent, from the Communist east and the non-Communist west.

Their objective, as phrased by conference chairman Robert M. Hutchins, is to seek workable solutions to "questions they know must be answered if the world is to have a chance of survival."

Called the "international convocation on Pacem in Terris Peace on Earth," the gather-

Turn to Page 5, Col. 5

Milwaukee, Wis./Sentinel/February 18, 1965

Life Magazine/March 5, 1965/(Page 7 of 7 pages)

Boston, Mass./Christian Science Monitor/February 24, 1965

U Thant Presses Call for Revision of UN

By Mary Hornaday

Staff Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

New York

Led by U Thant, world leaders gathered here have begun the struggle to shore up the United Nations and what they consider other "requirements for peace."

The UN Secretary-General was one of the final speakers at the four-day "peace on earth" convocation sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. In essence, he appealed for revision of the UN Charter to submerge the concept of big-power unanimity.

Some 2,000 men and women emerged from the convocation at the New York Hilton with a new mandate for citizen peace endeavor they hope will save the world from what U Thant described as a "new and appalling age of strife and hatred."

'Keep Talking'

As he left the convocation, Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, president of the center, told fellow peace workers:

"The main thing is to keep talking. For myself, I propose to get Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution incorporated in the United States Constitution." (The convocation had heard Dr. Kenzo Takayanagi, chairman of Japan's constitution revision committee, describe the article which abolishes war as a sovereign right and bans maintenance of armed force in all forms.)

Even before the meeting was over, some 400 participants had signed petitions supporting U Thant in his recent call for negotiations to end the war in Vietnam. Others went out to picket Times Square and the United States mission to the UN. Still others were signing up members for new local peace groups, especially to watch the convocation proceedings repeated on educational TV.

Vote Called Remarkable

Midway through the convocation, the deadlocked UN voted to recess until September.

Lord Caradon, chief British delegate to the UN told the conferees the UN's situation is serious. But he termed the 97-to-2 vote warding off a Soviet-American confrontation that might have wrecked the UN a "remarkable rally of support."

The vote, he said, formed a "wide basis of agreement" on which the principles of peace-keeping can now be considered. There was possibility of a stronger UN emerging, he added.

The Briton addressed a warning that this agreement on peace-keeping principles would require "a certain element of determination from the ordinary people of the world whose very future depends on effective peace-keeping."

Fulbright Applauds

Sen. J. W. Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, presiding at the session, thanked Lord Caradon for his statement. He called it "symbolic of a new attitude in the UN."

U Thant said the UN's "approach to peace is often old-fashioned and more attuned to former times than to our present state."

"We are now witnessing the beginning of the great debate—whether the big powers in unison, through the agency of the Security Council, should take exclusive responsibility for maintaining international peace and security while the General Assembly functions as a glorified debating society in political matters, or whether an attempt should be made to secure a fair, equitable, and clearly defined distribution of functions of the two principal organs. . . ."

U Thant complained that the UN charter had failed to keep up with new turns of history and changing alignments.

"Account will have to be taken," he declared, "of the presence in the world organization of not just the big powers, but of the smaller powers whose understanding, assistance, and cooperation are essential in regard to decisions involving issues of international peace and security."

Issues confronting the UN, he warned, "can only be resolved by a will to compromise and accommodate in the overriding interest of maintaining peace."

Several times in his address the Secretary-General referred to the desirability of having "all nations" and "all peoples" represented by the UN. He did not, however, specifically mention Communist China.

Other Highlights

Other convocation highlights:

A grim warning from Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara that more than 120,000,000 Americans would be killed in the event of a Soviet missile attack on the United States in the early 1970's

An alternative policy on the "German question," enunciated by a former United States Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. George F. Kennan. He recommended a basic revision of assumptions concerning Soviet intentions, together with such concrete steps as: rearmament of West Germany, closer contacts with East Germany, and adjustment of Germany's eastern borders as a component in a possible accommodation of East-West differences.

Pravda Official Speaks

N. N. Inozemstev, deputy chief editor of Pravda, insisted that "there is nothing more alien to Marxism than the doctrine of export of revolution." Socialist and national libera-

PEACE ON EARTH? TEXT CONTINUED FROM PAGE 36A

Will violence ever be called cowardice?

CONTINUED

Another spokesman for the piecemeal approach was Abram Chayes, former counsellor to the State Department, who pointed to the sad record of the 19th Assembly as a poor omen for U.N. charter revision and said "we are lucky to have the charter we have" and had "better work with it." Lord Caradon, British ambassador to the U.N., took a more hopeful view of the U.N. as it is, but also pleaded eloquently for more respect for the disinterested motives of its secretariat. But Secretary-General U Thant himself, in the address winding up the conference, said "in all frankness" that the peace-keeping provisions of the U.N. charter are "somewhat out of date," that the anachronism was responsible for the U.N.'s current constitutional crisis, and that the U.N. faces a "great debate" over the distribution of peace-keeping functions between the great and small nations.

The small nations, as represented in the panel on non-nuclear powers, showed less interest in reforming the U.N. than in getting more aid through it. Nigerian, Jordanian and Yugoslav spokesmen emphatically agreed that they preferred this multilateral source of aid to bilateral aid from a great power, on the ground that the latter carries the smell of cold-war bribery, whether there are strings on it or not. (There are no strings on U.S. aid to Latin America through the Alianza program, said Colombia's Alberto Lleras Camargo.) British economist Barbara Ward, chairing this panel, said of all underdeveloped nations that "the sense of their own nationhood has simply got to be the starting point of any type of world order." It appeared from this panel's discussion that nationalism is a new virtue in young, poor countries, but in old, rich ones is an creative energy, said Fulbright, but also of "appalling danger," since it tends to impose on others "the tyranny of abstract ideas." He proposed that both the U.S. and U.S.S.R., in order to make their peaceful coexistence less precarious, should subordinate their respective ideologies to "the human requirements of a changing world."

The Communist twist

The Communist spokesmen on this and other panels (Yevgenyi Zhukov, the leading Soviet historian; M. N. Inozemtsev, a top Communist Party theoretician; and Philosopher Adam Schaff of Poland's C.P. Central Committee) agreed in part with the senator's tolerant overture, but gave it a disturbing twist of their own.

Schaff claimed to speak not as a Polish Communist but as a member of "the worldwide republic of eggheads." He agreed that peaceful coexistence is a necessity; but now that war can no longer settle things between great nations, their ideological conflict—"a noble and rational rivalry"—must now grow more intense, and also more mutually influential. He took a socialist pride in descrying a growing American tendency toward economic planning, and in return predicted the gradual political democratization of Polish Communism.

The Russians declared that states with different social systems can and must coexist, but only on the basis of sovereign equality and noninterference; there can be no coexistence between "oppressor and oppressed." U.S. libels to the contrary, said Inozemtsev, Marxism does *not* advocate the export of revolutions. But it also opposes "the export of counterrevolutions" (*i.e.*, outside support of resistance to Soviet-approved rebellions), and that, said both Russians, is why the Soviet people [illegible] "gravely concerned" about rather flat, and the "coexistence" panel wound up considerably short of agreement, except on Fulbright's plea for mutual tolerance and "the cultivation of a spirit in which nations are more interested in solving problems than in proving theories."

Prudently, the sponsors of the convocation had disowned from the start any intention to reach an agreement. The illumination of issues and the stimulation of further "dialogue" was their goal. And there was plenty of reason for further dialogue, not least among the Americans present. Two Americans, former Ambassador George F. Kennan and Nobel Prizeman Linus Pauling, launched much more vitriolic attacks on U.S. policy than the rather circumspect Russians.

Kennan demanded a wholesale change in our European policy, even to the point of military disengagement in Germany, and a revision of our assumptions, which are the basis of NATO, about Soviet aggressive intentions.

Pauling found the U.S. wholly responsible for the war in Vietnam. Pauling's indignation threw a strange light on another suggestion in his speech, which was echoed later by his fellow scientist, Hudson Hoagland. It was that since the language of science is more truly international than that of politics, and quicker to bypass ideological road blocks, scientists should have a larger say in questions of peace and war. This brief hint of an international technocracy gave Pauling's hearers an additional reason, besides the horror of nuclear war, to hope that the world's present political leaders will not fail their peace-keeping responsibility.

New means of change

The convocation produced two other ideas that may cast a more lasting illumination. One came from Arnold Toynbee and was supported in a separate discussion [illegible] They suggested

'Appalling Consequences for Mankind'

Pope and Scientist Both Warn of Viet Nam Peril

Call for Peace Instead Of All-Out War

NEW YORK, Feb. 18 (AP) —Pope Paul VI and a noted scientist today warned of appalling consequences for mankind if the Viet Nam crisis breaks into full war. A famed theologian said fear itself may evoke restraint.

The views were expressed at a world gathering of about 1,500 influential thinkers and statesmen, seeking to clarify means for preserving peace in a worried, atomic age.

Shcolars from both Western and Communist-bloc nations and of various religions were present for the "International Convocation of Peace in Terris (Peace on Earth)," inspired by the Encyclical of the late Pope John XXIII.

The affair is privately sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

Message of Pope Paul

In a message, Pope Paul cited "the present grave international crisis," and said all nations have a "collective responsibilty" to avoid "armed conflict which would have incalculable and frightful results for all mankind."

He appealed for strengthening of the United Nations as an instrument to replace force with reason and "principles of justice and peace."

A nobel prize-winning physicist, Linus Pauling, also said the Viet Nam conflict threatens "the horrible danger of escalation to the catastrophe of a civilization-destroying nuclear war." He added:

"Now the time has come to obey the exhortation of Pope John: to cease military aggression, to bring this evil war to an end, to meet and negotiate and make a great practical application of the princples of morality and justice."

POPE JOHN VI
Appels for justice.

LINUS PAULING
Hopes evil of war ends.

Pittsburgh, Pa.
Post-Gazette
February 18, 1965

Have Duty To Avoid War: Pope

NEW YORK (AP)— Pope Paul VI told a global peace conference today that all nations have a duty to foster friendship and shun armed conflict in "the present grave international crisis."

Failure to do so, he said, "would have incalculable and frightful results for all mankind."

His message came as eminent scholars and statesmen from around the world met to seek practical steps for preserving peace in an era of tension and nuclear weapons.

The gathering, inspired by the encyclical, Peace on Earth, of the late Pope John XXII, brought together an illustrious company of intellectuals and government leaders.

About 1,500 of them, from the West and the communist East, were registered for the three days of discussions.

* * *

The affair, privately sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, was titled "Internatonal Convocation on Pacem in Terris (peace on earth)."

Nobel prize - winning physicist Linus Pauling told an initial working session the "injustice and immorality of the great wars of the past would be far transcended by a great war in the nuclear age. . . hundreds or even thousands of millions of human beings might be killed. Great nations might be exterminated. Civilization might come to an end. There is even the possibility that the human race would not survive the catastrophe.'

Pope Paul, in a telegram relayed through Francis Cardinal Spellman, archbishop of New York, voiced a "prayerful desire" that the deliberations here "lead to positive action for world peace."

At this critical time, he said, all nations have a "collective responsibility" for "the preservation of friendly relationships and the avoidance of armed conflict which would have incalculable [illegible] results . . ."

Madison, Wis.
Capital Times
February 18, 1965

Warren Urges Global Law As Peace Basis

NEW YORK (UPI) — Chief Justice Earl Warren told an international gathering inquiring into means for world peace Friday that if people believe order is achieved through law then they should make world peace through international law their goal.

Warren headed a panel of law experts of several countries discussing national sovereignty and international organization as structures in the quest for peace.

They addressed a convocation of about 2,000 intellectuals from 14 countries examining requirements for peace.

The gathering was sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, a private United States organization. The meeting was inspired by the 1963 encyclical of Pope John XXIII, titled "Peace on Earth" (Pacem in Terris). The four-day meeting ends today.

"I happen to believe that the basis for an ordered world is law," Warren said. "Civilized man has always recognized the necessity for law in an ordered society. The first ruler of Egypt over 3,000 years before the Christian Era ruled his country through law."

"Since those days, domestic law has made great progress. This cannot be said of international law * * * We have not defined and perfected international as we have domestic law in our respective countries.

"There can be no excuse for this in this latter part of the 20th Century when audio and visual communications are instantaneous and any part of the world can be reached by travel in hours.

"If we really want peace on earth, if we believe that order is achieved through law, then we should make world peace through law our preoccupation." He said that that was not merely a government job but the job of world religions and every moral force that could be brought to bear.

Little Rock, Ark.
Arkansas Gazette
February 20, 1965

The Editor's Notebook

'Pacem in Terris'

NEW YORK — This city has been the scene this week of both a verbal triumph and a catastrophe.

The triumph was an international convocation to examine the requirements for peace. The catastrophe was the adjournment of the United Nations General Assembly in the midst of the Southeast Asian crisis.

The convocation, under sponsorship of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, brought together distinguished thinkers, statesmen, politicians and jurists from 14 nations. It was described at the outset by Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, president of the Center, as a "political meeting" to examine the principles of the late Pope John's famed encyclical, "Pacem in Terris" (Peace on Earth), and how their application may be applied to the making of peace.

The UN was unable to resolve the deadlock over the failure of certain members, notably the Soviet Union, to pay its assessments for controversial peace-keeping missions in recent years. Rather than invoke the plain language of the Charter, calling for the mandatory withdrawal of voting rights from member states persistently in arrears, the General Assembly adjourned until next Fall.

BUT ACROSS MANHATTAN, in the newly-opened New York Hilton Hotel, 1,500 invited educators, scholars, theologians, clergymen, lay officials of non-governmental public agencies, judges and journalists continued the dialogue about the requirements of peace. And it was "nothing but talk," it was timely conversation, somewhere, as Dr. Hutchins said, "between apathy and panic, and this side of the irrelevance of propaganda."

It came as a jolt to me that the guests of this convocation, meeting in the gold and blue General Assembly Hall of the United Nations itself for its opening session Wednesday night, reacted coldly to Vicepresident Humphrey's comments on American policy in South Viet Nam.

"We will [illegible]
to the [illegible]

This, I personally did not find to be part of the "triumph of words" that I mentioned earlier. This, to me, is earnest but unrealistic pacifist idealism—utterly inconsistent with the long-range prospects for accommodation with Communist China and "pacem" in Asia or anywhere on earth.

But other speakers, notably the distinguished George F. Kennan, challenged many of the assumptions and characteristics of American foreign policy in Europe — and stirred up a real storm of thought. This was a contribution, too, of Dr. Paul Tillich, the famed professor of theology at the University of Chicago; Paul-Henri Spaak, vicepremier and foreign minister of Belgium, and Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, judge of the International Court of Justice.

A COLLOQUY involving Carlo Schmid, vicepresident of the Bundestag of the Federal Republic of Germany, and Adam Schaff, a member of Communist Poland's United Workers' Party, was fascinating.

It was enlivened by the comment of Dr. Kennan on the same panel who, while hammering at the contradictions of Western policy in Europe, also exhorted the Communist governments of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe to "search their own consciences on the denial of true civil liberties . . . the resistance to adequate disarmament inspection and the steady poisoning of international understanding by propagandistic distortion."

The convocation's 60 speakers and panelists made a three-day record on privately filmed video tape before a sophisticated audience. The full tapes of the conference will be distributed for use by more than 60 television outlets in the National Educational Television Network. Cl[illegible] the tapes and fragme[illegible] recordings [illegible] tribute[illegible]

Hartford, Conn.
Times
February 20, 1965

NEW YORK PEACE CONVOCATION—

Pope John's Spirit Guides Meet

WANT PEACE PRESERVED—Three principals at a global peace conference pose at the opening session at New York's Hilton Hotel. From left are Linus Pauling, Nobel Prize winning physicist; Robert M. Hutchins, president of the sponsoring Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, and Paul Tillich, professor of theology at the University of Chicago. The gathering was inspired by the late Pope John XXIII's encyclical, Peace on Earth. (AP Wirephoto.)

By LOUIS CASSELS
(United Press International)

NEW YORK — An humble old man who died nearly two years ago is the dominant figure at a unique meeting taking place here this week.

It is called "an international convocation to examine the requirements for peace," and the participants are 2,000 of the world's best known scholars and statesmen.

Among the speakers are Adlai E. Stevenson, Barbara Ward, Linus Pauling, Paul Tillich, George F. Kennan, Walter Millis, Paul G. Hoffman and Arnold Toynbee.

But the real star of the glittering assembly is present only in spirit. He is Pope John XXIII. It is his great encyclical, "Pacem in Terris" (Peace On Earth), that the scholars have gathered to discuss.

* * *

THE CONVOCATION is sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, an offshoot of the Ford Foundation. The participants are attending as individuals rather than as representatives of their governments.

As former foreign chief Paul G. Hoffman pointed out at the opening session, this is the first time in history that such a distinguished group of the world's citizens have met, under private auspices, "to consider the practical aspects of a spiritual message."

It is also, almost certainly, the first time that a papal encyclical has been the agenda for a conference at which not only Catholics but Protestants, Jews, Humanists and Atheists are strongly represented.

"Pacem in Terris" was Pope John's last testament to mankind. It was issued in April, 1963, just two months before he died. It was addressed "to all men of good will."

Nearly 25,000 words long, the encyclical shares with the Bible the distinction of being often praised, but seldom read.

What exactly did Pope John say to make savants regard this document as one of the great milestones in the quest for peace on earth?

* * *

THE TRUTH IS, he didn't say anything very new or startling. He simply said what many other wise men have said about the dignity of every human person, the importance of justice in all international relationships, and

Bay City, Mich.
Times
February 20, 1965

Worldwide Session Inspired By Pope John's Peace Plea

By MILT FREUDENHEIM

NEW YORK (CDN) — The telephone girl answers "pacem in terris," probably the only such Latin greeting in New York.

She is a Wisconsin girl working in the office of this week's international meeting inspired by the late Pope John's famous Encyclical Pacem in Terris (peach on earth).

Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey will make the first major speech Wednesday at the conference of 1,500 leaders and thinkers from 15 countries, including high government officials.

The purpose of the three-day convocation at the United Nations building, says its chairman Robert Hutchins, is to seek "practical steps" to carry out the encyclical's principles for universal peace.

Participants will air the great issues of disarmament, divided Europe, peaceful coexistence and "liberation" wars. Reports of the discussions will be carried by world news media. "Public education is our aim" a convocation spokesman said.

Hot War Danger

The meetings take place at a moment of hot war danger in Viet Nam and Indonesia-Malaysia, and when the United Nations General Assembly is being put into a deep sleep because of disagreement among the great powers.

Humphrey, U.N. Secretary General Thant, Assembly President Alex Quaison-Sackey of Ghana, and U.S. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson will address the opening session before world diplomats in the U.N. Assembly Hall.

Other sessions, at the New York Hilton, will feature Vice Premier Paul-Henri Spaak of Belgium, Chief Justice Earl Warren, Israel Vice Premier Abba Eban, World Court Judges Sir Zafrulla Khan of Pakistan and Philip Jessup of the United States, and Director Paul Hoffman of the U.N. special fund.

Also U.N. ambassadors from Nigeria, Jordan and Britain, University of Chicago theologian Paul Tillich, British historian Arnold Toynbee, economist Barbara Ward, Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman J. William Fulbright, Kremlinologist George Kennan.

Reds Represented

Communist countries will be represented by Pravda's acting editor, M.N. Inozemtsev, Dr. Adam Schaff of the University of Warsaw and Mrs. Vida Tomsic of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Yugoslav Parliament.

The Johnson Foundation of Racine, Wis., is putting up the principal share of the meeting's $175,000 estimated cost. The Time, Inc., Western Publishing, Roth and Rubin Foundations also are helping.

A television tape of the discussions will be sent to educational television stations. Radio tapes and other films will be distributed nationally and abroad.

Explaining the thinking behind the convocation, Saturday Review editor Norman Cousins recalled that former Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev once told him that the pacem in terris appeal influenced his behavior during the 1962 Cuban missile crisis.

"The main point here," says Cousins, "is that Pope John had succeeded where the so-called political realists had failed, he was able to crack through the supposedly impenetrable shell of political determinism."

Red China Absent

However, Hutchins concedes that Communist China is "conspicuous by its absence" from the convocation because of American government barriers. Other Peking-minded critics of peaceful coexistence such as Indonesia also are absent.

Port Chester, N.Y.
Item
February 17, 1965

Treaty Restricting Use of Troops Is Urged at Parley

By GEORGE W. CORNELL
Associated Press

NEW YORK, Feb. 19.—Appeals were sounded at a world peace conference today for the development of international law and global means to enforce it.

Distinguished jurists and scholars from various countries declared such steps are needed to safeguard the future of humanity.

A stop-gap treaty restricting each nation's armed forces to its own borders also was urged.

PLEAS WERE voiced for a negotiated settlement in Viet Nam.

United States Chief Justice Earl Warren said mankind has failed to perfect "international law as we have domestic law in our respective countries," and added:

"Perhaps that was excusable during the centuries of isolation because of slowness of transportation and communication. But there can be no excuse in this latter part of the 20th Century."

Chief Justice Warren urged the working out of international laws "essential to peace" and "forums for their interpretation and enforcement."

"THE WORLD of today is nothing less than an international society, which needs—as do national societies—a clear-cut organization," said Louis Quintanilla of Mexico, chairman of the Organization of American States.

Declaring that all mankind has reached a point of "actual interdependence," he said those who "seem alarmed at the very mention of 'world government' must understand that government simply means organization."

Without that, he added, no society can develop.

TITLED the International Convocation on Pacem in Terris (Peace on Earth), the conference was inspired by the encyclical of that name by the late Pope John XXIII. It is privately sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

Dr. Kenzo Takayanagi of Tokyo, chairman of Japan's Constitution Revision Commission, urged specific limitations on the assumed sovereign rights of nations to send military forces outside their own

Seattle, Wash.
Times
February 19, 1965

Generalities And Realities

By Roslyn Rosen

From full-dress oversimplification in the great General Assembly Hall of the United Nations we proceeded to sharp appraisals of Western policy at the New York Hilton.

Such was the course of the *Pacem in Terris* convocation that examined the requirements for peace a few days ago in New York.

In the General Assembly Hall — a magnificent place in which to be bored—we heard Vice President Humphrey, Paul G. Hoffman, U Thant, Adlai Stevenson and Sir Alex Quaison-Sackey.

At the hotel, the generalities were put to the test of realities by George F. Kennan, Dr. Linus Pauling and Adam Schaff of Poland.

The progress from bombast to specifics was a considerable achievement in a week characterized by the beginnings of a hot war in Viet Nam and a cold recess at the United Nations.

THE CONFERENCE, based on Pope John's encyclical, was sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

"It may turn out during these days," said Robert M. Hutchins, the Center's president, "that *Pacem in Terris* was applauded throughout the world because it was so general as to be meaningless or so vague that any partisan could put his own meaning into it.

"It is time to open a new conversation about the requirements of peace on a level somewhere between apathy and panic, and this side of the irrelevance of propaganda."

For most of us who were present, the representation was vast enough to be very meaningful indeed. Two thousand persons from 14 countries included top-level officials of governments, members of all major faiths, scientists, pacifists, scholars, students and businessmen.

A comment by Robert Buron, former member of the French Cabinet (not a unique distinction, he said) that "we politicians want to be pushed by the people" could be considered the theme of the unofficial assemblage, which

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS

The overwhelming question of whether reason will triumph ultimately over force, enabling mankind to avoid nuclear annihilation, was underscored with the issuance of Pope John's famous encyclical, "Pacem in Terris"—Peace on Earth.

The dialog activated by the papal letter was renewed with intensity and urgency a few days ago by some of the world's outstanding thinkers—statesmen and diplomats, philosophers and theologians, businessmen and lawyers. They met in New York for speeches and discussion at a convocation sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

Representing The Sunday Sun-Times at the unprecedented and unique four-day convocation was Roslyn Rosen. Here is her report.

PACEM IN TERRIS

PEACE ON EARTH

was endorsed by President Johnson and blessed by Pope Paul VI.

We heard recurring "dialogs" exploring the compatibility of national independence with international interdependence, national sovereignty with world government, man's instinct for violence with his "humanitas." We heard the renunciation of all war and the defense of "just" wars, a discussion of the role of politics versus the role of religion.

"THIS IS NOT an ecumenical council assembled to debate religious topics. This is a political meeting," said Hutchins to an audience containing a conspicuous number of priests and nuns. His remarks preceded a message from Paul VI and an address by the Protestant theologian Paul Tillich of the University of Chicago.

Later, India's Madame Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Pietro Nenni, deputy prime minister of Italy, and Sir Muhamad Zafrulla Khan, judge of the International Court of Justice, affirmed the importance of spiritual values, the latter saying that "Islam seeks to bring about reconciliation between the believers of different faiths and to establish a basis of respect and honor among them."

Despite the pressure for lively discourse, there were few either-or conclusions. The conversations showed surprising sanity and balance. At the final round-table summation, when publisher Henry R. Luce, discussion chairman, talked rapidly and waved his hands in eggbeater gestures trying ot stir up some controversy. Steve Allen calmly ventured the opinion that the gathering had been both a political and a religious rally, "perhaps even a religious revival."

A FRIDAY MORNING SESSION on world law buckled down to serious business. After listening to Sir Zafrulla Khan, Dr. Luis Quintanilla of Mexico said he would descend from heaven to earth: "It is not enough to hope that peace will by some miracle invade the hearts of men. Peace must be built into the institutions of men."

Chief Justice Earl Warren pointed out the importance of strengthening the UN Charter, which is a legal device that has already given man international authority to quarantine disease, exchange weather information and co-operate on the use of outer space.

He reminded the audience that treaties are laws even when broken, that some nations are unwilling to submit their disputes to the UN. "Like individuals, they often take a lawyer's advice to settle out of court and avoid some hazards."

The principle of national sovereignty was called a quicksand by Judge Phillip C. Jessup of the International Court of Justice. He considered the policy that a nation's own interests should take precedence over collective interests incompatible with the rule of law. Here Sir Zafrulla Khan rose to the defense of national sovereignty, which he described as an aftermath of the colonial system.

"Those not sovereign in their own homes are not capable of international co-operation. The exercise of sovereignty is not a negation but a necessary stage of development." Only free nations can accept international limitations, he said, adding that the recently independent African states were ready to set up an organization of African states.

He urged the great powers to distinguish between peacekeeping and police operations which he thought could degenerate into instruments of power politics. "The purpose should not be to restore the status quo, but to keep peace with justice."

AT A LATER ROUND-TABLE discussion James Farmer, the national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, asked for another encyclical that would give oppressed

DR. PAUL TILLICH

countries some means of struggling for justice. He thought nonviolent resistance might be an answer in Africa, if supported by economic aid from the United States. He spoke of the "triangle of terror" in Selma, South Africa and Saigon and condemned the presence of mercenaries in The Congo, a situation which was "like sending up vigilantes from Alabama to settle problems in Harlem."

The case of the poor nations was further pleaded by Chief S. O. Adebo, a striking figure in flowing robes, who is the Nigerian representative to the UN. He asked the great powers: "Give us the aid we want. We don't want bad aid. Bad aid promotes the exports of the donor. Bad aid is a bribe asking us to become satellites of the giver. Give us aid without condescension in the spirit of the encyclical. We accept the responsibility not to abuse the donor. Economic aid should be given for the good of the common man." He added that if *Pacem in Terris* was to be taken seriously, both the poor and affluent nations have an obligation to promote change. Change will not come of itself.

Dr. Kenzo Takayanagi, chairman of the constitution revision commission of Japan, agreed that the right of self-determination need not be thrown overboard in the nuclear era. He made a deep impression when in a precise and quiet voice he spoke of the Article 9 of the new constitution of Japan which banned its right to war. He expressed the hope that it would serve as a model for the rest of the world.

KENNAN DREW the greatest applause of the conference after a forthright criticism of Western policy based on "an assessment which has not changed appreciably from the days of the Berlin blockade and the Korean War." The assumptions impute to Soviet leaders "a total inhumanity not plausible even in nature." They include, he said, the assumption of a strong Soviet desire to attack, intimidate Western Europe, a belief that the only deterrent is in nuclear weapons and a policy that embraces a heavily rearmed West Germany.

He called for a new act of faith in the

Turn to Page 4, This Section

SCHOLARS SEEKING A NEW THEOLOGY

Reconciliation of Technology and Religion Is Goal

By PAUL L. MONTGOMERY

More than 250 scholars and ligious leaders began three days of conversations yesterday to seek ways to end the traditional Judaeo-Christian suspicion of technology.

Their purpose is to lay the groundwork for a theology for the dawning age of cybernation, the era of computers and vast amounts of leisure time.

"We are looking toward the age when love and laughter will replace the gross national product as the measure of American life," said the Rev. Dr. Robert Hamill, dean of the chapel at Boston University and chairman of the meeting.

Dr. Hamill, in his keynote address, pointed out to the audience of nuns and priests, rabbis and college professors, ministers and writers, that hostility to the machine in their religious tradition was at least as old as the story of the Tower of Babal.

This story, in the 11th chapter of Genesis, tells of the attempt to build a tower reaching to heaven so that man can make a name for himself. The Lord interrupts the men's work because he believes that "nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do." He gives them different languages so they do not understand one another, and the technological ahievement is left unfinished.

The age of automation, Dr. Hamill said, will make it possible for man to do "what he has long been commanded to do —relieve the burden of the suffering and love his neighbor as himself."

But there is a danger, he added, that man—once again having the resources to build a Tower of Babel — will try to build it too high.

He said religion should face the moral questions raised by the age of cyberation, including the question how man can shift his incentive for working from earning a paycheck—which will be made obsolete by automation —to serving his fellow man.

Robert Theobald, the economist, told that group that, despite what they might hear, the age of cybernation was a reality. By 1970, he said, there will be 56,000 computer systems in operation in America, and automation will begin to affect the white-collar middle class as well as factory workers.

"America," he said, "is almost totally unprepared for the crisis of automation." He declared that religious groups, among many others, had not faced up to the fact that the world was changing.

"It is about time they did," he added.

If religious groups do not begin to come to terms with the new age, he said, they face destruction of everything they have stood for for man will become "a dehumanized robot."

William E. Moran Jr., dean of the college at Georgetown University, put the grim alternative in the form of a joke that he said he found both amusing and "not very funny."

Once, it seemed, some technicians with time on their hands decided to give their computer a really hard question. They asked it: "Is there a God?"

The machine rumbled, lights flashed, and the current whirred through its millions of transistor and memory cells. After a time, it produced this answer: "There is now."

W. H. Ferry, vice president of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, said that in addition to discussion about the moral implications of automation there was need for more technical research into its practical effects.

Mr. Ferry also called for a convention to redraft the Constitution, which he said had been outmoded by "all the technological novelties that are upon us."

The meeting is being sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, Calif., and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a pacifist group based in Nyack, N.Y. It is being held at the Brotherhood-in-Action Center, 560 Seventh Avenue, at 39th Street.

The conversations are the outgrowth of an international convocation on Pope John XXIII's encyclical Pacem in Terris held here 10 days ago. The purpose of the convocation was to stimulate discussion of means of attaining world peace and dealing with technological charge.

New York, N.Y./The New York Times/ March 2, 1965

Indianapolis, Ind./Star/February 18, 1965

Summit Peace Meeting Briefed On U.S. Goals

New York (AP)—Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey told a dramatic world consultation on peace last night that the United States will leave "no mile untraveled" in pursuit of that goal.

He spoke as philosophers, scientists and statesmen from around the world convened for a four-day summit "meeting of great minds" on ways to maintain peace in a nervous, nuclear age.

In the present turbulence in Southeast Asia, Humphrey said, this country's only aim "is peace and freedom for the to a friend. We seek no wider war. We seek no domination."

HIS UNUSUAL audience, holding their opening session in the United Nations Assembly Hall, came from every continent, from the Communist East and the non-Communist West.

There were about 2,000 of them, including some of the most renowned thinkers of this generation.

Their objective, as phrased by conference chairman Robert M. ~~Hutchins~~, is to seek workable solutions to "questions they know must be an- backdrop of urgency to the affair.

CALLED THE "International Convocation on Pacem in Terris (Peace on Earth)", the gathering was sparked by the now famous 1963 encyclical of that title by the late Pope John XXIII.

It is probably the most extraorrdinary response ever stirred by a papal teaching in modern times.

Humphrey called for strengthening of the peacekeeping military forces of the United Nations and improvement of the world organiz-

Chicago, Ill.
Sun Times
February 28,
1965

His Excellency Chief S.O. Adebo
Representative of Nigeria to the United Nations

Steve Allen
Author, Critic and Television personality

Eugene Burdick
Professor of Political Science, University of California

Robert Albert Gaston Buron
Chairman, National Committee on Productivity, Republic of France

His Excellency Alberto Lleras Camargo
Former President of Colombia

Lord Caradon
Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, United Kingdom

Abram J. Chayes
Former Legal Advisor to the Department of State

Grenville Clark
Attorney

John Cogley
Staff Director, Center's Study of the American Character

Norman Cousins
Editor, Saturday Review

Xavier Deniau
French National Assembly

The Honorable William O. Douglas
Associate Justice, United States Supreme Court

His Excellency Abba Eban
Deputy Prime Minister of Israel

James Farmer
National Director, Congress of Racial Equality

Jerome Frank
Johns Hopkins University Medical School

The Honorable J. William Fulbright
United States Senator from Arkansas

Msgr. George Guilfoyle
Auxiliary Bishop of New York

Hudson Hoagland
Worcester Foundation for Experimental Biology

The Honorable Paul G. Hoffman
Director, United Nations Special Fund

H. Stuart Hughes
Professor of History, Harvard University

The Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey
Vice-President of the United States

Robert M. Hutchins
President of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions

N. N. Inozemtsev
Deputy Chief Editor of Pravda

The Honorable Philip C. Jessup
Judge, International Court of Justice

Herman Kahn
Director, Hudson Institute

The Honorable George F. Kennan
Former United States Ambassador to U.S.S.R.

The Honorable Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan
Judge, International Court of Justice

Edward Lamb
President, Lamb Industries

Henry R. Luce
Editorial Chairman, Time, Inc.

Marya Mannes
Author and Critic

The Honorable Eugene J. McCarthy
United States Senator from Minnesota

The Honorable George McGovern
United States Senator from South Dakota

Academician M. D. Millionshchikov
Vice-President, Academy of Sciences, U.S.S.R.

Participants in the Center's International Convocation

Walter Millis
Staff Director, Center's Study of War and Democratic Institutions

Hans J. Morgenthau
University of Chicago

Fred Warner Neal
Claremont Graduate School

His Excellency Pietro Nenni
Vice-Premier of Italy

Leslie Paffrath
President, The Johnson Foundation

Madame Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit
Governor of Maharashtra, India

James G. Patton
President, National Farmers Union

Linus Pauling
Nobel Peace Laureate

The Honorable Claiborne Pell
United States Senator from Rhode Island

Gerard Piel
Editor and Publisher, Scientific American

His Excellency Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey
President of the United Nations General Assembly

The Honorable Luis Quintanilla
Former Ambassador of Mexico

R. Paul Ramsey
Princeton University

His Excellency Mr. Abdul Monem Rifa'i
Representative of Jordan to the United Nations

Elmo Roper
Public Opinion Analyst

Bayard Rustin
Executive Secretary, War Resisters League

The Honorable William Fitts Ryan
Representative from New York, U.S. Congress

Dr. Adam Schaff
United Workers' (Communist) Party of Poland

The Honorable Carlo Schmid
Vice-President of the Bundestag, Federal Republic of Germany

Stanley K. Sheinbaum
Economist, Center Staff

George N. Shuster
Assistant to the President, University of Notre Dame

His Excellency Paul-Henri Spaak
Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister of Belgium

Harold E. Stassen
Disarmament Adviser to President Eisenhower

The Honorable Adlai E. Stevenson
Representative of the United States to the United Nations

Carl F. Stover
Executive Director, National Institute of Public Affairs

The Honorable Kenzo Takayanagi
Chairman of the Constitution Revision Commission of Japan

His Excellency U Thant
Secretary-General of the United Nations

Paul Tillich
John Nuveen Professor of Theology, University of Chicago

Mrs. Vida Tomsic
Federal Assembly of Yugoslavia

Arnold Toynbee
Historian, Great Britain

Miss Barbara Ward
Economist and Author, Great Britain

The Honorable Earl Warren
Chief Justice of the United States

Mrs. Dagmar Wilson
Founder, Women Strike for Peace

Yevgenyi Zhukov
Academy of Sciences, U.S.S.R.

Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions

Most of you reading this are familiar with what the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions is trying to do. It is striving to see the problems of a revolutionary age in the light of reason. The Center is dedicated to the proposition that democracy is the most just form of government. Self-government can and must endure because it is the only form of rule consistent with the nature of man. The problem is not to figure out alternatives to democracy, but to make it work. ¶ The Center depends entirely on contributions from fellow-citizens who understand the importance to the maintenance of democracy of having a permanent focus of independent thought and criticism. The Operating Budget of the Center requires about $1,000,000 annually; to ensure long-range planning, a substantial Endowment Fund is also being sought. ¶ The Center invites your participation through gifts, grants, and bequests. You can have an important part in the work of the Center by becoming a member: ☐ Founding Member: $1,000 or more a year ☐ Sustaining Member: $100-$1,000 a year ☐ Associate Member: $10-$100 a year. All contributions are tax-deductible. Checks should be made payable to The Fund for the Republic, Inc., Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California.

THE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS / BOX 4068 / SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA

Inter-Office Communication

May 20, 1965

MAY 20 1965

To Irv Bluestone

From Irv Beller

Subject

Attached is a list of the contributions which would have been made to the proposed International Economic and Social Fund on the basis of 1963 GNP and GNP per capita. I am also attaching copies of the sources from which the list was developed. The latter contain additional information, including GNP and GNP per capita for the underdeveloped nations.

I have also asked Dick Laufle to prepare a bibliography of books in our library related to disarmament and economic development. Dick will provide you with a copy of the bibliography sometime before the meeting tomorrow.

I will not be able to attend tomorrow's meeting. I am leaving for Washington today to attend a meeting on proposed government statistical programs. Both Harry and Nat had strong feelings about our being represented at this meeting. I will, however, be returning to Detroit Friday night and will be available for work on the disarmament project over the weekend.

IB:eh
attachments
oeiu42

cc: Carrol Coburn
Nat Weinberg
Dick Kelly
Dick Laufle

Inter-Office Communication

UAW — UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AEROSPACE AND AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA

August 9, 1965

Pass Proposal

To Walter

From Irv

Subject

The June 14, 1965 issue of the Washington Evening Star carried an item (see attached) under the head:

Senate Favors Board to Plan Economic Aid

Following is information concerning this matter which is of interest:

In this year's foreign aid bill, Sen. Morse inserted an amendment in Part IV of the bill which sets up a Foreign Aid Planning Committee, to be composed of 12 members. This committee is charged with making recommendations about the structure of the foreign aid program to take place after the present two-year program expires.

Senators Robert Kennedy and Joe Clark inserted into the Morse proposal their own amendment, section (d) of Part IV, which charges the committee with estimating "the funds required by the developing nations of the world to close the widening gap between the economically privileged nations and those nations striving to achieve a developed economy." This amendment was adopted by a 78-1 vote.

Attached also are copies of the debate that took place on this amendment, with significant portions marked in red. Key quotes are as follows:

KENNEDY: "Fifteen years ago, we contributed to economic development in the rest of the world fully 10 percent of our Federal budget, nearly two percent of our gross national product.

"But to meet the challenges of the 1960's, we are spending only 3 percent of our Federal budget -- one half of one percent of our gross national product -- less than one-third the effort we made 15 years ago."

CLARK: "The plain fact is that we can afford a foreign economic development program at least three times as big as the present one. Instead of a $3 billion program -- which includes sizable sums for military and supporting aid as well, far more, in my judgment, than are warranted -- we should be thinking in terms of a $10 billion foreign economic development program."

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despite the general's insistence upon converting dollar reserves into gold.

Latest figures show that French reserves include, as of May 13, $1,120 million in foreign currency—mostly in dollars—and $4,255 million in gold.

France must continue to hold $600 million to cover reconstruction loans granted by the United States in 1945–46. It must hold another $60 million to cover a Canadian loan. And France must hold another large block of dollars to cover normal trading requirements.

This takes us back to where we started, still wondering what to do to deter De Gaulle from his perilous course.

The answer may in fact be a fairly simple one, if only a partial one.

The least we could do, it is suggested, would be to ask De Gaulle for a straightforward statement of his intentions.

The demand would be supported by the obvious need to look ahead and to protect our alliance against all possible threats.

A good many people, including many important French citizens, feel that the mass of the French people would be thoroughly shocked if they realized what the general was up to—if they were allowed to understand that the United States was being driven straight into the arms of the Italians and the Germans because of De Gaulle's actions.

This, at least, seems to be the one sensible suggestion that has been heard. It surely seems worth a try.

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Daily News, June 9, 1965]

EUROPEAN ALLIANCE THREATENED; DE GAULLE: DISASTER FOR THE FREE WORLD?

(By William H. Stoneman)

PARIS.—President Charles de Gaulle of France is planning a series of steps that may prove disastrous not only to France and De Gaulle himself, but to the whole free world.

The French public is unaware of his plans. The United States and France's other allies have taken no steps to deter him.

De Gaulle hopes, in effect, to withdraw France from the North Atlantic Treaty and to supplant the iron clad, comprehensive North Atlantic Alliance with a series of hodgepodge, bilateral defensive alliances of the same kind that failed to prevent either of the last two world wars.

This he cannot do legally before 1969, but in the meantime he plans steps that will threaten the military workings of the alliance.

One of these steps, planned for the period after the French elections late this fall, will be to tell the United States that it is no longer free to use 14 airdromes on French soil, except when France gives its specific approval. In other words, we could not count upon their use in case of hostilities.

The same action will be taken in regard to the line of supply we have built up between the ports of western France and our forces in Germany.

These installations and the material we have stored in depots are roughly valued at more than $2 billion.

But the financial loss would be nothing compared to the blow in strategic terms.

American and other allied military men have refused to admit that the withdrawal of France from the alliance, or the loss of French facilities, would necessarily mean the end of NATO. They may be right, to a certain extent.

But there can be no denying that the loss of French facilities would be a shocking blow, vastly increasingly the already colossal job of trying to defend Western Europe on the ground.

The first thing that has to be understood in this connection is our 90-day strategy.

It is our American view that we must be prepared, or seem to be prepared, to fight a protracted conventional war in Europe in order to escape defeat by ultimatum.

Unless we have this capability we risk being confronted by the choice of having an all-out hydrogen war or capitulating in an unlimited number of possible crises.

But even the theoretical possibility of fighting a 60- or 90-day conventional war depends upon our theoretical ability to fall back gradually in the face of overwhelming Russian attack. And this depends upon our having ammunition, fuel, and other supplies waiting for us as our troops fall back.

It also depends upon our ability to use a large complex of airdromes scattered over a large area behind our fighting front and a great collection of roads that cannot all be cut by enemy action.

It is impossible to comprehend the full implication of De Gaulle's willful brainstorm without understanding the following fact:

Generally speaking, our frontline units, which would go into action immediately in case of a Russian attack on the central front in Germany, carry 5 days supplies of ammunition and other vital supplies.

Supply dumps in the immediate rear contain another 10 days supplies.

We don't keep larger stores in the front area because the chances are we would lose everything we didn't use.

Our ability to go on fighting for several weeks after this first "frontier battle" depends on the supplies we have in France.

What can we do if France virtually kicks us out of her territory or lays down impossible restrictions on our continued presence?

One thing sure is that we cannot substitute either Western Germany or the low countries for France. Our principal lines of supply now go through ports in those countries, for reasons of economy. But they are certain to become unusable in wartime.

One fairly plausible solution would be to switch NATO headquarters and our supply bases from France to Italy. Italy has the advantage of being remote from the front line. We might conceivably be able to move supplies and men through the Brenner Pass or the Ljubljana Gap, in northwestern Yugoslavia.

This move, however unsatisfactory, at least constitutes a paper threat that prevents us from being completely at the mercy of De Gaulle.

The fact remains that it is an unsatisfactory solution that we would never contemplate if France behaved as a loyal ally.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1965

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 1837) to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum and ask that the time for the quorum call to be charged to the time allocated to the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CLARK in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BASS in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

The bill is open to further amendment.

AMENDMENTS NO. 262

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I call up amendments No. 262, and ask that they be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the amendments.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 25, strike out lines 9 to 13, inclusive. On page 25, line 14, strike out "(c)" and substitute "(b)". On page 25, line 21, strike out "(d)" and substitute "(c)". On page 25, after line 25, insert the following:

(d) The proposals referred to in subsection (a) should be based on an analysis and estimate of the funds required by the developing nations of the world to close the widening gap between the economically privileged nations and those nations striving to achieve a developed economy. This analysis should examine the relationship between development requirements and the rising gross national product of the United States, assessing the percentage of gross national product that should be devoted to such development assistance. The proposals should include an assessment of the role that economic assistance by the United States and other developed nations can and should play in the economic and social development of the rest of the world, and carefully delineate policies and programs required to fulfill this role.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair inquires if the Senator from Pennsylvania would like to have the amendments considered en bloc.

Mr. CLARK. I ask unanimous consent that the amendments be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendments will be considered en bloc.

Under the agreement, the Senator from Pennsylvania will be recognized for 30 minutes, and the Senator from Arkansas for 30 minutes.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, is not amendment No. 262 proposed by the Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY] and me, rather than by me alone?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is in error. The amendment is proposed by the Senator from New York, for himself and the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from New York as much time as he may require.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York has control of the time.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, I offer on behalf of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] and myself an amendment to S. 1837, a bill to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 as amended.

I think it is clear from the discussion that has occurred on S. 1837 to date that there are certain dissatisfactions with our foreign aid program.

At times our aid has seemed to support governments unwilling to undertake the basic reforms essential to economic development and the political and economic freedom of their people.

The foreign aid program has often achieved major successes.

But at other times, political considerations have seemed to compel assistance which did not contribute to real economic progress.

And results have sometimes appeared slow, so that the goals to which we have directed ourselves in certain countries seemed nearly as distant as they did 15 years ago.

As a result, many Americans—and some Senators—who are deeply committed to the principle that we should help the rest of the world, are nevertheless severely critical of our actual foreign aid program.

Clearly, it is time that we take full stock of where we are going, and how we will get there.

It may be that the entire method of administering foreign aid should be overhauled.

Many new approaches are possible—such as California's special relationship with Chile, or the people-to-people program carried out by Michigan State University.

The Alliance for Progress is currently attempting to direct economic development and assistance efforts for all of Latin America, through a cooperative planning council.

Our foreign aid in other areas might follow this example. We may work more through institutions such as the World Bank; other multilateral approaches to foreign assistance loans and grants, as recommended by the Foreign Relations Committee, may prove more effective than bilateral assistance programs.

All these approaches will be studied by the committee established by part IV of the bill.

The committee's study should point to the necessary reforms.

The amendment which we offer today would insure that the committee would also consider the basic question of the proper magnitude of the future U.S. assistance program.

The amendment would direct the committee to analyze the basic relationship between the needs of the developing nations and the resources of the United States and other advanced countries.

It would direct the committee to assess the proportion of our gross national product which should be devoted to the welfare of the rest of the world's peoples.

In so doing, it would affirm the sense of the Congress that the United States will fully meet its responsibilities in the decades ahead.

For we must recognize that two-thirds of the world's people live in poverty and hunger, with ignorance and disease their constant companions. And we must recognize that if help is to come to them from outside, we must play a major part.

The United States owns over half of all the world's wealth outside the Communist bloc and our present gross national product is increasing at a constant and impressive rate.

The disparity between our wealth and that of the underdeveloped countries of the world is even greater.

The U.S. gross national product is over $600 billion per year.

The dozen developed countries of Western Europe and Japan together have a gross national product of half that much.

The more than a hundred remaining countries of the non-Communist world—the countries with which this bill is concerned—share a total gross national product of another $300 billion.

This means that the income of the average Indian or African or Lybian is less than $75 a year.

It means that the average citizen of Paraguay or Indonesia or Iran has an income of only a little over $100 a year.

At the same time, our gross national product per person is over $2,500 per year and is rising far faster than is production or income in the less-developed countries.

But as our wealth grows—as the gap between us and the rest of the world increases—we have been doing less, not more, to meet our responsibilities.

Fifteen years ago, we contributed to economic development in the rest of the world fully 10 percent of our Federal budget, nearly 2 percent of our gross national product.

But to meet the challenges of the 1960's, we are spending only 3 percent of our Federal budget—one-half of 1 percent of our gross national product—less than one-third the effort we made 15 years ago.

In order to assist the two-thirds of the world that is struggling to overcome poverty that cannot see past the desperate need for tomorrow's food, the developed world must find better techniques and methods for stimulating economic growth.

The people of the United States were willing to make a commitment of 2 percent of our national income to foreign assistance in the post-World War II period.

As they make a further commitment to foreign aid, they want to know that our assistance is designed to do the job. They want to know that we will do more than merely meet consumption needs. They want to know that our goals are realistic and that means of achievement are available.

This amendment is designed to clarify the needs, our goals in relation to these needs, and our methods of achieving these goals.

The committee should therefore study and assess the magnitude of needed capital assistance efforts.

It should recommend policies and programs for the education, training, and employment of the necessary human resources from the United States and other developed nations.

And it should recommend ways in which we can assist less-developed countries to undertake the educational efforts which are necessary.

In Venezuela, 1 year's work by agricultural technicians has taught farmers to increase their cornfields from 1,100 to 2,300 kilograms per hectare; by next year, they should get 4,000 kilograms per hectare. But this has required a ratio of 1 technician for every 30 farmers. If we would duplicate or even approach similar results elsewhere, we must vastly increase the development of human resources.

We believe that the study called for by this amendment will be of great assistance in setting before the Nation the challenges which we will face in the coming years.

The Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] has informed the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] and me that he accepts our amendment.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I yield.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the Senator has said that I accept the objective of the amendment. I accept the objective except for the part reading, "On page 25, strike out lines 9 to 13, inclusive."

I shall give my reasons for that shortly. However, I shall support the objective that the Senator has in mind. It was agreed that if the special committee should come forth and say that the figure of 50 should be 60 or 70, that would draw up the issue at that time.

As I shall develop on my own time later, I believe it is a great mistake to eliminate the figure "fifty" when it is agreed that this is not strictly binding. Therefore, I shall develop this point later.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. The Senator from Oregon, on the debate on Friday, pointed out that he would very likely favor even greater foreign aid if the foreign aid program were developed properly and met the ideals in which we are interested.

As he has so often pointed out in his comments of our foreign aid programs, he is not against foreign aid, but rather against a poorly designed or administered program that does not accomplish what is is supposed to do.

This amendment is designed to insure that we examine our goals, and means to their achievement, in a critical and constructive manner.

I believe that the American people maintain a deep commitment to the goal of economic development for the two-thirds of the world's people who are poor—that we, who diet, have a responsibility to those who starve.

As President Kennedy said in 1961:

> To those peoples in the huts and villages of half the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period is required—not because the Communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.

This amendment will help us to determine how to meet this challenge.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield me 5 minutes?

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Pennsylvania.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the proposed amendment would add a new subsection to section 703, entitled "Principles To Be Taken Into Account in Proposals

for Future Programs," which appears in part IV, on page 23 of the bill.

The purpose of the Kennedy-Clark amendment is to draw attention to the fact that the rich nations are constantly growing richer and the poor nations are constantly becoming poorer, and to indicate the ocurse of action which we believe this situation makes necessary.

I can think of no greater menace to our peace and prosperity, and that of our children and grandchildren, than the ever-widening gulf between the "have" and the "have-nots" which exists in the world today.

Note well these rather frightening figures. The average inhabitant of Asia, Africa, or Latin America has an income of less than $100 a year.

This compares with $2,500 per person per year in the United States. That disparity is becoming greater and not smaller. So as long as our rate of growth is as rapid as it is, and theirs is as slow as it is today, the gap will increase to an even greater figure.

Our own self-interest, as well as our humanitariar traditions, require that we take strong, positive action to help speed up the rate of economic development in the poorer nations of the world.

The present $3.3 billion bill represents, in our joint judgment, far less than we could and should devote to this end.

Fifteen years ago, when we were in the Marshall plan, the United States was contributing 1½ to 2 percent of our gross national product to relieve and help countries abroad. Today it is down to 0.5 percent, and in these underdeveloped areas of the world, the need is substantially greater than it was then. This is because they have not made the economic progress we had hoped they would make in the interim, particularly since any economic progress they have made in increasing their gross national product has in many cases been more than offset by the population increase. We have been able to achieve "death control," through our public health programs, but we have not developed really effective methods of cutting down on the high rates of population growth.

In those earlier days we were putting up 10 to 12 percent of our Federal administrative budget into foreign aid. Today it is down to 3 percent.

The plain fact is that we can afford a foreign economic development program at least three times as big as the present one. Instead of a $3 billion program—which includes sizable sums for military and supporting aid as well, far more, in my judgment, than are warranted—we should be thinking in terms of a $10 billion foreign economic development program.

I hope that the legislative proposals which are to come out of the Foreign Aid Planning Committee will be as bold and as imaginative as they will have to be if this country is to meet its obligations in the field of world economic development.

I should like to paraphrase the language of the amendment by saying that the proposals referred to in subsection (a) of section 703 should be based on an analysis and estimate of the funds required by the developing nations of the world to close the widening gap between the economically privileged nations and those nations striving to achieve a developed economy. This analysis should examine the relationship between development requirements and the rising gross national product of the United States, assessing the percentage of gross national product that should be devoted to such development assistance.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. CLARK. Will the Senator from New York yield me 2 additional minutes?

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Pennsylvania.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania is recognized for 2 additional minutes.

Mr. CLARK. The proposals should include an assessment of the role that economic assistance by the United States and other developed nations can and should play in the economic and social development of the rest of the world, and carefully delineate policies and programs required to fill this role.

Let me say, to the Senator from Oregon, with reference to the part of the amendment which would strike out the provision which limits the foreign aid program to 50 countries, that there is no magic in the figure 50. It could be made 45, or more than 50. I am suggesting to the Senator from Oregon—I do not know whether the Senator from New York will agree—that if the Senator from Oregon strongly objects, we would be willing to delete from our amendment the language which would strike out the 50-nation provision. But I hope he will agree to the amendment because the Commission ought to be free to go into these problems, without any artificial 50-nation limitation. It seems to me that there is a virtue in having technical assistance missions in a number of smaller countries even though we may not have large aid programs in those countries.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, may I have 2 minutes?

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. I shall speak more about this later, but with respect to what the Senator from New York and the Senator from Pennsylvania have said, let me say they had a right to rely on my approval of the amendments. The Senator from New York and I spoke about them and I told him I was for them, but I was thinking in terms of section (d). I did not realize, as I read the amendments hastily, that they would eliminate the reference to 50.

Let me briefly develop what transpired in the Foreign Relations Committee. This is a compromise that came out of the proposed Morse program. There was give and take in it. I am perfectly willing to state that there is nothing magical about the number 50, but the majority thought that in the Commission that was to be established there should be notice to the rest of the world that we are going to have a ceiling. The number may be 45, or it may be 80, depending on what is brought out factually.

But the AID people, in their testimony before us, say that they have been trying to reduce it. They agree that it should be reduced, but that it should be reduced on the facts. They testified before us with great pride as to the reduction in the number of countries they have already reached. But let me say to the Senator from Pennsylvania and the Senator from New York that I believe psychologically it would be a great mistake to adopt the amendment in its present form, with the sky as the limit in the interpretation which will be made around the world. It is important, as of now, that the countries of the world know that we intend to place a ceiling on the number of countries. We cannot continue to be giving aid to whatever the number is. The Senator from Pennsylvania knows that it is somewhere in the neighborhood of 90 at the present time. Whether it is 50 to 90—but let us say 90—that is too many countries on the basis of the present format of AID.

We can end with a foreign aid program which I can support enthusiastically far over 50—but that will be——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Oregon has expired.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 1 additional minute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon is recognized for 1 additional minute.

Mr. MORSE. But that will be building up hard loans, it will be building up the agreement that they are not going to be using our money, for example, to our disadvantage economically and to the advantage of others who are not willing to invest in a foreign aid program.

The other day, I used the example of one Middle East country which obtained a great deal of money from us and then proceeded to buy wheat from Asutralia with that money, when they knew that our Government wished them to help us with our own wheat surplus.

There are many facets to that situation, of course. But, that is only one of the problems.

Let me say to the Senator from Pennsylvania and the Senator from New York that they are on the verge of reaching a remarkable agreement in the Senate on the heart of the amendment, which is section (d) of the amendment. That is the way we have to go. I have never advocated that we take an economic isolationist policy in regard to our foreign policy. I wish to help those countries help themselves, but I wish to do it on an entirely different basis.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Oregon has expired.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, I ask to modify my amendment, in accordance with the request of the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], by striking out line 1, which reads, "On page 25, strike out lines 9 to 13, inclusive."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be so modified.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I ask the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FUL-

BRIGHT] if the amendment, as now modified, is acceptable to him.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. That was my objection. I conferred with the Senator from Oregon the other day. When I discussed it with other Senators, I had not even noticed that the first line was a part of the amendment. I would not have taken it without that modification.

I am prepared to accept the amendment as modified, and would like to propose this question: Page 2, line 4 shows the word "assessing," and line 6 shows the word "assessment." The word "assessing" is a word which could be interpreted in a way which could be misleading. I do not believe that the sponsors of the amendment meant that the Commission should try to determine the precise assessment of the percentage of the gross national product. I thought it would mean to assess the GNP in the sense of an evaluation, as I believe it provides in line 6, which clearly means that they are guidelines to be used by the Commission to be appointed under the Morse amendment for suggestions as to the proper way to approach foreign aid in laying down certain policies.

Whether it is possible or practicable to say that the United States should devote automatically, regardless of what that gross national product would be, 1 or 2 percent, is certainly a little premature, it seems to me. It would be perfectly proper for the Commission to devise some formula that possibly could be used in the OECD. If all the developed countries should agree to devote 1 or 2 percent, or whatever they believe is agreeable, and this should be the formula which we should try to induce other countries to abide by, it seems to me it would be a very good move and would be persuasive to others in showing our good faith.

I am hesitant to say now that I believe they should say that the United States should give so much. This is buying a pig in a poke. With that understanding, I am perfectly willing to accept the amendment as modified.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I accept that. We are interested in what the Senator from Oregon has just spoken about, what the Senator from Pennsylvania referred to, and what the Senator from Arkansas has just touched upon. We are a wealthy nation, which grows more wealthy. Many other nations whose gross national product continues to increase, because of the population explosion and because of food shortages instead of growing stronger economically, will grow weaker. What is the relationship going to be within the next 5 or 10 years?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. That is correct. I believe this question is constantly coming up in relationship to aid. It is very important and I hope that the committee can give thought to that.

As a guideline for study, I believe this is a very good amendment.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I thank the Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield me 30 seconds to straighten out some draftsmanship imperfection in his amendment?

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I yield 30 seconds to the Senator from Oregon.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon is recognized for 30 seconds.

Mr. MORSE. If the two Senators from Pennsylvania and New York are modifying the amendment to eliminate line 1 on page 1, they should also modify the amendment on lines 2, 3, 4, and 5 accordingly, and also on line 7 on page 1, and I believe that the (d) should then be changed to (e).

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. That is fine; and I accept that.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President——

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, how much time have I left?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York has 13 minutes remaining.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I shall be glad to yield to the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS], if he needs time.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I am glad to yield to my colleague.

Mr. JAVITS. I like the amendment very much, and I hope that it will be included in the bill. I am pleased to note that the chairman of the committee has also accepted it. One other aspect of legislative history should be made clear, namely that the amendment does not contemplate solely the use of public funds as a contribution toward economic development, but also contemplates a relationship of what is used for foreign economic aid, in terms of the gross national product, both from public and private funds.

It is important to emphasize that, because the purpose and intent of the approach the Senator from Oregon and the committee have in mind is to draw upon new sources which have not previously been drawn upon.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. What we have had in mind primarily is public funds for help and assistance which would be rendered in various forms, but certainly private funds would be an integral part of that effort. I would have no objection to having it understood, from debate on the floor of the Senate, that that kind of approach in the economy should be taken into consideration.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank my colleague. I hope that his amendment will be adopted.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I should like to direct an inquiry to the Senator from Arkansas. In this commitment we do not earmark——

Mr. FULBRIGHT. We do not. I have just made it clear that as I understand the amendment, these are guidelines for the instruction of the Commission to be appointed under the Morse amendment, which provides for a Commission of 12 members. In my view, this means that the Commission would examine into the possibilities of developing a formula which might be applied, for example, to all the nations of OECD, if they collectively—this is an example of how it might be properly interpreted—would agree that the industrialized countries, and not merely the United States, should be able to apply as a group some percentage of their gross national product. This is not unreasonable as a talking point, as a suggestion to the other industrialized countries that the bigger part had interpreted it to mean that they authorized the Commission to say, "We assess the United States so and so." These are suggestions as to what they should go into.

The relationship between the growth of industrial countries and the underdeveloped countries is an important matter. I am told—and we read daily—that the rich countries are growing richer and that the relatively poor countries are growing poorer. Something should be done about it. These are guidelines that are sought to be established. That is the type of question that is perfectly proper for the Commission to investigate.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Words sometimes mean different things to different people. The word "should" is used. The language reads: "This analysis should examine"——

Mr. FULBRIGHT. "Examine"; yes. That is not to be binding, however.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I continue to read:

> This analysis should examine the relationship between development requirements and the rising gross national product of the United States, assessing the percentage of gross national product should be devoted * * * the proposal should include an assessment * * * and should play in the economic and social development—

And so forth. Sometimes this has a way of hitting someone in the eye and he regards it as a commitment. I wish to know, for purposes of legislative history, right now, that we are not committing our country and not committing our gross national product to a percentage level for these purposes.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. This is clearly not a commitment. It may be that only 45 countries or 40 countries will be included, not 50 countries. These are suggestions; and it is hoped that the Commission will study the problem and come up with new ideas and better approaches with respect to our foreign aid program. This is one suggestion. I do not see any harm in it. The word "assessing" on line 4 of page 2 of the amendment does not mean that the Commission should make such and such an assessment. I think the proper interpretation of that word would be "evaluating."

Based on the facts, due to the terms of trade, in one important instance; that is, establishing reasonable prices for raw materials as opposed to industrial material, this has been working very much to the disadvantage of underdeveloped countries. That was a very important problem with regard to my own State as related to the industrialized northeastern area of our country. This is an important element in the effort to bring about a higher standard of living in the underdeveloped countries, because they are raw-material-producing countries, and are not industrialized.

This bears on the question of the relationship between the industrialized

countries and the raw-material-producing countries. I regard this as an admonition or direction to the commission to look into these questions and come forward with some suggestion. These are to be suggestions made to influence the administration in presenting its next foreign aid bill. This is not intended to be binding on our country.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Realizing that we cannot redress all the grievances of the entire world, I do not want us to commit ourselves to a percentage of the gross national product, on which we might founder.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I do not want to do so, either. I do not believe this is binding. I am sure the Senator does not mean to say that we should not consider these things, from the standpoint of our gross national product relative to other countries, and that that should not be taken into consideration.

Mr. DIRKSEN. I do not.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, in accepting the amendment—and I agree with the amendment—I also believe that the gap between have and have-not nations is widening, and that the gap will widen further if the present forecast is borne out with respect to the industrial countries continuing to increase their economic growth rapidly while the underdeveloped countries continue their much more modest increase. Does the Senator agree that what we are talking about is both public and private funds, and that we are, hopefully, contemplating a burst of interest in the underdeveloped areas on the part of the private enterprise system?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Certainly; if we can bring about some political stability in the underdeveloped countries, the private sector will blossom beyond all comprehension. What is holding back private investment in South America, for example, is the fear of political instability. This is a very difficult situation. If any progress could be made, the private sector in those countries may make tremendous progress.

Mr. JAVITS. We have been rather deficient in our ingenuity with respect to inducements, in that we have not been able to have the private enterprise system play a more effective role in underdeveloped countries, in trying to bring about a better climate for it.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Not so far as this legislation is concerned. Many sections of this legislation are geared to this purpose. There are the guaranty programs, which have been developed in recent revisions of the act. We have gone just about as far as we could possibly go with respect to inducements. Where we have failed is in not knowing how to help countries bring about political stability. This is where the real harm has been done. Even with investment guarantees, there is a hesitancy to go into a situation that may blow up next week. That is where I believe we have failed. This legislation has not failed. I do not want to minimize the difficulty. I do not know whether it is possible for us to help a country achieve political stability. Perhaps the ony way would be in the field of education, and that type of endeavor. I believe it would help in terms of trade. I have in mind the sort of thing like the coffee agreement, even though that is minor.

Mr. JAVITS. It is a kind of chicken-egg proposition. Private enterprise brings about political stability.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Yes; it is a kind of chicken-egg proposition. It is hard to influence the political situation, of course.

Mr. JAVITS. We have the extended risk guarantee proposition, which has gone by the boards. We have the tax-incentive idea, which has really not been put into effect except for Western Hemisphere trading corporations. There are many things which will be recommended by the Advisory Committee on Private Enterprise in Foreign Aid, which is due to make its report by the end of the month. There are some individual ideas, too, with respect to which I shall bring up a suggestion, such as the Peace-by-Investment Corp.

If we interpret the language as the Senator has interpreted it—and I agree with it—we should utilize everything we can to affect the political climate by the success with which investments can be built up in a particular country. I agree with the Senator.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield 3 minutes to the Senator.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, may we have the yeas and nays ordered before the Senator asks his question?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I have accepted the amendment.

Mr. CLARK. We would like the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is the request sufficiently seconded?

The yeas and nays were not ordered.

Mr. MILLER. I should like to ask the Senator from New York a question and then to make a comment. It seems to me that using the gross national product as he does in his amendment may not be as meaningful as we would like to have it. For example, I am sure I do not need to point out that if the gross national product rises because of a greatly stepped-up war effort on the part of the United States, that increase in the gross national product would hardly be considered as a basis for comparison with respect to what we ought to be doing in foreign aid.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I believe the Commission would take that point into consideration.

Mr. MILLER. We could perhaps be more meaningful and get at exactly what the Senator has in mind by referring to the economic growth of the United States. Perhaps we could include the gross national product. What we are really after is the economic growth of the United States in comparison with what our commitments might be. I do not believe that the gross national product meets the requirement. I have used the example of the war boost on the gross national product to bear out my statement. I believe the amendment would be a good one and could be even a much better one if we would have the amendment read "the economic growth, including the rise in the gross national product of the United States."

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I would have no objection to such a modification, but I believe that if we establish here by debate and colloquy that it involves the economic growth and the gross national product in the way the Senator has described it, that is perfectly satisfactory to me.

Mr. MILLER. I feel that that is what the Senator had in mind. I would feel a great deal better about it if the Senator could modify his amendments so that on page 2, line 3, there would be inserted before the word "rising" the words "economic growth, including the," so that the clause would read, "and the economic growth, including the rising gross national product of the United States, assessing the percentage"—and then striking the words, "of gross national product" and inserting in lieu thereof the word "thereof," so that the entire sentence would read as follows:

> This analysis should examine the relationship between development requirements and the economic growth, including the rising gross national product of the United States, assessing the percentage thereof that should be devoted to such development assistance.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I have no objection to that proposed modification.

Mr. President, I ask that the amendments be modified as the Senator from Iowa has suggested.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator from New York advise the Chair how he wishes the amendments to be modified?

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Will the Senator from Iowa restate his proposal?

Mr. MILLER. The amendments would be modified so that on line 3, page 2, before the word "rising" would appear the words "economic growth, including the," and then on lines 4 and 5, it is proposed to strike the words "a gross national product," and insert in lieu thereof the word "thereof."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Do the proposed modifications stated by the Senator from Iowa conform to the recommendations and request of the Senator from New York?

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Yes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendments will be so modified.

Mr. MILLER. I thank the Senator. I shall be happy to support his amendments.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair requests the Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY] to send to the desk a copy of the amendment as modified so that the clerks can properly report the amendment.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I shall be happy to do so.

The amendments as modified are as follows:

> On page 25, line 14, strike out "(c)" and substitute "(b)".

On page 25, line 21, strike out "(d)" and substitute "(c)".

On page 25, after line 25, insert the following:

"(d) The propcsals referred to in subsection (a) should be based on an analysis and estimate of the funds required by the developing nations of the world to close the widening gap between the economically privileged nations and those nations striving to achieve a developed economy. This analysis should examine the relationship between development requirements and the economic growth, including the rising gross national product of the United States, assessing the percentage thereof that should be devoted to such development assistance. The proposals should include an assessment of the role that economic assistance by the United States and other developed nations can and should play in the economic and social development of the rest of the world, and carefully delineate olicies and programs required to fulfill this role."

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator from New York yield?

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I yield.

Mr. MORSE. I understand that the Senator from New York and the Senator from Pennsylvania share the point of view—and I agree—that it would be a good idea for conference purposes to have a yea-and-nay vote on the amendments.

Mr. CLARK. The Senator is correct.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were not ordered.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I shall suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. First, does the Senator from New York yield back his time? Out of whose time will the time necessary for the quorum call be taken?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I shall be happy to yield the necessary time, but I believe a sufficient number of Senators are present so that perhaps the yeas and nays could now be ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Senators who are interested in seconding the demand for the yeas and nays will please raise their hands so that the Chair may count.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I am ready to yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield me 3 minutes?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield 3 minutes to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. First, I wish to highly commend the Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY] and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] for the amendments in their modified form. I do not believe that the Senate even begins to appreciate as yet the future significance of the amendments.

In my judgment, the amendments would bring together in the next 2 years on the floor of the Senate what many people think are irreconcilable conflicting groups—and it never has been true, and it is not true now. The amendments would help the country to see that what we all desire is for the United States to live up to its clear moral obligations in regard to helping the underprivileged of the world and the countries in this world that we refer to as underdeveloped countries.

It has never been my position that we should not aid those people. We are dealing with problems of procedure for aiding them. The Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY] and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] will recognize that. We are now dealing with what our guidelines ought to be. For example, we are dealing with a problem of hard loans and soft loans, the problem of grants versus loans. We are dealing with a problem as to how other countries that have the means with which to assist us ought to be of assistance to us in trying to bring—and I know the danger of using a term such as this, but it will spell out the difference between war and peace in the years ahead—the enjoyment of economic freedom to the "have nots" of this world, so that once they become economically free, they can really develop their political freedom under the principle of self-determination.

That is what the Senator from New York and the Senator from Pennsylvania are really doing by way of the amendments as I envision them. The amendment has many potentialities. Of course, we know that unless the countries to which they refer are ready and willing to do more themselves to further their economic growth, any additional sums spent by us in this endeavor will be totally wasted.

For the benefit of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], I should like to say that the amendments would not mean any commitments. It would not mean that under the word "assessing" or the word "assessment" used in the amendments there would be any commitment made as to any percentage of our national product that would be committed to foreign aid in the future. But, as the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT] has pointed out, "assessing" would be interpreted by us to mean that we ought to evaluate now, through the work of the Commission, a percentage of the gross national product that we ought to make available by way of various loans, grants, and cooperative efforts with other countries to underdeveloped areas of the world. "Assessment" I interpret to mean evaluation, and not any binding commitment that a specific percentage will be committed to foreign aid in the future. That will be of great aid to the special Commission that would be established for a reevaluation of the entire foreign aid program.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Oregon has expired.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask for 1 additional minute.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. I yield an additional minute to the Senator from Oregon.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon is recognized for 1 minute.

Mr. MORSE. I wish to say a word to the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS]. In the opinion of the senior Senator from Oregon, the amendments would in no way restrict bringing the private segments of our economy into the administration of foreign aid. Quite to the contrary, when we are through with this kind of evaluation, he and I will be buttressed and supported in the work we have been doing, along with the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] and also the Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY], in trying to get more of our foreign aid program administered and participated in by the private segment of the economy, not only here, but elsewhere in the world.

I wished the RECORD to show that legislative history. So far as I am concerned, I, as author of the so-called Morse formula in the bill as the bill was reported from the Foreign Relations Committee, state that the amendments would strengthen the bill; they would not weaken it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield 1 additional minute?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield a minute to the Senator from Oregon.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon is recognized for 1 minute.

Mr. MORSE. I thank the two Senators for their understanding of the position the Senator from Arkansas and the Senator from New York took when we told them the other day that we were for the amendments, but we did not understand that then would eliminate the so-called 50-nation ceiling. But I say again that that is not binding. It is a suggestion as a guideline to the special Commission, and we wish to hear their recommendations on that suggestion. That is what it amounts to.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time having been yielded back, the question is on agreeing to the amendments en bloc of the Senator from New York (No. 262), as modified. On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I announce that the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BREWSTER], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. BURDICK], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. LONG], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MCCARTHY], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. MCGEE], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MONDALE], the Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. TALMADGE], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. YARBOROUGH] are absent on official business.

I further announce that the Senator from Oregon [Mrs. NEUBERGER], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BREWSTER], the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. BURDICK], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from

Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. MCGEE], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. MONDALE], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] would each vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK] and the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Hawaii [Mr. FONG] is absent on official business.

The Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON], the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. COTTON], and the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS] are detained on official business.

If present and voting, the Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON], the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. FONG] and the Senator from Texas [Mr. TOWER] would each vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 78, nays 1, as follows:

[No. 122 Leg.]

YEAS—78

Aiken	Hart	Montoya
Allott	Hartke	Morse
Anderson	Hayden	Morton
Bartlett	Hickenlooper	Mundt
Bass	Hill	Murphy
Bayh	Holland	Muskie
Bennett	Hruska	Nelson
Bible	Inouye	Pastore
Boggs	Jackson	Pearson
Byrd, W. Va.	Javits	Prouty
Cannon	Jordan, N.C.	Proxmire
Case	Jordan, Idaho	Randolph
Church	Kennedy, Mass.	Ribicoff
Clark	Kennedy, N.Y.	Robertson
Cooper	Kuchel	Russell, S.C.
Curtis	Lausche	Saltonstall
Dirksen	Long, La.	Scott
Douglas	Magnuson	Simpson
Eastland	Mansfield	Smith
Ellender	McClellan	Sparkman
Ervin	McGovern	Stennis
Fannin	McIntyre	Symington
Fulbright	McNamara	Tydings
Gore	Metcalf	Williams, N.J.
Gruening	Miller	Young, N. Dak.
Harris	Monroney	Young, Ohio

NAYS—1

Thurmond

NOT VOTING—21

Brewster	Fong	Pell
Burdick	Long, Mo.	Russell, Ga.
Byrd, Va.	McCarthy	Smathers
Carlson	McGee	Talmadge
Cotton	Mondale	Tower
Dodd	Moss	Williams, Del.
Dominick	Neuberger	Yarborough

So the amendments, as modified, offered by Mr. KENNEDY of New York and Mr. CLARK were agreed to.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendments were agreed to.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment on behalf of myself, Mr. MURPHY, Mr. BARTLETT, Mr. GRUENING, Mr. JACKSON, and Mr. MAGNUSON and ask that it be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the amendment.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 18, after line 22, insert the following:

(3) Add the following new subsection at the end thereof:

"(n) No assistance under the Alliance for Progress shall be furnished under this Act to any country which (1) has extended, or hereafter extends, its jurisdiction for fishing purposes over any area of the high seas beyond that recognized by the United States, and (2) hereafter imposes any penalty or sanction against any United States fishing vessel on account of its fishing activities in such area.

"The provisions of this subsection shall not be applicable in any case in which the extension of jurisdiction is made pursuant to international agreement to which the United States is a party."

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I yield myself 10 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, on Sunday, June 6, a week ago yesterday, two American tuna boats, flying the American flag, proceeded from the high seas into a Peruvian port.

An emergency situation had arisen with respect to the mechanism of each craft. One American tuna clipper, the *Sun Jason*, entered the port to discharge its chief engineer who was critically ill. The Peruvian Government immediately seized the vessel and levied a fine on its captain on the ground that the vessel was violating the jurisdiction claimed by Peru, reaching 200 miles out into the sea.

That craft was released finally when the captain agreed to purchase a license for $2,700. The second vessel, the *Clipperton*, entered port to repair a damaged boom. It, too, was seized by the Peruvian Government and a fine of $7,187 was levied.

The Peruvian Government made the further demand that a license be purchased to fish in the waters up to 200 miles seaward of the Peruvian coast.

On Friday of this week, another tuna clipper, the *San Juan*, flying the American flag, was fired upon by destroyer No. 68 of the Peruvian Navy while the American craft was 60 miles at sea. The American craft was escorted to port by the Peruvian naval destroyer and released after the captain had purchased a license at a cost of $5,000.

Yesterday, another tuna boat, the *Hornet*, flying the American flag, was 96 miles at sea when it was taken under escort by the same Peruvian naval craft. The conversation between the captain of the *Hornet* and the commanding officer of the destroyer was recorded by another American tuna boat, the *Day Island*.

At 4 o'clock yesterday afternoon, Peruvian time, the *Hornet* advised the destroyer that it was having engine trouble and could not proceed. The commanding officer of the destroyer advised that the *Hornet* proceed or that it would be fired upon.

The captain of the *Hornet* asked permission to remove the entire crew from his boat, and then he told the captain of the Peruvian destroyer to go ahead and fire. The commanding officer of the destroyer then asked the captain of the *Hornet* to come aboard the Peruvian naval craft. He did so, and after a considerable period of time they returned to his vessel with five armed guards to supervise repairs. When the repairs were completed, one armed guard of the Peruvian Navy remained aboard the American tuna craft, which then proceeded to port under escort, arriving there at 8 o'clock last night.

Over the weekend the skipper of the *Day Island* was buzzed by a twin-engine jet aircraft belonging to the Peruvian Air Force.

Mr. President, since I first came to the U.S. Senate, it seemed to me then, as it seems to me now, that the Government of the United States, particularly in this hemisphere, has not merely an opportunity, but a duty, to assist our neighbors; and thus I have supported not only mutual security; but I have supported the Alliance for Progress specifically.

I want my country to discharge her leadership in the cause of freedom in this hemisphere and beyond the seas, but perhaps I may be pardoned a bitterness and a resentment that representatives of any country in this hemisphere, but particularly one which receives substantial assistance from the people of the United States, should act in this fashion.

I believe it is generally conceded by us that a claim that the jurisdiction of a country extends 200 miles seaward is beyond comprehension. It is ridiculous. And when a boat belonging to fellow Americans is fishing 50 miles or 60 miles or 90 miles seaward, in open waters traditionally recognized under international law as the high seas, and then encounters armed resistance by the military of any other country, but particularly the military of a country which we are assisting with dollars, I believe it will be admitted it is time for the U.S. Senate to indicate its policy views on this question.

I wish to read once again, and then I shall be through, what this amendment would do. The amendment would provide:

No assistance under the Alliance for Progress shall be furnished under this Act to any country which (1) has extended, or hereafter extends, its jurisdiction for fishing purposes over any area of the high seas beyond that recognized by the United States, and (2) hereafter imposes any penalty or sanction against any United States fishing vessel on account of its fishing activities in such area.

The provisions of this subsection shall not be applicable in any case in which the extension of jurisdiction is made pursuant to international agreement to which the United States is a party.

I commented at considerable length 2 years ago on this subject, and I traced the history of international law with respect to freedom of the seas.

I ask unanimous consent that a copy of my comments made at that time be included in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FREEDOM OF THE SEAS: AN HONORABLE TRADITION THAT MUST BE PRESERVED

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, my colleague from California [Mr. ENGLE] and I have joined in coauthoring the amendment which is now pending before the Senate. Our amendment would amend section 620 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, which relates to prohibitions against furnishing assistance to certain countries, by adding the following new subsection:

THE EVENING STAR
Washington, D. C.
June 14, 1965

Senate Favors Board To Plan Economic Aid

Amendment Looking to Vast Expansion Voted in Drive to Finish Work on Bill

By CECIL HOLLAND
Star Staff Writer

A provision possibly looking toward vast expansion of U.S. economic assistance to underprivileged countries was written into the foreign aid authorization bill in the Senate today.

The vote was 78 to 1. Only Sen. Strom Thurman, R-S.C., opposed the amendment.

It was proposed by Senators Robert F. Kennedy, D-N.Y., and Joseph A. Clark, D-Pa., and is designed "to close the widening gap between the economically privileged nations and those nations striving to achieve a developing economy."

The amendment carried no authorization of funds in addition to those already in the $3.24 billion measure. It would establish a temporary planning commission to make recommendations on the direction of the aid program after the two-year authorization under the proposed legislation expires.

Modest, Says Clark

Clark told the Senate that the amendment was designed to draw attention to the fact that "the rich nations are getting richer and the poor nations are getting poorer." He said the present bill represents "far less than we can and should devote to this end," and added:

"The plain fact is that we can afford a foreign economic development program at least three times as big as the present one. Instead of a $3 billion dollar program—which includes sizeable sums for military and supporting aid as well—we should be thinking in terms of a $10 billion program."

Kennedy suggested a program on the order of 2 percent of the country's gross national product, as it was several years ago. It is down now to one-half of 1 percent, it was pointed out.

With the gross national product now at $650 billion a year, an aid program of 2 percent would represent about $13 billion.

Morse Supports

Sen. Wayne Morse, D-Ore., a frequent critic of the aid program, strongly supported the amendment after it had been modified in one particular. He said it would help the country face up to the "moral obligation" to help the underprivileged.

In the drive to complete work on the bill, the Senate approved by a vote of 59 to 24 an amendment aimed at Peru or any other country interfering with American tuna fishing boats on the high seas. The amendment would deny assistance to any country extending its jurisdiction for fishing purposes beyond limits recognized by the United States.

Sen. Morse had several amendments pending which seek country-by-country cuts in the authorization.

Return to Vic

UAW
WASHINGTON OFFICE

OCT 29 1965

SCOTT RUNKLE & ASSOCIATES, Inc.
840 National Press Building, Washington 4, D. C.

TELEPHONE: ME·8-1651

28 October 1965

Mr. Victor Reuther
Director, Department for International Affairs
United Auto Workers
1126 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Vic:

Here, for your scanning and Walter's, are a few of the speeches I have written in recent years. Most were delivered by Muñoz, one by Moscoso when the Alliance for Progress was being launched.

I attach only speeches in which the final version was identical or nearly identical with my original draft. Writing speeches for a public figure is, of course, a very special discipline.

In my experience, one essential is that the writer be in essential harmony with the ideas and philosophy of the speaker. Another is that careful (even painful) research and gestation is necessary to produce a first-class speech. And obviously, both in content and style, it has to be consonant with the audience and the circumstances of delivery. The rest is the professional challenge of rendering faithfully the thoughts of the speaker in a way which carries maximum conviction with the direct and indirect audience. Simple enough in theory - - quite exacting in practice.

To note briefly the nature of the attached speeches, they are:

1) Moscoso's speech before the National Press Club on Feb. 15, 1962, in which he set forth his concept of what the Alliance should be;

2) Muñoz' acceptance speech on receiving the Philip Murray award in May, 1962, in which he urged that the Alliance be given ideological content and that the U.S. back the "democratic left" in Latin America;

3) A Muñoz address to the Lions International Convention in June 1962 on the subject of the philosophical and political aspects of foreign aid and economic development;

4) Another Muñoz speech before the Society for International Development in March 1964 on the growing gap between rich and poor nations and some thoughts, based on Puerto Rico's experience, for narrowing the gap;

5) Some after-dinner remarks by Muñoz at a dinner honoring Adolf Berle early this year, stressing the power of democratic ideals as an arm of U.S. foreign policy.

These summaries are necessarily over-simplified, but I think you will find them of some depth of content, even when reread today. (It is instructive and depressing to compare Muñoz' and Moscoso's recommendations for the Alliance with the gloomy picture painted in the current New Republic, which notes that the program "has become the almost exclusive domain of economists and technicians".)

I will look forward to hearing from you, Vic.

All the best,

Scott

Scott F. Runkle

SFR/ir

Public Assistance and the Community

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEVENTH ANNUAL AFL-CIO NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON COMMUNITY SERVICES—APRIL 30-MAY 3, 1962—PICK-CONGRESS HOTEL, CHICAGO

ACCEPTANCE ADDRESS

By

HON. LUIS MUNOZ MARIN

Governor of Puerto Rico

Distinguished leaders and guests of the American Labor Movement: I want to say thank you not only to the American labor movement, and I want to say it not in my name only or principally, but in the name of all the Puerto Rican people and especially in the name of the workers of Puerto Rico, because the history of my people, of Puerto Rico, during the last sixty years could not be written without intertwining with it the names of the great leaders of American labor and the name of the AFL-CIO.

Since the beginning of the century, which coincides in Puerto Rico with the beginning of modern labor organization, it has been the privilege of our workers and our people to have the understanding, the cooperation, and the dedication of the American labor movement in our great task for widening, increasing and deepening democracy and justice in the lives of all our people. For all these reasons, personal and Puerto Rican, I say to you in the language which I know best, muchos gracias.

Alliance For Progress

I know that the theme of this conference has been "The People and Public Assistance." This is a subject in which I have been deeply interested for many years. Normally, I would want to talk about it here tonight. But with your kind permission, I would like to turn our thoughts to an area of increasing concern at this time to all of us: Latin America. This, also in a sense, is a broader problem of public assistance. Therefore, I would like to give you some of my personal views about the Alliance for Progress and how it is evolving.

I know that this audience shares my conviction of the great importance of the Alliance and of the need to give it every chance of success. There have been questions about whether it is moving fast enough. As far as the economic development phase is concerned, I for one am not alarmed on this score. Indeed, I think that it is highly unrealistic to expect results overnight.

The President publicly proposed an Alliance barely a year ago; as a pact among the nations of the Americas, it is only nine months old; as a staffed, organized program it has been in action about four months. I have seen at first hand in Puerto Rico the planning, organizing, staffing and execution required to get a development program under way. It was on a much smaller scale and with far less complex machinery than that of the Alianza. But even there, we had to count on lead-time of some years before we could translate plans into housing projects, schools, roads and factories and the basic transformations in the economy of Puerto Rico.

The development program of the Alliance is essentially well-conceived and in good hands. But the mere fact, the inescapable fact, that its varied parts will take some time before they can show dramatic results points up the Alliance's most serious shortcoming—which is psychological and political.

Lack of Emotional Commitment

What deeply troubles me is the seeming lack of emotional commitment in Latin America toward this great and historical venture. The Alliance cannot be purely an economic undertaking, a transfusion of capital and skills. To succeed, it must stir the hearts of men, it must inspire them to dream and hope, and then to work hard and purposefully. It must have strong ideological content.

Nor is it enough to have only general ideological content. The ideals of the Alianza must be fused with the *national* ideals in each country. Only when the Bolivians think of it as *their* Alliance will they unleash the energies which must be brought into play. Only when the Ecuadorians and the Hondurans feel that they have a *national* program—evolved by themselves out of their own needs, out of compassion for the human suffering of their own countrymen, not something done for them in distant Washington—will they rise to the great challenge of the Alliance.

This is no indictment of the officials responsible for directing the United States part of the Alliance. They are severely limited in this psychological area. U. S. economists can talk to Latin economists, and U. S. technicians can talk to Latin technicians, but it is virtually impossible to communicate fervor and ideals through such channels.

Here then is the dilemma. The economic body is being gradually nourished, but the heart is not. Nor is there any likely solution to this through existing machinery of the Alliance. The problem is political and ideological and the solution can only be political and ideological. And a solution must be found and fairly quickly. For if the Alliance lacks heart and ideological support, the economic development programs will never have time to have their intended effect before the totalitarians of both right and left mount their political assault—and with fair chance of success.

This is the dilemma which should trouble us. And who can solve it?

Not you or I. Not the U. S. government. Only national groups, deeply realizing the need for change, can supply heart and purpose and drive to the Alliance in Latin America.

If I have one thing to say tonight which I think is important, it is this: I believe that there is only one group in Latin America—or at least one group above all others—that can really make the Alliance work in the long run. That group is what I call the Democratic Left. And I believe that it is of the greatest importance that this element receive the maximum of encouragement from the U. S. government and the maximum of support and assistance from non-governmental bodies and public opinion generally in the United States.

Perhaps I should take the precaution to define my terms. In this era of scrambled semantics, when words are often perverted to serve the purposes of the Cold War, terms like Peace, Democracy and Left sometimes end up with strange and indeed unrecognizable meanings and connotations. I am especially puzzled about the differences in meaning about the word Left. It is, of course, a particularly elusive term, because it can only be relative. Left of what, we must ask? Left of Mr. Khrushchev could be Mr. Mao Tse Tung. Left of Mao Tse Tung probably Chinese dragons or the devil himself. Left of the John Birch Society in the United States, the rest of the West. What, practically? In the United States, I would say that Left really means all those people who seek and approve social and economic change and progress, but some people nearly equate it with Communism. In Latin America, Left usually means left of reaction, left of feudalism, left of exploitation.

Democratic Left

I would call the Democratic Left in Latin America the group which seeks social advances and higher living standards for *all* the people in a framework of freedom and consent. It is not necessarily based on class, and often includes important elements of the middle class and even a few enlightened members of the wealthy oligarchies.

One of the prime reasons why I believe that this group is the only one which can make the Alianza work is that I think it is the only group which *wants* it to succeed in its entirety. It is the group which really *believes* in social reform and justice as well as economic development, whereas many of the nominal backers of the Alliance applaud its economic purposes and give only lip-service to the social objectives.

I also believe that the Democratic Left is the only non-totalitarian element which understands the depth of the revolutionary ferment in Latin America and which can provide responsible leadership to shape this revolution into constructive channels. The well-meaning democratic conservatives, men whom we can often respect, have no real grasp of this revolutionary surge, and are therefore powerless to compete with the totalitarians, who have a very lively understanding of it and every intention to capture and pervert it for their own purposes. Only the Democratic Left has the dynamic ideological base, and the popular grass-roots feeling, to compete with the totalitarian Left: the Communists, the Castroites, and the Fascists.

Yet even where the Left, that is on the side of the angels, *does* provide such leadership and comes to power, it faces a staggering job. Somehow it must find within itself the resources to generate a new, creative hope among 200,000,000 people—people now oppressed by exploitation, ignorance, poverty and despair. It must inject an almost religious fervor of the kind that inspires men to do great deeds in the face of enormous adversity.

Let none of us in more developed regions underestimate the difficulty and the drama of rousing constructively a continent, much of which has slumbered in semi-feudalism for 400 years. Let us not grow too impatient with a handful of leaders who must somehow bring great masses of their people from the 16th century into the glaring light of the 20th century in a few years—in many cases being obliged to telescope the French and American Revolutions, the Industrial Revolution, and the 20th century's social revolutions into one. It is an awesome task. Yet we dare not forget that the future of a Hemisphere may well be riding on the ability of a few men to meet such a formidable challenge.

Many of you here know the key role which free labor unions are playing in Latin America. They are one of the most dynamic elements of the Democratic revolutions in many countries. Some are quite literally in the political front-lines, locked in battle with the totalitarian unions for leadership of labor in a number of countries: the Dominican Republic, Venezuela and Chile, to cite only three. In the Dominican Republic, whether the free unions win out or not may well shape the entire political future of the country.

Free Unions Fight For Social Justice

And even when not engaged in life-and-death struggles, the free unions are the constant fighters for the ideals of social justice and fair distribution of income without which the Alliance would be a mockery.

With so much dependent on the success of dynamic democratic forces, we should certainly ask ourselves what can be done to help them, for those forces are nowhere secure in Latin America and in many places they are fighting for their lives.

One terrible disadvantage of political parties of the Democratic Left all over Latin America is that they are poor, while their enemies are well-heeled. The totalitarian left never seems to lack for funds—most of them derived from Cuba, Russia and Red China—and the totalitarian right is wealthy, per se. Frequently, a Democratic political organization cannot carry through a political battle for lack of even the most modest funds. There is grim irony in the fact that, in many a country where the Alliance may be pouring in tens of *millions*, the ultimate political battle may be lost because the parties of the Democratic Left lack a few *thousands* of dollars for desperately needed, legitimate, democratic action.

Some of them need assistance also from persons skilled in political organization and action. This requires people who have the sensitivity to understand that they must "lend" their skills and counsel with no air of patronizing. United States nationals can never place themselves in the position of appearing to suggest, "I'll show you how to run your affairs".

And finally, the Democratic Left needs rapidly to increase its cadre of dedicated leaders.

There are some things which the U. S. government and U. S. public opinion can do to help. It can, for example, isolate the remaining dictatorships in Latin America, as Trujillo was isolated. We can look with some pride on the fact that Trujillo's odious dictatorship was felled with the approval and the help of the U. S., and that a decent, democratic government has replaced 30 years of tyranny in the Dominican Republic. I am heartily in agreement with the stand frequently taken by the AFL-CIO urging isolation of the remaining dictatorships in Latin America. And I would consider it most unwise if they were to receive and use Alianza funds to further suppress their people and feather their own corrupt nests. Democratic movements have little chance in such countries if their present governments receive or even appear to receive support from the United States.

There are important things which non-governmental bodies, and particularly labor unions, can do. I am aware of the considerable assistance that the AFL-CIO has given to free trade unions in Latin America. These

are initiatives which are far-sighted and important, and I want to congratulate you most sincerely for them. It might, therefore, seem almost ungracious for me to suggest that an even greater effort is needed.

What I want to propose to you is that the AFL-CIO re-think the entire scale and scope of its activities in Latin America, while retaining a scrupulously non-interventionist attitude. I would not pretend to tell you *what* you should do. But I feel, very strongly, that the challenge is increasingly urgent, and that it is one which is particularly worthy of your cause, of the international cause of democracy and labor.

And finally, there are even some things which individuals can do to help.

Institute of Political Education

There exists in Costa Rica an organization which is almost unknown in the United States, but which I feel is going to play a vital role in Latin America. It was founded only four years ago by José Figueres, the former President of Costa Rica and one of the great democratic leaders of our Hemisphere. It is called the Institute of Political Education, and is addressed frankly and vigorously to giving both ideological and practical political training to men, young men, from virtually every country in Latin America. It is perhaps the most important seed-bed for democratic leaders in Latin America—militant, dedicated leaders who are already sending new blood pulsing into the heart of the democratic forces. And I have every hope that this Institute will be only the first of many in Latin America.

You have done me the great honor of giving me the Murray-Green Award. And I was candidly very pleased that this carries with it a generous cash prize. For with your permission, I intend to present this check to the Institute of Political Education in Costa Rica, where I am confident that it will be well used to spread the seed throughout Latin America of democratic leadership, responsible government, and the cause of justice and dignity for all men. And I invoke your aid, the aid of all unions in America, of all men of good will, for the founding of similar engines of freedom in all regions of the Hemisphere.

Inter-Office Communication

November 9, 1965

NOV 9 1965

To Irv Bluestone

From Guy Nunn

Subject

Dear Irv:

There are portions of this address by the President of the World Bank which are dead down the line of Walter's assertion of the urgency of softening the conditions of foreign aid. The address also stresses that current aid programs are a declining percentage of the capacity of the developed nations to provide aid and that the mere extension of current aid levels is, in effect, to make no impact on the development problem at all. Considering the conservatism of the source, the address or some portions of it might make a good supportive footnote to the chapter on the third world development crisis.

Fraternally,

Guy

GN:ET
oeiu42aflcio
Enc.

MAKING ECONOMIC AID EFFECTIVE

POOR NATIONS AGAINST THEMSELVES

A broad review of economic relations between the developed and developing nations is presented by the president of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank).

George D. Woods

Out of 80 developing countries in the World Bank's membership, about one-third have recently attained rates of 5 per cent or more in growth of real income, the target rate of the United Nations Development Decade. "At a growth rate of 5 per cent, the underdeveloped countries would, 75 years from now, reach the same average income a head as the countries of Western Europe were enjoying in 1960. That . . . would be a tremendous achievement. It would compress into less than a century an evolution that it took today's industrial nations three or four times as long to accomplish. . . . A high rate of growth is different from self-sustaining growth, however, and those countries will need encouragement and support for a considerable time to come.

"On the other hand, in close to half the 80 countries, accounting for 50 per cent of their population, income per head has risen by 1 per cent or less. . . . The average per capita income in this group is no more than $120 a year. At a 1 per cent growth rate income levels will hardly reach $170 a year by the end of this century. In some countries it will be much lower. This is crude arithmetic. But its implications are true and sobering. If the present trends are allowed to continue there will be no adequate improvement in living standards in vast areas of the globe for the balance of this century. . . .

"In most of the underdeveloped countries the basic task is still to establish the pre-conditions of development, to reach a position which the industrial countries of today finally gained in the 19th century, when for the first time there became available the complex of factors needed to create a predominantly industrial society; among them, an acquisitive outlook, technical capacity, adequate sources of energy, mobility in transportation and adequate credit systems. Most of the countries of the underdeveloped world still do not have enough earnings and savings of their own to create these pre-conditions of development. Their development would go faster if there were more means to finance it; but claims on their own income steadily grow, and tend to grow faster than their capacity to produce, earn and save. . . .

"It is essential that these countries take effective measures to increase the mobilization of capital through taxation and incentives to investment. . . . It is urgent for many of them to cut down some of the biggest items of waste—excessive military expenditures, prestige projects, inefficient administration, overstaffing of railways and other public enterprises, and subsidies to public services that could and should be self-supporting. These countries should get more for their money through better development programming and project planning; they need, among other things, to maintain fiscal equilibrium and to avoid excessive short-

term borrowing. Some must take firm steps to keep excessive population growth from devouring the hard-won gains of development. Nearly all of the low-income countries must re-double their efforts to overcome the lag in agricultural productivity—literally the most vital, yet at the same time the most feeble, of the economic sectors in the underdeveloped world." Further, continuing political instability forecloses effective development even with official funds, and completely discourages the flow of all important private investments.

"In my daily activities, I am constantly and sympathetically aware of the impatience, disappointments and frustrations in the developing countries; but at the same time I am conscious of the frustration and disillusionment that the industrial nations feel about development finance. Governments which provide development finance are subjected to searching questions by their legislatures and peoples about it. The most careful use of aid by each of the recipient countries is constantly necessary if they are to expect continued assistance, and on a larger scale. Performance will have to stand up to close scrutiny. . . .

"Discouraging as these handicaps are, they do not spell the defeat of the development effort. The industrial revolution in Britain was accomplished in the presence—some historians say under the spur—of decelerating agricultural growth and a rapidly rising population. Not all of the underdeveloped countries are visited by these disadvantages to the same degree, and some are overcoming them. Of the 75 or 80 underdeveloped countries about one-third appear, in spite of all economic handicaps, to be pressing persistently forward." Increases in public power supply and in the number of children in primary schools are imposing. Less tangible gains include experience in making policy, more institutions to administer development and more leadership for private and public programs. International development—initially the effort of enthusiastic amateurs—can now draw on the accumulated wisdom and experience of two decades.

IS WORLD POVERTY PROFITABLE?

"Improved performance by the developing countries is vital for accelerating the pace of growth; but it will not by itself be sufficient. A dominant difficulty which these countries face . . . is the uncertainty which clouds the prospects for their exports. Export earnings, far more than investment and foreign assistance—the ratio is about four to one—finance the imports needed to carry forward the development of the underdeveloped countries. But the demand for many of the commodities exported by these countries has grown only slowly. . . .

"The problem is further complicated by abrupt and wide fluctuations in some commodity prices. Many underdeveloped countries have had to adapt themselves to unexpected year-to-year variations of as much as 15 per cent in their export income. . . . During the seven lean years which began for commodity prices in the 1950's, for instance, the countries of Latin America lost in export receipts an amount equivalent to all the economic aid they received during the same period."

I have already noted that the gross national product of the developing countries increased in 1963 and 1964 at about 4 to 5 per cent. This growth was largely achieved by reason of the rise in the prices of the developing countries' exports. Unfortunately, in the latter months of 1964, the prices of agricultural primary products began to weaken and in the case of cocoa, sugar and coffee, the decline has been particularly sharp.

How world prices undercut aid

"The result of the slow and uncertain growth of export earnings is to retard development, to upset continuity of effort, to diminish the impact of external finance. . . . Orderly development would be immensely facilitated . . . if the developing countries could have some measure of assurance that their development programs will not be disrupted by sharp declines in export earnings due to unpredictable fluctuations in commodity prices."

The World Bank is joining in two initiatives that may help to mitigate some of these problems. "The first is a study, organized jointly by the International Coffee Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, and the Bank. The study will examine the needs of coffee-producing countries to diversify into other lines of production which would impart greater strength and stability to their economies. . . . A dozen countries in Latin America and Africa depend on coffee as a major source of export earnings, and coffee exhibits some of the worst features of the commodity problem.

"The other initiative stems from a proposal put forward . . . at the 1964 meeting in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which the Conference asked the Bank to study. The proposal aims at defending development programs from the dangers of disruption arising from unexpected shortages in export earnings, by providing supplemental resources. . . .

"Paradoxically, while the underdeveloped countries are able to produce more export commodities than the world needs, their agriculture is not producing as much as they themselves need. Imports of food recently have cost the underdeveloped world $4 billion a year. . . . Production in the underdeveloped world is growing; but increasing output is having to be shared among more and more people. If in India the population had been held stable from the beginning of independence the gain in income a head up to the present would have been nearly three times greater than actually has occurred. In the underdeveloped world as a whole the yearly addition of some 50 million people to the population may eat up half the gain in production in a single year."

How interest rates undercut aid

While the capacity to use foreign capital has been growing and will continue to grow, too much foreign assistance still is being given on interest terms heavier than the developing countries should be asked to bear.

"Present total external public debt—long- and short-term—of the developing countries, as a group, is estimated at about $33 billion, and amortization and interest payments on this debt may be as high as $3.5 billion a year. This debt amounts to about 15 per cent of the combined gross national product of the developing countries. Service charges on it have been rising by more than 10 per cent per year . . . and they now amount to about 12 per cent of the developing countries' export earnings.

"These levels of debt are dangerously high. They mean that a good deal of the proceeds of new loans must be devoted to servicing previously contracted obligations, rather than being invested in new productive development. Indeed, when all service and dividend payments on both public debt and private investment are taken into account, the backflow from the developing countries offsets about half the entire gross capital inflow which these countries receive from all sources. . . .

"Despite the general recognition of the importance of relating aid to the circumstances of recipient countries, there has been over-all only a modest improvement in the terms of aid." A recent U.S. Government study

has "noted that there has been a steady hardening of the terms of U.S. assistance—a shift in emphasis from grants to loans and from loans repayable in local currency to loans repayable in dollars, together with an increase in the minimum interest rate on dollar-repayable loans. Other aid-giving countries which previously offered aid on terms much harder than those of the United States, have softened these terms somewhat, but not yet sufficiently. On average, they do not approach even the hardened U.S. terms."

The harder the terms of lending, the larger will be the amount of capital needed and the longer it will take for the developing world to be assured of gradual but steady growth. "The recent announcement of the United Kingdom that it will make long-term development loans free of interest or management charges to selected underdeveloped countries reflects a commendably long-range view, all the more to be applauded because it has been taken by a country which is itself confronted by difficult and pressing problems in its own economy. We can only hope that this policy will prove a lodestar for other countries. . . .

"In any case, the underdeveloped countries as a whole must now devote more than a tenth of their foreign exchange earnings to debt service; and the figure is still rising. . . .

"In short, to go on doing what we are doing will, in the not too long run, amount, on balance, to doing nothing at all." For the long haul "and for the developing countries as a group, the requirement is for a greater flow of long-term capital on less burdensome terms. . . . Otherwise, cases of default and serious interruption of capital flow [may] be inevitable."

What advanced countries must do

There is a marked variance between what the developed countries say about development and what they do about it. Assurances of help to the developing countries are always made in all sincerity. But if we look at the figures, we find that in fact aid is now on a plateau. The total flow of long-term capital from the developed countries has remained at about $9 billion per year since 1961, despite a rise in gross national product of the developed countries over that period. Thus, development aid represents a declining percentage of the aid-givers' national income.

"Between now and 1970 the less developed countries might productively use an additional $3-$4 billion a year. I myself see little point in arguing about precise figures. What I want to make clear . . . is my deep conviction that the present level of finance is wholly inadequate, whether measured by the growth rate which the advanced countries say they are willing to facilitate or in terms of the amount of external capital which the developing countries have demonstrated they can use effectively. The whole order of magnitude of external capital flows to the developing countries wants changing." To achieve that, we need to change political climates—in the industrialized countries, to permit a much greater flow of official capital, and in the developing countries, to encourage a much greater flow of private investment from abroad.

"If the considerations I have mentioned are taken together . . . and if they are viewed against the background of a certain boredom, at the least, and disillusionment, at the worst, with the subject of development finance in most of the [industrialized] countries, you can see why I am so concerned about the prospects for economic development. . . .

"The urgency grows as the clock ticks. Seven days from now there will be over a million more human beings on this earth than there are today; and most of the million will be children of the underdeveloped countries. . . . The sheer bulk of the problems of underdevelopment—the num-

ber of mouths to be fed, the number of human beings to be maintained in decent shelter and gradually to be educated and made productive—continues to grow. If we do not make faster progress in these matters, the prospect is for discontent, unrest and tensions that in the end must spill over national boundaries and ultimately infect the rich nations as well as the poor. . . . For the industrial countries . . . aid to development will in the end be an act of simple self-preservation." (Address, Paris, July 22, 1965; Address, Washington, D. C., Sept. 27, 1965; "Poor Nations Need More Aid," *The Times* [London], Sept. 16, 1965)

A NEW STRATEGY FOR U.S. AID

A Washington columnist suggests that Congress is ready to support a redesigned foreign aid program.

Joseph Kraft

To some the mere mention of foreign aid—that dreary topic—seems a cry of despair. "But in fact there is a set of new conditions that offers the Johnson Administration, if it is ready to be bold, a chance to mount a redesigned and increased aid program that could set the pace for a similar advance by all the developed countries.

"The first new condition is the success of cheap contraceptive devices tried out in the past year.

"A second new condition is the food crisis that threatens between now and the time when birth control measures can become widely applied. Feeding the predicted population growth over the next decade will require the full agricultural resources of the temperate zone countries, plus programs for spreading . . . the technical revolution in agriculture.

"A third new condition is the demonstration that elaborate military aid programs, if not altogether useless, are distinctly outmoded." Many countries "afford evidence that such programs, apart from being an uneconomic use of resources, promote repressive regimes.

"A fourth new condition is the experience of competition with the Soviet bloc in the aid field. Large Russian and East European aid programs have been carried out . . . without yielding Communist regimes. Far from having to establish showy projects or political slush funds to offset Soviet bloc blandishments, this country and other Western nations can now collaborate with confidence on long-range goals.

"Put all of these factors together and there emerges an almost totally new aid program. It would largely scrap military assistance and political slush funds to offset Soviet competition. . . .

"But is there a Congressional majority for such a program?" There has been a transition in the Congress. "More and more, the Congressional opposition to aid has come, not from the House, which tended to favor old-fashioned anti-Soviet programs featuring military assistance, but from the Senate.

"Increasing doubts have been voiced by Senators, once known as supporters of the aid program, who have come to feel that the programs are too heavily military, and not strong enough in agriculture to do much good." This year, two amendments to cut military aid failed of passage by eight votes and one vote respectively.

"Given the changing majorities . . . the probability is not only that a redesigned program could pass the Congress, the probability is that *only* a redesigned program can build the new majority that will be required if an aid program is to be sustained at all." (*New York Post*, Oct. 8, 1965)

Inter-Office Communication

November 18, 1965

To Irv

From Frank Winn

Subject

NOV 18 1965

I met with Evan Thomas in New York last week at the office of Harper and Row. He assures me of Harpers' interest in Walter's projected book, and would like to see as much of the manuscript as we can show him as soon as it is in any shape for him to read.

In the meantime I am providing him with some background material to give him at least a general and elementary idea of Walter's proposal.

There is no question that Harpers will publish the book if we designate them as the publishers. As I told you when I was last here, I don't think we can do any better than Harpers, but if you and/or Walter think I should explore other possibilities I will be glad to do so.

Fraternally yours,

fw
oeiu42