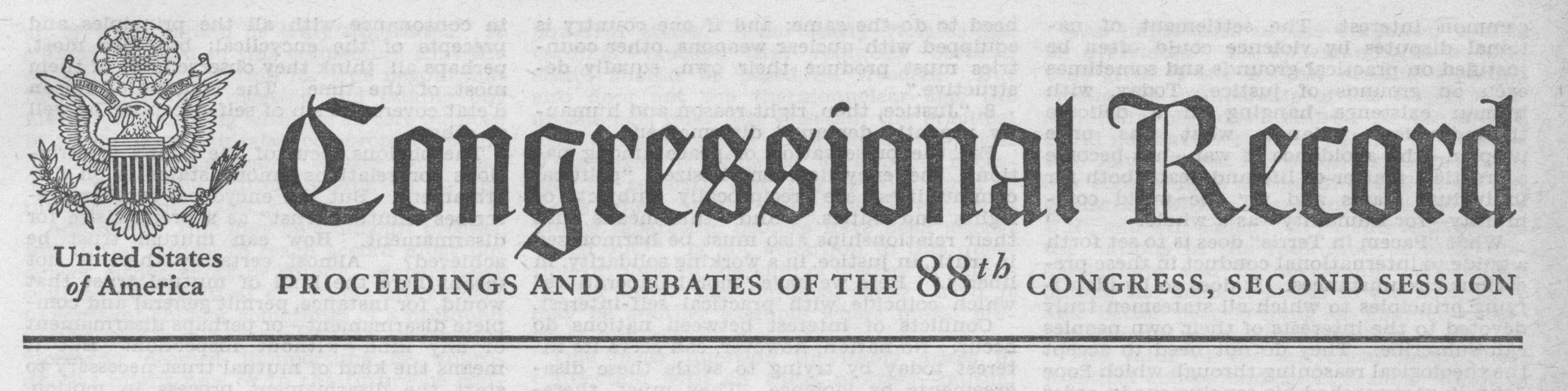
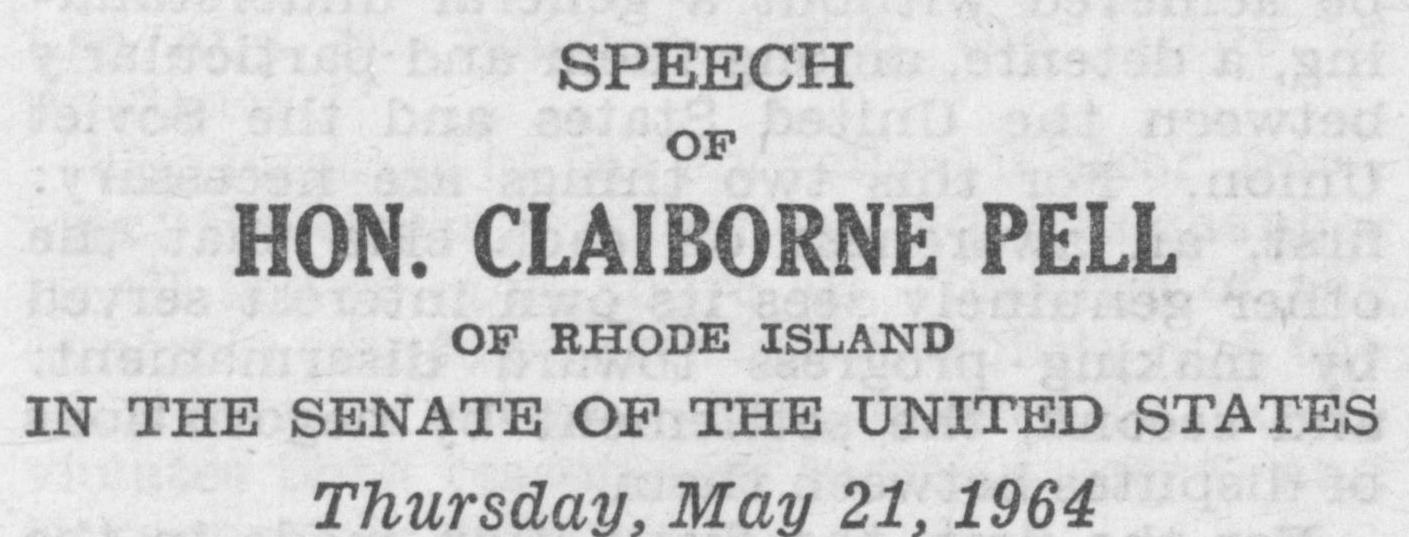
### (Not printed at Government expense)



"Pacem in Terris" Conference

SEP 14 1964



Mr. PELL. Mr. President, in recent days a most important conference has been held to plan a major international convocation on the last encyclical of Pope John XXIII, "Pacem in Terris"—"Peace

on Earth." I have taken a deep interest in these plans since their inception.

The sessions were conducted by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions at Wingspread, the Johnson Foundation conference headquarters in Racine, Wis. The foundation acted as host to the center.

As an indication of the wide scope of

Shonfield, director of studies, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, England; Mr. John Tomlinson, director of mission and world service liaison for the National Council of Churches; and Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, Judge of the International Court.

Our own body was represented by two most able and distinguished Senators: Senator GAYLORD NELSON, of Wisconsin, and Senator GEORGE McGovern, of South Dakota. Although I was unfortunately unable to attend the conference in person, I was represented by my special assistant. Livingston Biddle.

Discussions at the conference, chaired with great insight and understanding by Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, president of the center, were extremely frank and unusually free from the acerbity which so frequently accompanies debate on divisive international issues. The conferees pursued their deliberations in accord with the mood of the encyclical which is addressed to "all men of good will," and in accord with the encyclical's fundamental premise that "all men are equal in human dignity." Participants spoke not necessarily as official representatives of their governments or of their organizations, but as individuals belonging to the whole human family. Thus the discussions were given maximum opportunity for honest exchange. During the conference it was pointed out that mankind does not need to accept the theological reasoning through which Pope John in part reached his conclusions in order to accept the conclusions themselves. Thus the encyclical was discussed in a unique frame of referencenot primarily as representing a particular theology, although it does with extraordinary eloquence-but as setting forth guidelines to international conduct and those moral imperatives which coincide with the practical self-interest of all men and all nations, regardless of their separate beliefs or ideologies. It is my own conviction that the principles involved in "Pacem in Terris" are universally applicable. I further believe that the International Convocation-to be held in New York City next February with participating leading statesmen and scholars from all over the world-can well become one of the most meaningful assemblages of our times.

scholarly research and reasoning which helped make the preliminary conference such a success, I ask unanimous consent that the schemata of the conference and three working papers, prepared by staff contributors of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, be inserted in the RECORD at the end of my remarks.

These papers are addressed to the principal themes of the conference.

I recommend them to my colleagues for their consideration. We may not agree with these documents in all respects, but in substance they are immensely thoughtful in providing a basis for free discussion.

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

SCHEMATA ADOPTED BY "PACEM IN TERRIS" CONFERENCE CONDUCTED BY CENTER FOR STUDY OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS, MAY 1964

this conference and its equally broad representation of major religious and political communities throughout the world, the conferees included: Ambassador S. O. Adebo, of the Nigerian Mission to the United Nations; Father John F. Cronin, S.S., assistant director, social action department, National Catholic Welfare Conference; the Honorable Xavier Deniau, rapporteur, Foreign Affairs Committee, French National Assembly; Dr. Marian Dobrosielski, Counselor of the Polish Embassy in Washington; Dr. Nelson Glueck, president, Hebrew Union College, Jewish Institute of Religion; the Honorable Brooks Hays, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University, consultant to President Johnson; Dr. Hudson Hoagland, president, American Academy of Arts and Sciences; Dr. Joseph E. Johnson, president, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Mr. Georgi Kornienko, Minister Counselor of the Soviet Embassy in Washington; Msgr. Luigi Ligutti, permanent observer of the Holy See to FAO, Vatican City; Prof. Hans J. Morgenthau, of the Center for the Study of American Foreign Policy, the University of Chicago; the Honorable C. V. Narasimhan, Executive Office of the Secretary-General of the United Nations; Dr. Josip Presburger, Counselor of the Yugoslav Embassy in Washington; Dr. Eugene Rabinowitch, editor of the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists; his Excellency Rashid el Rashid, Ambassador to the United Nations from Kuwait and his deputy, Ahmad Al-Nakib; Mr. Andrew

The conferees agreed on these topics for the convocation:

1. How to obtain universal acceptance of the idea of coexistence of nations of differing ideological and social systems.

2. How to achieve sufficient flexibility so that all international conflicts can be settled by negotiation, and how to devise mechanisms for peaceful social and political change.

3. How to obtain recognition of the urgent need for rapid progress toward nuclear and conventional disarmament.

4. How to take actions and develop understanding to create mutual trust among the nations.

5. How to achieve the elimination of racism in all countries.

6. How to achieve international cooperation in assisting the developing countries in the interests of the prosperity of the world, and how to make full use of science and technology for developing cooperation among nations.

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Mr. President, in order to illustrate the

7. How to encourage further development of the United Nations so that its means and structure may become equal to the magnitude of its tasks.

#### THE ENCYCLICAL AS A GUIDE TO INTERNATIONAL CONDUCT

#### (By Fred Warner Neal)

The basic problem of international politics in the modern world is how individual, legally sovereign nations can serve their own interests without jeopardizing the common interest of which their own interest is a part. The problem was there in the prethermonuclear age, but it was not so crucial, nor was it so clear that there did, in fact, exist a

common interest. The settlement of national disputes by violence could often be justified on practical grounds and sometimes even on grounds of justice. Today, with human existence hanging in a delicate thermonuclear balance, what was once utopian-the avoidance of war-has become a practical matter of life and death both for individual states and for the world community-for humanity-as a whole.

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What "Pacem in Terris" does is to set forth a guide to international conduct in these precarious circumstances. It does so by identifying principles to which all statesmen truly devoted to the interests of their own peoples can subscribe. They do not need to accept the theological reasoning through which Pope John in part reached his conclusions in order to accept the conclusions themselves. Indeed, many of the same conclusions have been arrived at independently by those of different theological persuasion and by those who reject theology of any kind as a basis for dealing with world affairs. For the Pope's conclusions are based as much on secular reason and logic as on theology and altruism. Thus the encyclical is truly ecumenical, and not only in a religious sense. It is clear that the Pope intended it this way. He addressed his encyclical not only to Roman Catholics, or even just to Christians, but "to all men of good will." And he emphasized that "meetings and agreements \* \* \* between believers and those who do not believe \* \* \* can be occasions for discovering truth and paying homage to it." Although the papacy is perhaps the most thoroughly Western-based institution, Pope John, in "Pacem in Terris," rises above international sectionalism as above nationalism, while recognizing the fact of both. The principles enunciated are elementary and universal. Indeed, they are so simple that they are often ignored in formulations of foreign policy, and this may be one of the major reasons why so frequently the bestintentioned foreign policies fail to serve the interests either of their originators or of the world community.

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need to do the same; and if one country is equipped with nuclear weapons, other countries must produce their own, equally destructive."

8. "Justice, then, right reason and humanity urgently demand" disarmament.

For the preservation of peace among nations, the encyclical emphasizes, "political communities are reciprocally subject of rights and duties." And "this means that their relationships also must be harmonized in truth, in justice, in a working solidarity, in liberty." Here we have "moral imperatives" which coincide with practical self-interest.

Conflicts of interest between nations do occur. No nation, however, can serve its interest today by trying to settle these disagreements by violence. They must, therefore, be settled by "a mutual assessment of the reasons on both sides of the dispute, by a mature and objective investigation of the situation, and by an equitable reconciliation of differences of opinion." To this end, conflicts of interest must be minimized and avoided where possible. To violate the rights of national self-determination or interfere in internal affairs of other states, to treat some political communities as by nature superior or inferior to others, to misinform oneself about the facts regarding others, to mistreat national minorities (or for minorities to claim undue measure), for richer nations to fail to aid poorer nations or to aid them "with strings attached"-all such actions create serious conflicts and, therefore, are both morally wrong and are against the self-interest of all states. But even if states act according to such high precepts of conduct, the thermonuclear armaments race itself jeopardizes peace and "people live in constant fear lest the storm that every moment threatens should break upon them with dreadful violence." And since nations do not always conform to the precepts for international conduct that the encyclical sets forth, the

in consonance with all the principles and precepts of the encyclical; but also most, perhaps all, think they observe most of them most of the time. The concept of raison d'etat covers the sin of self-deception as well as others.

The obvious focus of the Pope's prescriptions for relations among states is on disarmament. But the encyclical further prescribes "mutual trust" as a prerequisite for disarmament. How can mutual trust be achieved? Almost certainly there is not meant here the kind of mutual trust that would, for instance, permit general and complete disarmament—or perhaps disarmament of any kind—without inspection. But it means the kind of mutual trust necessary to start the disarmament process in motion. Since this involves principally the major powers, it is hard to see how such trust can be achieved without a general understanding, a detente, among them and particularly between the United States and the Soviet Union. For this two things are necessary: first, an awareness on each side that the other genuinely sees its own interest served by making progress toward disarmament; and second, the settlement by negotiations of disputes between them. For the first, the distinction made in the encyclical between ideology and social systems is essential. Philosophies may remain the same, but systems cannot avoid change. Disagreement about philosophical truth is no necessary barrier to agreement on honorable and useful political ends. This together with the statement that no political communities are by nature superior or inferior or wholly good or wholly evil, amounts to a theory of "coexistence," which is a prerequisite for everything else.

In this connection, the Pope's exhortations about information are also pertinent. "Truth," the encyclical states, "demands that the various media of social communications made available by modern progress which enable the nations to know each other better, be used with serene objectivity. That need not, of course, rule out any legitimate emphasis on the positive aspects of their way of life. But methods of information which fall short of the truth, and by the same token impair the reputation of this people or that, must be discarded." This point in the encyclical should not be interpreted as applying only to news media. It applies equally to diplomatic reporting and official communiques and pronouncements. And it also applies to officially erected barriers to information and to travel. No society is altogether "closed" and no society is altogether "open." But there needs to be a recognition of the principle that the more open the better. At the same time, of course, the degree of openness depends, at least in part, on the degree of mutual trust and the extent to which there is mutual acceptance of one state by another, i.e., coexistence.

International conduct, according to "Pacem in Terris," is based on these ideas and principles:

1. The world is organized into separate, individual nation-states and into differing ideological systems. The nation-states are legally sovereign. They are individual and unique. They have particular interests which they seek to enhance, but they also have a common, human interest. Each nation-state is of equal "natural dignity." In all of them there is both good and evil; none is superior or inferior by nature.

2. The separate interests of the various nation-states are often in conflict.

3. The law of change applies to all finite things, including nation-states and relations between them.

4. Conflicts among nations can be solved either by force and violence; i.e., war, or by negotiation and compromise; there is no other way. But negotiation must involve a sincere desire to seek equitable compromise, based on objective appraisal of the facts. 5. The development of thermonuclear weapons means that solution of conflicts by war is no longer tenable. War can no longer serve the interests of individual nations or the common interest. Nor is the old distinction between just and unjust wars any longer tenable. "It is hardly possible to imagine that in the atomic era war would be used as an instrument of justice." 6. The existence of thermonuclear weapons is in itself a danger, even though there is no intention to use them, since "it cannot be denied that the conflagration may be set off by some unexpected and obscure event."

danger is all the greater.

For this reason, disarmament has top priority in the Pope's prescriptions, and he sets forth the order in which it may be achieved. "Justice, right, reason, and humanity," says the encyclical, "urgently demand that the arms race should cease; that the stockpiles which exist in various countries should be reduced equally and simultaneously by the parties concerned; that nuclear weapons should be banned; and that a general agreement should eventually be reached about progressive disarmament and an effective method of control."

Disarmament, in the Pope's view, cannot be achieved by half measures. "All must realize," says the encyclical, "that there is no hope of putting an end to the building up of armaments, nor of reducing the present stockpiles, nor, still less, of abolishing them altogether, unless the process is complete and thorough and unless it proceeds from inner conviction."

But this involves the whole nature of international politics. "If this is to come about, the fundamental principle on which our present peace depends must be replaced by another, which declares that the true and solid peace of nations consists not in equality of arms but in mutual trust alone." Such a state, the Pope believed, "can be brought to pass" and moreover that "it is something which reason requires, that it is eminently desirable in itself and thus it will prove to be the source of many benefits." In terms of immediate international affairs, what is the practical significance of "Pacem in Terris?" One can hear many, perhaps all, statesmen saying: "We accept the Pope's principles and his precepts, but they don't." In short, "We alone are in step." The fact is that most nations are in step and out of step at the same time. Few

The matter of disputes is in some ways more complex and in some ways less. The only major specific dispute between the United States and the Soviet Union at the time of this writing, for example, concerns Germany. Unresolved, this dispute blocks progress toward disarmament not only by preventing achievement of mutual trust but also by barring the most likely next steps in the disarmament process, i.e., the freezing of nuclear weapon strength in Central Europe and then, perhaps establishing a nuclear free zone there. Here the chances for settlement would surely be improved if both sides would heed the Pope's injunction to seek equitable compromise based on objective appraisal of the facts.

7. But under existing conditions, this danger inevitably increases. "If one country increases its armaments, others feel the nations indeed always conduct their affairs tral Europe, and, according to the encyclical,

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Of course, there are other pressing international disputes besides that between the United States and the Soviet Union in cen-

#### all of them should be truly negotiated. It should be noted in this connection that the encyclical's prescription for true negotiation involves not only meeting and talking but meeting and talking with the sincere purpose of reaching an equitable compromise, based on an objective appraisal of the facts, that is to say, some mutual giving in in the interest of both sides.

Admittedly, this may be a difficult process. But initial failure to reach accord must not deflect either effort or intent. Noting that systems and political situations are subject to constant change, sometimes of a profound nature, the Pope points out that agreements "formerly deemed inopportune or unproductive might now or in the future be considered opportune and useful." But he does not attempt to recommend specific solutions. These must be decided by the proper authorities and be reached "with the virtue of prudence." The message of the encyclical is clear, however: the thermonuclear era requires changes in all things, and above all, "because of the dynamic course of events," flexibility and the readiness to adapt. The failure to do so violates both reason and moral precepts and risks mutual destruction. The question of settling disputes, of reaching understanding between nations, involves more than specific geopolitical issues. Here the matter of intervention, so roundly condemned by the encyclical, arises. Where simple, direct military intervention is involved, the issue is usually clear enough. But there is intervention and intervention. One reality of international politics is that major states have "core interests" outside their national boundaries, i.e., "spheres of influence" of one sort or another, which they regard as vital to their security. This does not necessarily involve hegemonistic policies, but states invariably consider a challenge to their core interests by outside powers as a challenge to their very existence. Two problems apparent in contemporary international politics arise here. One is the tendency of major states to challenge each other's core interests, not only by intervening or establishing military power on their periphery but also by propaganda and subversion. The other problem is the tendency of major states to extend their core interests to areas far distant from their homelands. It is indicative of the complexity of the matter that here both the United States and the Soviet Union will see each other as being the guilty party and that both will be right. The problem is not confined to these superpowers alone, but in their case it is clearer than in some others. One aspect of it goes back to the question of information. Whereas previously it might have been regarded as wise tactics for a state not to be publicly precise about what its core interests were, i.e., about which areas it considered vital to its security, it is doubtful if in the thermonuclear age this gambit still has validity. The clearer a state can be-to itself and to others-about which areas it considers vital to its existence, the less possibility there is conflict. And since disputes involving core interests have, in the past, seldom been negotiable, restraint in the assertion of core interests has always been an integral part of prudent foreign policy. Today in the thermonuclear age it becomes the essence of wise policy. Actually, as far as the Pope's encyclical is concerned, it is difficult to justify either a challenge to clearly established core interest or the idea of core interest itself-in the sense of embracing areas beyond national boundaries. Although such core interests. as mentioned above, do not necessarily involve formal hegemony, often they have involved situations where the more powerful states unduly meddle in the affairs of less

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powerful states. This clearly violates the cardinal precept that relations between states should be based on freedom. But also does not the thermonuclear age, the missile age, raise into question the practical utility of the concept of core interests? Even if spheres of influence were once necessary for security, can they be considered so today when, as the Pope points out, "distances separating peoples have been almost wiped out?" Is not attention to this question involved in the kind of change in thinking for which the encyclical calls? If so, it may be another example where moral precepts and reason meet.

One other question inevitably arises in connection with all these matters-mutual trust, negotiation, flexibility, foreign policy, coexistence, and core interests. This is the question of policies involving recognition and nonrecognition of governments. Is nonrecognition based on disapproval of a de facto government a tenable position, within the limits of the encyclical's guide to international conduct? Does it not involve coexistence and challenge to the most basic core interests? The encyclical does not deal with these matters; but, without judging any particular policy of recognition or nonrecognition, it seems clear that these are questions to which statesmen concerned with the logic and/or moral precepts of "Pacem in Terris" must at least address themselves. One cannot discuss the encyclical as a guide to international conduct, especially in regard to disarmament, without referring to its call for an increase in public international authority. It is not too much to say that as the power of international organization increases, the achievement of the necessary degree of mutual trust will increase also. The encyclical clearly sees this as an integral part of the disarmament process and also of the larger process of "restoring the relations of all the human

The importance of the encyclical cannot be overstated. Its appearance, in a form that gives it the highest possible standing among the membership of the largest hierarchically organized church in the world, could not have been more helpful to all those who have worked for peace. Its unambiguous endorsement of the United Nations Organization will be of continuing value to the U.N., and will assist it in its efforts to engage the nations in the resolution of their disagreements and in developing cooperation among the member states to establish more and better peacekeeping or conflict-resolving agencies under its jurisdiction.

The value of the encyclical in all these practical and psychological realms cannot be diminished, any more than it can be much extended by extending its praise in papers such as this. But the object of this paper is to ask in what respects "Peace on Earth" provides a guide to world order; or, if it does not provide a complete guide, in what way does it help the men of good will to whom it is addressed devise a guide for their future actions. "The doctrinal principles outlined in this document derive from or are suggested by requirements inherent in human nature itself and are, for the most part, dictates of the natural law" (157). For Pope John, and, as he remarks, for Catholics, the principles set forth in "Peace on Earth" are binding; they are matters of obligation arising from faith. They provide, he also declares, a "vast field in which [Catholics] can meet and come to an understanding both with Christians separated from [the church], and also with human beings [not Christian] \* \* \* who are endowed with the light of reason and with a natural and operative honesty" (157). Since natural law doctrine holds that all human beings are governed by natural law, all human beings are endowed with the light of reason and natural and operative honesty, unless they have been taught to disregard their natural inclinations or have willfully denied them. The Pope's appeal is therefore as wide as it is possible for a Catholic Pope to make it; and the relationship in the pursuit of peace of Catholic, non-Catholic Christian, and non-Christian, both to the task of making peace and to each other in the need for peace, is explicit.

family in truth, in justice, in love and in freedom."

Finally, it should be pointed out that, althought the Pope views an amelioration in international relations as urgent, especially in light of the dangers posed by modern weapons, the encyclical calls for prudence in all things. As President Kennedy described the partial test ban treaty "a necessary first step," so the Pope declares "that to proceed gradually is the law of life in all its expressions."

Yet the overriding injunction of "Pacem in Terris" is for action: "In the highest and most authoritative assemblies, let men give serious thought to the problems of a peaceful adjustment of relations between political communities on a world level; an adjustment founded on mutual trust, on sincerity in negotiations, on faithful fulfillment of obligations assumed. Let them study the problem until they find that point of agreement from which it will be possible to commence to go forward toward accords that will be sincere, lasting and fruitful."

No higher assignment could be given men,

The Pope's letter lays upon all Catholics the obligations to seek to make peace, to seek and make it under conditions of truth, justice, charity, and liberty, and to seek to make it with believers and nonbelievers alike.

The Pope is also explicit in directing Catholics to be generous in interpretation of their own faith and in their judgment on the ideologies or faiths of those with whom they disagree. Even historical movements that have originated from Catholic or Christian teachings may not be identified with those teachings, because, as they seek economic, social or political ends, such movements work, in history in situations that are evolving. For the same reason, a philosophy that seems false to Catholics may lead to ideas for practical action that Catholics can accept, because such ideas, whatever their origins, "conform to the dictates of right reason and [be] interpreters of the lawful aspirations of the human person [containing] elements that are positive and deserving of approval" (159). The Pope thus establishes the basis of a dialog between Catholics and non-Catholics regarding the conditions necessary for peace, and denies to idelogoy the power to prevent useful discourse and common action toward peace. In the spirit of the encyclical, Catholics must be prepared to talk with all men everywhere about peace. No person is excluded because of his faith or lack of it; no nation is excluded nor is any other collectivity of persons, simply on the basis

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and no more urgent one.

THE ENCYCLICAL AS A GUIDE TO WORLD ORDER

#### (By Hallock Hoffman)

The pastoral letter of Pope John XXIII called "Pacem in Terris—Peace on Earth" is addressed to the members of the Catholic faith, to the non-Catholic Christian community, and to all men of good will. It is transparent, like its author, in its hope for the safety of mankind. It is a generous and loving letter, full of care for men and faith in the nature its author ascribes to men as a gift of their God. It is a passionate and practical plea for peace on earth, a powerful communication intended to reach across the barriers that divide the world and postpone peace. of its official ideology. The Pope directed his subjects to make peace with other human beings, and warned them against tangling themselves too deeply in philosophical abstractions. But he warned them also that "relationships" among the states "must be harmonized in truth, in justice, in a working solidarity, in liberty" (80). These conditions are also dictated by natural law, which, "like the rays of a gleaming beacon" must "guide the plans and policies of men and nations" (85, quote from Pius XII).

The encyclical thus speaks with unqualified seriousness about peace, and instructs Catholics to be up and doing about making peace, provided the conditions of peace conform to the natural law. Further, its recognition of the relationship to the condition of the underdeveloped countries (101-108, 121-125) and to the United Nations (141-145) of all peacemaking activities is explicit. Despite its address to all men of good will, and its definition of "men of good will" as all men willing to reason together (that is, to use their natural reason in discourse governed by a natural and operative honestywithout which it would be impossible to reason together) the encyclical is primarily a letter to Catholics and other Christians. Yet the world is predominantly non-Christian, and the achievement of world order, without world conversion to Catholic Christianity, must be an achievement of men as they are, of various faiths and none, and currently within the dominion of political communities that do not knowingly rest their constitutions on natural law.

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through negotiation of their differences, and thus will their people discover that between them "it is not fear which should reign but love, a love which tends to express itself in a collaboration that is loyal, manifold in form and productive of many benefits" (129).

These general and traditional obligations on men conducting the public affairs through the instrumentality of their states must be seen, according to the encyclical, in a new light based on new technical and organizational developments. "At the present day no political community is able to pursue its own interests and develop itself in isolation, because the degree of its prosperity and development is a reflection and a component part of the degree of prosperity and development of all other political communities (131). In times past, one would be justified in feeling that the public authorities of the different political communities might be in a position to provide for the universal common good" (133), but as "a result of the farreaching changes which have taken place in the relations within the human community (134), at this historical moment the present system of organization and the way its principle of authority operates on a world basis no longer corresponds to the objective requirements of the universal common good (135). Today the universal common good poses problems of worldwide dimensions, which cannot be adequately tackled or solved except by the efforts of public authorities endowed with a wideness of powers, structure and means of the same proportions: that is, of public authorities which are in a position to operate in an effective manner on a worldwide basis. The moral order itself, therefore, demands that such a form of public authority be established" (137).We have come to a new era, in which weapons are too destructive to be used even under the most rigorously controlled conditions as instruments of justice, and in which the technical means for bringing the peoples of the world into political, economic, and social connection with each other have been perfected. We must have a world government, the Pope appears to suggest, because the system of rights and duties imposed upon states by the natural law no longer fulfill the demands of the moral order. Right reason, as well as historic circumstance, now require a more coherent, worldwide, public authority with worldwide power, and endowed with the means to achieve its purposes. But this world-governing authority must be achieved only by "common accord and not imposed by force." Practical reason dictates that this world authority should be achieved by peaceable consent, because "there would be reason to fear that a supranational or worldwide public authority, imposed by force by the more powerful political communities, might be or might become an instrument of one-sided interests; and even if this should not happen, it would be difficult for it to avoid all suspicion of partiality in its actions." Such suspicions, even if unfounded, would reduce the efficaciousness of its activity (138). The same practical reason, as well as the requirements of justice, make clear that the world public authority must recognize, respect, safeguard, and promote "the rights of the human person; this can be done by direct action when required, or by creating on a world scale an environment in which the public authorities of the individual political communities can more easily carry on their specific functions" (139).

For, because of the vastness, complexity, and urgency of those problems, the public authorities of the individual states are not in a position to tackle them with any hope of resolving them satisfactorily" (140).

The United Nations Organization is not the world public authority the Pope has described. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is not beyond improvement. But the declaration "represents an important step on the path toward the juridicalpolitical organization of the world community," (144). And, with this declaration, and with its many international specialized agencies, the United Nations Organization may develop into an effective and efficacious world public authority. "It is our earnest wish that the United Nations Organization—in its structure and in its means may become ever more equal to the magnitude and nobility of its tasks. May the day soon come when every human being may find therein an effective safeguard for the rights which derive directly from his dignity as a person, and which are therefore universal, inviolate and inalienable rights." The Pope has proposed a world government with authority to regulate the relations among the states, insofar as these relations would raise issues touching the universal common good. The common good is that good available through the operation of the community, for it is a good that is good for each member of the community, deriving from their participation in the community. It is common because it reaches all; it is common because it is the product of the arrangements made among all for their cooperative and coordinated efforts.

A definition of world order, as proposed by the encyclical, includes the following requirements on the relations among the states:

1. The relations among states must be governed by truth.

(a) The requirement of truth is that racism be eliminated; that states as well as persons be recognized as equal in dignity; that inequalities in development do not justify inequalities in treatment; that the media of communication be used to enable the people to know each other better, conveying information solely with "serene objectivity."

The universal common good must therefore exist, if it exists at all, through the agency of a universal community. Pope John asserts that the world community is a technological and historical fact: there is no longer self-sufficiency for any nation; no single government can now guarantee the common good of its own members, but requires the association and cooperation of other governments to achieve the good of its citizens. But the world community is not a governmental or political fact. The United Nations Organization is a step toward world community and world public authority, but only a step. The Pope, in calling attention to the elements of a world public authority, implies the weaknesses of the present UNO. A world government, says Pope John, must have power to reach directly to the individual citizen of the national policies, and to assist him against his own government if necessary (139). He has suggested earlier the reason why such power is needed, in his concern for the treatment of minorities and the economically disadvantaged (95, 96, 103-108). In referring to the Declaration of Human Rights, and calling attention especially to its assertions of the inalienability of the right to move from one country to another, and the right to political asylum (144), he makes clear another reason why a world public authority would have to be able to reach the citizen, within his own country, and if necessary, stand between a citizen and his own national government. In these respects, the United Nations Organization is deficient; neither the Security Council nor the General Assembly has power to protect an individual against his own government, if that government is a member of the UNO. Some of the specialized agencies of the UNO, like the World Health Organization or UNESCO, do deal with problems of individuals, but their powers of intervention are weak, and do not meet the Pope's standard of "the proper means for the efficacious pursuit" of their objectives (138). For instance, the International Labor Organization's reports on slavery and related work extortion practices have shown viola-

2. The relations among the states must be regulated by justice.

(a) Justice implies recognition of respective rights and duties, which includes: settlement of disputes among nations by "a mature and objective investigation of the situation, and by an equitable reconciliation of differences of opinion" (93); equitable treatment of contained minorities, and concern for their welfare, including respect for their languages and customs; cooperation with other nations in search of the common good of mankind; promoting or facilitating cooperation (solidarity) "in all fields between citizens and their intermediate societies \* \* \* (human beings) have the right and duty therefore to live in communion with one another," (100); proportioning wealth among the nations and within the nations, and especially assisting the poorer people to achieve economic development, with acute regard for the human distress involved in schemes of relocation or industrialization (101, 102, 121-125); refuge for exiles and political refugees, including assistance to ease the pain of human migration; disarmament, both in the interests of the security of mankind and to enable the nations to use the resources now devoted to arms to more humane purposes (109-119).

3. The relations among the states should be based on freedom (that is, that no country may unjustly oppress others or meddle in their affairs) (120).

4. The relationship among states should lead to affection and confidence.

(a) Since it is almost unimaginable, in the "tackle and solve problems of an economic, atomic era, that war could be an instrument of justice, the states should overcome fear are imposed by the universal common good.

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The world authority must not be limited to settling disputes or protecting the rights of persons or of political communities; it must also, like lesser political associations, "tackle and solve problems of an economic, social, political, or cultural character which are imposed by the universal common good.

#### tions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. But the ILO has no power to summon the representatives of the governments under whom the offense has taken place, nor the persons conducting the inhuman work practice, before it; neither has it a system of courts or other agencies in which to bring charges. Its means, while not entirely lacking, are neither adequate nor efficacious.

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Pope John suggests that the world public authority, in its operation among states, would have the power to encourage disarmament, protect states from armed attack, prevent the exploitation of any country or minority within a country by another; encourage the redistribution of wealth, and "tackle and solve problems of an economic, social, political or cultural character" that are seen to be problems because of existing conditions contrary to the universal common good. The relation between the intermediate political institutions, the States, and the world public authority would be based upon the principle of subsidiarity. "Just as within each political community the relations between individuals, families, intermediate associations and public authority are governed by the principle of subsidiarity, so too the relations between the political authority of each political community and the public authority of the world community must be regulated by the light of the same principle," (140). The idea of subsidiarity referred to briefly in the encyclical entails a complex of relationships. It is clear that the Pope means to import into the idea of world public authority the scheme of justice described in natural law theory by the same term. Robert M. Hutchins has written, "[Natural law] aims at one and the same time at the primacy of politics and the subsidiary role of the state and of the common good. The primacy of politics means that government allocates functions among individuals and groups and protects them against one another; the subsidiary role of the state and the common good means that the common good serves the good of the individuals who make up the community. The doctrine, in short, is balanced, and therefore complicated. Those who plunge for any uncomplicated view of society are bound to have trouble in understanding and appreciating natural law."1 Adherents of natural law must have patience and wisdom in their development of the doctrine. Furthermore, the doctrine is, because it is complicated, especially subject to misinterpretation by those who attend to parts of it detached from the complex whole. "Natural law is afflicted by the rhetorical difficulty that must plague any doctrine that proceeds from principles and tries to apply them in changing historical situations in the light of developing knowledge. \* \* \* Unless all the explicit and implicit qualifications are taken into account, the statement of principle is likely to give a false impression of the directive that is being offered for practical life." The reach of natural law is great, but there are dangers when one seeks to derive from it, in the Pope's words, the "universal common good in concrete form," (138). Natural law is likely to sound both too vague and too specific, at the same moment; the way its principles are heard tends to depend upon the previous experience of the hearers both with it, and with the terms it uses, which are also the terms common to politics everywhere. There are therefore two types of questions that must be answered about "Peace on Earth" before it can be recommended without qualification as a practical guide to

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world order. One type of question is about the encyclical's specificity; the other is about its universality.

Is "Peace on Earth" sufficiently universal to be a guide to world order? This question implies that world order must be order for the whole of the world, that it must be an order meeting the reasonable requirements of all men everywhere, and providing the benefits of peace to all on an equitable basis. But "Peace on Earth" is a letter from the head of a great church. Does it speak to all men, especially those not Roman Catholic? Men, although they share a common nature and appreciate a common good, in the special sense of those terms of the natural law vocabulary, are of many cultures, diverse languages, and many passionately believed religions. The spirit of fellowship in mankind pervades "Peace on Earth;" John XXIII was a rare and loving human being, whose humble open heart touched many non-Catholics. But "Peace on Earth" is not merely a letter of good will; it is also a proposal for action, to be undertaken cooperatively, by men of many nations. Is it likely to be understood by Communist and non-Communist in the same way? Is it likely to be understood by brown and black men of eastern lands in the same way it is understood by the pale men of the west, on whose language and tradition it depends? This question will have to be answered by the participants in the conference; it cannot be answered by a man of one culture for men of another. It is fair to say, however, from the document, that the Pope was striving to preach a universal sermon, and went far toward detaching himself from his special situation as head of the Roman Catholic Church. He urged his fellow Catholics to open their minds and hearts to the peaceful ambitions of those of other faiths and nations, and he bade them cleave to their own obligations to be charitable to others; he did not ask of the "others" that they renounce their own religions or political arrangements. The second question, as to whether the encyclical is sufficiently specific in its proposals to be useful as a guide to world order, can be answered on the basis of the document alone. The answer is that it is not. It must be noted that this criticism of the encyclical derives not from the purposes for which the encyclical was intended, but rather from the title of this paper. If the title had been "The Encyclical as a Frame for World Order" the question could have been answered affirmatively. Pope John had other objectives beyond instructing his hearers on the constitution of the world public authority he encourages them to establish. The generality of the encyclical enables it to state the basic necessities of world order in a manner that will be acceptable to most men of most nations; and this surely was part of the Pope's purpose. This generality of the principles detracts from the value of the document as a guide. It names the qualities that a "world public authority" should possess; it does not describe the means for reconciling the differences among the several insufficient means now used by the nations and the United Nations Organization in search of those qualities. The Pope has given mankind a globe from which the general direction can be discovered; we still need the roadmap on which our route may be plotted. The generality of the encyclical also leads to apparent contradictions. For example, the Pope asserts that we must have a world public authority which must be set up by concord, not by coercion, (138). Yet the world public authority is not to limit the sphere of action of the public authority of any individual political community; on the

contrary, the function of the world authority will be to create an environment, worldwide, in which the public authorities of the several states may "fulfill their duties and exercise their rights with greater security," (141). These concepts of supra-nationalism and subsidiarity might, within the natural law understanding of the hierarchy of rights and duties, work out among nations run by natural lawyers. But we need only try to foresee what would develop if these two ideas were put into action in the present international system to note how far from a practical guide are the encyclical's paragraphs on world public authority.

The most cherished right of the nationstate, as an instance, is the right to make war. It is this right in which national sovereignty finally consists. Yet a world public authority, to provide greater security, must abrogate the national right to make war. Men from other traditions have particular cause to inquire of Catholic thinkers who discuss world public authority for their ideas about war, because the Catholic tradition of the just war has sometimes been presented in justification of uses of force that thinkers from other traditions would not attempt to explain on moral grounds. On this point the Pope is not totally silent, for he says, "it is hardly possible to imagine that in the atomic era war could be used as an instrument of justice." This may be enough for Catholics, who understand the influence of paper pronouncements on Catholic doctrine; but it is not enough for non-Catholics who have been perhaps overimpressed by Catholic writing about war in recent years (at least in English) that has sought to restore to atomic war some of the usefulness as an instrument of justice it appeared to have lost with the recognition of the awful destructive power of modern weapons. Like the Pope, some non-Catholics can scarcely imagine a just war with hydrogen bombs; but we have nonetheless been assured from time to time that hydrogen warfare would be more just than various other recourses, given some hypotheses. So also the encyclical is lacking the practical proposals for the structural changes in the present world order implied by its call for better treatment of racial and ethnic minorities, better distribution of wealth, and the improved truthfulness and serene objectivity the Pope urges upon international communication. On these points the aspirations of the encyclical are stated with clarity, but the means by which these aspirations should be realized are not explicated. It would be reasonable to ask non-Catholics and nonnatural lawyers, of whom the "men of good will" overwhelmingly consist, to join Catholic natural lawyers in the explication of the propositions of the encyclical. It is encouraging to assume that "Peace on Earth" prepares the ground for such a cooperative effort. It is evident that the effort will have to supply a vastly more detailed and elaborated set of instructions for the new world order than Pope John XXIII has given us. It is also true that we could not hope for the necessary cooperation between Catholics and non-Catholics if Pope John had not written his letter to the world. The encyclical was not intended to offer a constitution for the world. Perhaps the government of the world should avoid a written constitution in any case, since many of the nations of the world have no experience with or regard for documentary constitutions. The encyclical is a letter from a gentle and loving elder brother to his younger brothers in all nations and all lands, urging them to find the means for cooperating and caring for each other, and reminding them of some of the lessons their

<sup>1</sup> Hutchins, Robert M., et al., "Natural Law and Modern Society," World Publishing Co., 1963.

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ancestors learned before them as they sought to associate in peace. John XXIII declares that peace and welfare, freedom and justice are inseparable parts of a constituent order. In this sense, "Peace on Earth" is a guide to world order. It is even more powerfully an injunction and a prayer for human action to achieve world order now.

### THE ENCYCLICAL AS A GUIDE TO COEXISTENCE

#### (By John Cogley)

This title was not of my own choosing. At first I was tempted to reject it, mainly because "coexistence" has always struck me as a propaganda word that says either too much or too little to make political sense. But finally I accepted the suggested title because the word, for all its ambiguity, expresses a genuine concern-it is shorthand, really, for the hope that the cold war can be brought to an end; that both the Communist and the Western world will develop along their characteristic lines, without either fearing the other or being interfered with by the other; that the fundamental differences between them will be blurred with the passing of time; that they will enter a stage of collaboration, rather than of rivalry, in improving the lot of mankind; and, finally, that the threat of the nuclear holocaust will be removed if only because the two presently major nuclear powers will no longer have anything to fear from one another. Taken in this sense, "Pacem in Terris" also seems to be devoted to coexistence as an immediate goal for the achievement of peace on earth. But though Pope John was not so rude as to say "we will bury you," he did end his encyclical with a prayer that God would "banish from the heart of men whatever might endanger peace, may He transform them into witnesses of truth, justice, and brotherly love. \* \* \* By virtue of His action, may all people of the earth become as brothers, and may the most longed-for peace blossom forth and reign always between them." In his own way, then, Pope John was as apocalyptic as Chairman Khrushchev. For him, too, coexistence was a prelude to a peaceful conquest. How to reconcile coexistence with the ultimate goals and beliefs of both men, then, did seem a problem which transcends the boring propaganda uses of the word. Of course, not to hold the suspense, I found no answer to the problem. But investigating Pope John's views, in the light of it, turned out to be an interesting assignment.

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Of its nature a papal encyclical is a didactic document. "Pacem in Terris" is no exception. It is not merely a series of pious exhortations but the outline of a total philosophy of social life and of politics. It is in fact an orderly presentation of a particular ideology-though the document is so devoid of the true believer's spirit that the word "ideology" is probably not a good one with which to describe it. In any case, it is certainly not the utterly "nonsectarian" document it is sometimes credited with being. Nor can it be said to "transcend" the Pope's theological and philosophic convictions, as has also been claimed. For these convictions are the very substance of "Pacem in Terris." They are stated with candor in almost every paragraph. There are no hidden premises in the encyclical. It is patently the work of a Christian believer, specifically a Roman Catholic pontiff. By the same token, it is also unmistakably the work of one who accepts the philosophy of natural law. Pope John, of course, knew how to distinguish between theology and natural law and presumed others did too, though the two are frequently intermingled in his encyclical. The final section of the encyclical, "pastoral exhortations," where the emphasis is heavily theological, is exactly what it claims to be-the earnest fervorino of a chief shepherd to his Catholic flock. Because the document is also directed to "all men of good will"--- which would include millions who accepted the Pope as merely one more moral leader in a pluralistic world-the major content of the encyclical is based not so much on the theological teachings of the Christian Gospel and the Roman Catholic Church as on philosophic doctrine. The doctrine is forthrightly undisguised; it is "the natural law."

But let us get on to the actual text of the encyclical.

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We can begin with its opening lines, in which the Pope made a flat statement about the nature of "peace on earth." Such peace, he said baldly, "can be firmly established only if the order laid down by God is dutifully observed." This point would certainly seem doomed to be a cause of disputation rather than of agreement in any genuinely worldwide council. There would be, first of all, a profound difference about the very notion of a God-created order; then, even if an unexpected agreement could be reached on the idea that there are "laws" governing the moral universe which are comparable to the laws of physics, would not another argument surely arise as to just what such laws are? The question is basic. Certainly Pope John could not be said to have been indifferent to it. In one of his few negative passages, he vigorously assailed the idea that the "relationships between men and States can be governed by the same laws as the forces and irrational elements of the universe." The Pope of course derived his "laws" from an understanding of the "nature of man," a concept that many of his stoutest admirers might be expected to reject utterly, as a starting point for anything, especially for anything as important as the peace of the world. The encyclical then goes on to enumerate a number of specific human rights which are derived from man's nature. They include religious liberty, the right to marry or to embrace the monastic life, and a priori parental right in deciding the education of children, "free initiative" in the economic order as well as "the right to work," the right to private property "even of productive goods," the "right of assembly and association" and the right to establish "a great variety of \* \* \* intermediate groups and societies (between the individual and the State) in order to guarantee for the human person a sufficient sphere of freedom and responsibility." In addition to these rights, any one of which could be a bone of contention in the modern world, the encyclical affirms "the right to freedom of movement and of residence within the confines of (one's own country; and, when there are just reasons for it, the right to emigrate to other countries and take up residence there." And how much general agreement would there be on this point? Practically every one of these rights, in fact, is already a cause of dissension and disagreement in the present divided world. Even when they are considered abstractly, there is no consensus about their validity or indeed about the Pope's bald general statement that "every fundamental human right draws its indestructible moral force from the natural law." Nor is there any sound reason for believing that all political and ideological camps could agree on the proposition that men in their social relations should "act chiefly on [their] own responsibility and initiative" without "being moved by force or pressure brought to bear on [them] externally." Indeed, if there were significant agreement on such questions as these, many of the reasons for the cold war would no longer exist. In subsequent paragraphs Pope John strongly assailed colonialism and racism and affirmed not only the right but the duty of peoples who feel they are being deprived of their rightful independence to "claim these rights." By the same token, he insisted on the moral duty of others "to acknowledge these rights and respect them." Applied to specific cases, wouldn't this principle also be more a sword of division between the

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Now one could certainly follow the Pope's philosophic reasoning without accepting his religious presuppositions, as one can accept natural law without being a Catholic. Perhaps, also, one could give assent to the Pope's conclusions for theological reasons, without accepting his philosophical doctrines, though this would appear to be more difficult. It is hard to see, however, how one could reject both the theology and the philosophy in the encyclical and still take it seriously as a guide to political action. Still, remarkably enough, that is what has happened in April 1963, when "Pacem in Terris" appeared. For the encyclical was received enthusiastically by persons who were known to have no taste for Christian theology, particularly for the Roman Catholic version of Christian theology. And, again, many of those who hailed it were famous for their lack of sympathy for the philosophy of natural law, which many of them had over the years persistently charged with being irrelevant and useless for the settlement of real problems in the real world. Yet, "Pacem in Terris" was praised, above all, for its practicality and usefulness in a bomb-threatened world and by some of these same people. By an ironic twist, at the same time, some devout adherents of the Pope's theology and his natural law philosophy received the encyclical coolly. It would seem that the former, however dim their appreciation of the Pope's line of reasoning, were pleased with his conclusions; whereas the latter, though they approved heartily of his premises, balked at his conclusions. (The switch is an interesting one. It makes one wonder whether it would not be better to leave well enough alone and not try to make too much out of the total substance of the encyclical. In any case, it was another reason why I had a certain hesitancy about approaching the document in toto, to see if it really does provide a "guide to coexistence.")

"Pacem in Terris" largely avoids condemnations and anathemas. Like its author, the well-loved Papa Giovanni, it is eminently positive, optimistic, and open. Pope John took his title of Sovereign Pontiff very seriously. He was much more interested in building bridges between men than in widening the gap of theological, philosophic, and cultural differences dividing them. This was evident in his work for ecumenicism among Christians, his efforts for greater understanding between Catholics and men of non-Christian traditions, and his monumental attempt to create a bond of sympathy between all men of good will, religious believers and atheists alike. For all that, Pope John was no intellectual cipher, indifferent to questions of truth and falsehood or good and evil. The tolerant spirit for which he was famous was not the result of a bland indifferentism, a pale syncretism, or a vague philanthropy intellectually unrooted. Paradoxically, it was, rather, the fruit of his personal beliefs, which were staunchly held and clearly, though never belligerently, set forth in his encyclicals.

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The encyclical goes on then to a section called Relations Between Individuals and the Public Authorities Within a Single State. As might be expected, the Pope takes an uncompromisingly theistic view of political authority. "Those therefore who have authority in the State may oblige men in conscience only if their authority is intrinsically related with the authority of God and shares in it." From this general proposition, John drew the conclusion that "if civil authorities legislate for or allow (praecipiunt) anything that is contrary to that [divine] order and therefore contrary to the will of God, neither the laws made nor the authorizations granted can be binding on the consciences of the citizens, since God has more right to be obeyed than men." He does not hesitate at this point to invoke the authority of Thomas Aquinas, who taught that a positive law which does not conform to the eternal law is "wicked"-not a law at all but "a kind of violence." A few sentences later, the Pope talked about the duty of political authority to provide for "the needs both of body and soul" and to promote simultaneously "both the material and spiritual welfare of its citizens." The section concludes with the doctrine that "to safeguard the inviolable rights of the human person, and to facilitate the fulfillment of his duties, should be the essential office of every public authority." "Any government [that] does not acknowledge the rights of man or violates them \* \* \* not only fails in its duty, but its orders completely lack juridical force."

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Again he excoriated racism and from an affirmation that all men are created equal in dignity, he derived the "consequent recognition of the principle that all states are by nature equal in dignity"-vested with the right to existence, to self-development, to the means fitting to its attainment, and to be the one primarily responsible for this self-development. He then emphasized the need to recognize the national sensitivities of others and to discard the broadcasting of propaganda which impairs "the reputation of this people and that."

Here is the first clear-cut practical and hopeful guide to coexistence I found in the encyclical. If it were taken seriously, it would mean that in the interests of peace, governmental campaigns of scurrility would end and officially sponsored hate mongering would be eliminated from the world scene. This would not necessarily mean that black would have to be called white. Pope John's own example of sticking to his principles without stressing the failings of his enemies could be followed by governmental leaders, official broadcasters, and private propagandists. Of course, no government frankly acknowledges that it is engaged in vicious propaganda policies: it merely underwrites a program of presenting true information to counter the false propaganda of others. But the fact is that peoples do have strange and distorted views of one another, and the libels simply do not come out of nowhere. Eliminating hate producing propaganda, then, could be a useful step toward genuine coexistence. In addition, the Pope's proposal suggests that imaginative cultural exchanges should be increased to make up for some of the mischief of the past.

assistance in those foreign states where they apply for membership. Here, again, is a practical note. The "refugee problem" has long been a source of friction in the world, and a scandal as well. It is an everpresent threat to peace on earth.

It was in the section on disarmament that Pope John made his most forthright bid for a state of coexistence between the antagonistic political forces. The arms race, it is evident, struck him as unreasonable, wasteful, and possibly fatally dangerous. He condemned the race itself rather than any party in the race. The frantic search for equity of armaments, he said, has resulted not only in burdening the richest nations with a hopeless contest but, as a consequence of the waste of wealth, has stood in the way of the progress of less fortunate peoples. The Pope believed that both sides were honestly operating in accordance with the deterrence theory and that neither side had any truly serious intentions of destroying the other. "It is difficult to believe that anyone would deliberately take the responsibility for the appalling destruction and sorrow that war would bring in its train." Still, he insisted, the mere existence of these monstrous instruments of mass destruction is a threat; war could be set off "by some uncontrollable and unexpected chance." The very testing of modern weapons could have "fatal consequences for life on earth."

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Again, one wonders, first of all, if in the foreseeable future there can be any universal agreement on the "rights of man," so enumerated, and, second, whether it would not take a major change, indeed a revolutionary change, in political ideologies before all nations could agree to "coexist" peacefully with an understanding that these rights would not only be solemnly protected but that persons deprived of them would be thereby relieved of civil obedience. Pope John, in his prescription for "peace on earth" stated in no uncertain terms that "the rights of all [presumably as the encyclical understands human rights] should be effectively safeguarded and, if they have been violated, [be] completely restored" by the offending States. "Pacem in Terris" supports governmental intervention in the economic sphere, after the manner of what is generally called "the welfare state." This made the encyclical unpalatable to certain laissez-faire diehards in the West. A more serious limitation on its value as a "guide to coexistence," though, is its forthright declaration: "For this principle must always be retained: that state activity in the economic field, no matter what its breadth or depth may be, ought not to be exercised in such a way as to curtail an individual's freedom of personal initiative. Rather it should work to expand that freedom as much as possible by the effective protection of the essential personal rights of each and every individual." Like another statement quickly following, namely, that "it is in keeping with the innate demands of human nature that the state should take a form which embodies the threefold division of powers," this preference would not appear to be shared equally by all parties to coexistence.

The Pope's practical advice regarding respect for reputations is immediately followed by an exhortation to settle the inevitable disputes between states not by force, deception, or trickery but "by a mutual assessment of the reasons on both sides of the disputes, by a mature and objective investigation of the situation, and by an equitable reconciliation of differences of opinion."

So, in the traditional terms of natural law—"right reason and humanity urgently demand that the arms race should cease."

Pope John did not endorse unilateral disarmament: "the stockpiles which exist in various countries should be reduced equally and simultaneously by the parties concerned." Moreover, "nuclear weapons should be banned; and agreements should be reached about progressive disarmament and an effective method of control." Again, the critics may say, easier to proclaim than to do. With mutual suspicion in the air, who can trust disarmament? Pope John offered no magic formula to resolve this difficulty, though he seemed to be quite aware of it. He did not involve himself in the technicalities of disarmament but simply stated that disarmament must eventually be thorough and universal and must proceed from inner conviction. The peace of the world, the Pope said, cannot be interminably based on equality of arms. The present emphasis on parity, the going principle, is self-defeating; it must be replaced by a new principle of international life: "mutual trust alone." A number of reasons were offered for this seemingly idealistic advice. One, reason itself declares that the relations between States can no longer be based on force or the threat of force, anymore than relations between individuals-the arms race is patently suicidal. Two, there is no one really, who does not want to see war abolished, since no one stands to gain from it. Three, the benefits of an arms-free world would be enormous. Its advantages would be felt by individuals, families, nations, all mankind. A fourth reason is cited later by the Pope, speaking as a moralist: "It is hardly possible to imagine that in the atomic era war could be used as an instrument of justice." Of course the Pope did not say that the destruction of arms would miraculously remove all the differences and antagonisms between men. He believed, rather, that in the very coming-together with good will to negotiate, men who believe themselves to be enemies may tap sources of "love" (his word) which they are barely aware of and which might otherwise go undiscovered.

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This appeal and dialog and patient negotiation to replace warfare, hot or cold, can be dismissed as a clergyman's cliche, as it has been, or be translated into practical programs of action, whereby the settlement of differences is taken seriously, the meetings arranged for settlement are scrupulously purged of propaganda for the one cause or the other, and points of agreement rather than of dispute are honestly sought out. To expect such high-minded conduct from "political communities" (to use Pope John's designation) may verge on naivete, as many have said. But the Pope was no political innocent, though he was a moralist. What John XXIII was writing, after all, was a treatise on political morality not a study of immoral behavior, and he had faith that the very extremity of the present world situation would be enough to make profound changes even in the traditional behavior of statesmen. In any case, in his fervent appeal for the exercise of reason for the settlement of political arguments, the Pope was being faithful to his natural law doctrine and to his role as a spokesman for the moral forces in the world. Here, clearly, he presented another "guide to coexistence." "Pacem in Terris" encourages mutual collaboration between nations, and the exchange of capital, goods, and manpower between the haves and have-nots of this world, humanely suggesting that whenever possible work should be brought to the workers rather than the workers to the work. This is immediately followed by a moving passage of commiseration for political refugeesstill numbered in the millions-and an

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The third section of the encyclical "Relations Between States," comes to grips with some of the more immediate problems connected with coexistence. Here, again, though, Pope John insisted that the central

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Again, Pope John was above all the adherent to natural law philosophy, for it was his faith in human nature that gave rise to principle is to be found in the natural law. appeal that they be granted asylum and his belief in the benefits of coming together.

Even in a sharply divided world, all men have human nature in common, and he believed that it was the only sure bond with which the work of building peace on earth could begin.

(The fourth section of "Pacem in Terris" is concerned with the world community, which is certainly not unconnected with coexistence but is of a specific enough technical interest to justify special treatment. Suffice it to say here that if the expanded "world authority" John suggested could grow out of the United Nations were ever brought to actuality, talk of coexistence might well, and happily, be an exercise in anachronism.) 这个 1849 1158 12 158 19

VI

"Pastoral Exhortations," the final section of "Pacem in Terris," is directed to the Pope's own worldwide Catholic flock. In it he exhorted "our children" to participate honestly and zealously in remaking the modern world and to turn their backs on all manifestations of religious isolationism, perfectionism, and narrow parochialism. He insisted that religious faith and good will are not enough to insure that their efforts would be successful; professional competence and commonsense are required for effective participation in solving the world's problems. The Pope insisted also that religious faith cannot be left at the infantile level but must be brought up to the level of sophistication and maturity reached in one's secular learning. This, he said, is the task of religious educators primarily. Translating the principles of the Christian Gospel into the realities of political and social life requires an operation of intelligence as well as of good will. Saintliness is always desirable, but even it, by itself, is not enough.

### CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

do real violence to the truth. The confrontation of individuals, whatever their philosophic differences, can in fact result in surprising practical agreements, for the service of the common good is not dependent on perfect philosophic or theological accord between those who are moved to join together to make a better world.

This exhortation, which reflected the thinking, if not the exact language, of Jacques Maritain's famous UNESCO lecture on philosophic pluralism, amounted to a solemn repudiation, on the Pope's part, of the ideological mentality which conceives of life as a battle of abstractions, forever irreconcilable and doomed to permanent warfare until one or the other is declared falsely victorious. Pope John, with his customary emphasis on the stability of human nature and the primacy of reason in human affairs, took quite another view of life—and, it might be added, quite another view of the Christian vocation in the world. Third, Pope John, in the exhortations to his children, insisted on making a distinction between philosophical teachings and the concrete historical and social movements to which these teachings might have given rise. No man, he seemed to be saying, is as good as his principles—and very likely not as bad as his principles, either. No movement subject to the shaping influences of history and the operations of human nature can be judged like an abstraction. The negative judgment passed on a doctrine or a principle does not necessarily cover the concrete association, or the social, economic, or political manifestations that might result from the presence of that doctrine or bad principle in the world. In abstract language like this, he seemed to be telling the faithful that not even the Communist movement can be judged simply by citing the principles that gave rise to it. As a tangible political entity and social force in the world, after almost 50 years, the Communist movement has an existence of its own that may have been derived from but is not simply identifiable with its philosophical presuppositions. Catholic-Communist collaboration in practical matters, then the Pope seemed to be saying, is not forever unthinkable, even though the two views of life are utterly incompatible. But while Pope John's "opening to the left" was unmistakable, he hedged it in by certain safeguards. He insisted, for example, that such collaboration must always be "in accordance with the principles of the natural law, with the social doctrine of the church, and with the directives of ecclesiastical authority." John XXIII was no more pro-Communist than his predecessors or his successor. A convinced Communist, inevitably, would find the main lines of "Pacem in Terris" no more congenial than he would find the intellectual orientation of any other theistic, profoundly Christian, and pro natural law document. What is significant, though, is that the Johannine version of theism, Christianity, and natural law nevertheless, tor the cettion to inchick to the this of the the Pope rate for this will be made and end charactock as as electrol bord boll boll wol for the month forcessin the world. There -ba of eltings weiled beineestig eff. Thising eessien oo. All and a start was a start of the start of t Report aspectoons "singT mi mostres" religible attain between mathems and the ex-Ad heatening bing aboos faithes to satsis Alto a che le spon-ored bete cover ada most? -acts the solution that that we have the second endered and all devices of berede Anon Star Side and in alrow add of stadiow set and the world. -and manners a vol besteller vloteleernent et sage of communities for Dollation frances Albeigle is to be found in the matural fint, that the hat hat and an and an and an and and at bettot ed of a bla

in the interests of world peace and mankind's needs, provided for a mode of genuine coexistence between the Communist and the Christian world.

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#### called Relations B IIVeen Individuales and

"Pacem in Terris" never veers from its natural law presuppositions. A world totally fashioned after its prescriptions would be a world in which the philosophy of natural law had triumphed over all others. Essentially, then, the encyclical, in the pluralistic setting of the modern world, is a sectarian statement. That its conclusions jibe with those dear to many who have no taste for its cast of thought may be an unwitting tribute to the universalism of natural law doctrine, a tribute to the remarkably humane spirit of John XXIII, or merely an expression of the yearnings of a generation which longs for peace and is looking for any way out of its present impasse. Still, it is only fair to the encyclical and to the Pope who signed it that it be taken in toto. And when it is, it will be evident that in itself it is not enough. It needs to be supplemented by equally reasoned, equally forthright statements on the requirements for peace from other schools of thought, religious and antireligious. Then, when all have spoken ex corde and candidly about their separate visions of "Pacem in Terris," will we finally know whether, intellectually, peace is really possible, or indeed whether even long-range coexistence is possible.

Most of this section is of special Catholic interest, but there are principles enunciated in it which have much to do with providing a guide to coexistence. For one, the Pope warns against a too easy jump from principle to application. He thereby echoes the teaching of the venerable Thomas Aquinas, who taught that while sound philosophic principles must always be held firmly and confidently, the conclusions reached from them remain ever hazardous-the more approximate the judgment reached, the more fallible the judgment. In this, Pope John was appealing for careful prudence in political matters and a sensitive weighing of all the factors that must be taken into account in making wise, and incidentally moral, political judgments. He was in fact warning Catholics against the "crusade mentality" that can be expected to produce not the hopeful spirit of coexistence but the fanatical spirit of the holy war. Secondly, John XXIII asked the faithful to distinguish carefully between "error" and "the person who errs." The former is always an abstraction; the latter is a human being, with a claim on all the human rights and dignity which were so eloquently outlined in the earlier parts of the encyclical. Honest meetings between human beings, John's natural-law sense told him, can never

The problem of pluralism remains. John XXIII showed that his philosophy is compatible with it. Differences need not result in disaster, even differences as profound as those between Catholicism and communism. Now we must hear from others.

The Pope's vision was of restoring "the order established by God" (a phrase found in both the first and last lines of the encyclical). Is that vision compatible with one that has a totally different view of nature, an utterly different understanding of the ends of human life, of the secular order and of the laws of the universe and of history?

Could, ironically enough, the fact that there are different ideas of what constitutes pacem in terris be the final source of human division, bringing us to the brink of destruction—or is there some bridge-principle, some third unifying philosophy of pluralism-acceptable to all parties-which can reconcile the seemingly irreconcilable?

That of course is the tough question. It is possible to melt it by dissolving it in a bath of peaceful sentiment and amorphous good will. But I believe any serious treatment of Pope John's encyclical must face up to it. I believe not only in the Pope's conclusions but in his theological and philosophic premises. But for me "Pacem in Terris" ends in this big question mark. And only those who reject John's premises, however much they applaud his sentiments and take satisfaction in his conclusions, can answer it for me. dom as multiple satisfies file effective the effective protection of the ease light no no hostory of each and a leadivideri gabro hinadoes lo statents guidely following. targely thiste ebstates statet out ditt grittool ni oi ti ener block chere est that that account 10 Troisielle blodend: 5dl selfodate delitr mola the start that blutte entrements and hardener -co. of collact lis at aller os bounds of or Lower Trained and the notion high and ATTALES ENTWOOD STATES STATES TO SHOP STATES and the block stabled and store and 19 boars neoted with coeststence. Here, batest the main hope John instated the central and and the central of the the millions - and st

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# International outlook BW

### April 25, 1964

U.S. and Russia see eye to eye on a few things Relations between the U.S. and Soviet Union are remarkably good—and getting better.

No one with any experience in dealing with the Russians would predict that this friendlier atmosphere will necessarily last long. But Premier Khrushchev has two good reasons to continue efforts to get along with the U. S.: (1) economic burdens on the homefront, and (2) deep-seated differences with his chief Communist rival, Communist China.

Clearly, Washington and Moscow now see mutual advantage not only in braking the arms race, but also in smoothing frictions in such hot spots as Cuba, Laos, and Berlin.

Khrushchev says the U.S. and Soviet Union are following a policy of "mutual example," with each side taking parallel steps to ease tensions. Secy. of State Rusk explains the warmer atmosphere as a growing "coincidence of policy."

As one concrete move, Washington and Moscow this week simultaneously announced cutbacks in plutonium and uranium-235 production (page 34).

... slowing output of plutonium

Actually, the cutback in fissionable materials output is more an exercise in public relations than a step toward arms control—let alone disarmament. **Both sides are free to resume all-out nuclear production at will,** and the military power of neither is reduced. Thus, the move merely acknowledges

that both governments feel they are producing more military nuclear materials than they need.

Nevertheless, the announcement has real political significance. It shows that both Washington and Moscow think it worthwhile to dramatize their peaceful intentions.

... cutting back defense costs

New moves to slow the arms race through mutual example are likely. But they will probably come gradually, as each government finds areas where defense efforts can be geared down without tipping the balance of power. **Khrushchev cut his military budget 600-million rubles this year, and** Pres. Johnson scaled back his defense appropriation request by about \$1-billion. The Soviets apparently are reducing conventional forces. Both Moscow and Washington-already are following a tacit policy of not disseminating nuclear weapons to other nations.

### Still no progress on arms control

By contrast, the outlook for formal arms control agreements—an alternative route to the same end—remains clouded.

The Russians still refuse to accept any meaningful international inspection. This could change if hardening and increased mobility of Soviet delivery vehicles gives Moscow less to fear, while improving U.S. reconnaissance leaves them less to hide. But as of now, Moscow has not even taken up Johnson's proposal for reciprocal inspection of shut-down nuclear plants.

Soviet fear of inspection also seems to rule out agreement on other current U.S. proposals, such as a freeze on manufacture of nuclear delivery vehicles. This week's announced nuclear production cutback may point to an eventual complete shutdown—but not an inspected one.

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### International outlook continued

'Bonfires' and big bombers

However, two U.S. arms control proposals may have a chance of acceptance in the not too distant future, since neither would require inspection on Soviet territory nor affect the balance of power.

The U.S. has proposed a "bonfire" of obsolescent B-47 bombers and of comparable Soviet Badgers. The Russians are holding out for destruction of all strategic bombers, but conceivably could buy the U.S. idea as the first step. And Moscow might also be willing to sign a formal ban on further spreading of nuclear weapons, once the U.S. proposal for a NATO nuclear navy is either sunk or finally launched.

Meanwhile, Washington and Moscow are finding a mutual interest in cooling down the world's hot spots.
Khrushchev has:
Refrained from further moves to squeeze the Allies in Berlin, while Johnson has ordered U.S. aircraft to fly shy of East German borders.

Campaign to cool off the hot spots

Held back from trying to exploit U.S. troubles in Panama.

• Responded in only lukewarm fashion to Archbishop Makarios' calls for Soviet support in the Cyprus crisis.

Cuba and Laos aren't crises—yet The best examples of Moscow's current restraint are Soviet policies in Cuba and Laos.

Washington has indications that Khrushchev within the next few weeks will withdraw most of the 3,000 Soviet troops still in Cuba. This probably reflects greater confidence that Johnson will not start military action against Cuba, and possibly some fear of getting directly involved in any uprisings against Castro.

In Laos, both Soviet and Western diplomats are working to restore the neutralist regime of Premier Souvanna Phouma to power. At midweek, it was still not clear whether diplomatic pressures from both sides would succeed in reinstating Souvanna.

But the crisis shows at least that both Moscow and Washington believe that their mutual interest lies in maintaining Laos' neutrality. Washington doesn't want to get dragged into a civil war in Laos, while Moscow opposes the spread of Red Chinese influence there.

Possible pitfalls that lie ahead

Despite all this, setbacks are still possible in the current trend toward mutual back scratching by Washington and Moscow. Neither Johnson nor Khrushchev has firm control over events in such places as Cuba and Southeast Asia.

Castro, for example, is hinting that he might shoot down U.S. reconnaissance planes over Cuba, if he gains control over antiaircraft missiles set up by the Soviets. The Cuban leader is also aiming threats at the Guantanamo naval base. Either move would provoke U.S. counteraction in short order.

# Wheat sales and consular pacts

Meantime, common U.S.-Soviet interests in trade and economics are developing more slowly.

So far, U.S. wheat sales to Russia are the chief breakthrough, and even these turned out to be smaller than expected. Though Moscow would like to buy American plants and technology, Johnson is not eager to buck political opposition to expanded East-West trade in an election year. And U.S. interest in Soviet goods doesn't match Soviet interest in ours. Contents copyrighted under the general copyright on the April 25, 1964, issue-Business Week, 330 W. 42nd St., New York, N.Y.

### YALE'S BREWSTER URGES RESTRAINT

### Students Told Nation Must Beware of Left and Right

### By M. A. FARBER

Special to The New York Times

BUFFALO, May 28—The president of Yale University warned today that the nation must be protected during the "anguish" of Vietnam against an "invasion of suppression from the right and disruption from the left" in domestic politics.

Kingman Brewster Jr., the Yale official, told 2,200 graduating students of the State University here that radicals on both sides would instigate a "violent civil war of extremes" if reason and restraint were not supported. Mr. Brewster spoke under blue and pink lights at the university's 121st commencement, attended by an estimated total of 11,000 persons in the Memorial Auditorium. The institution, a private university until 1962, tomorrow will inaugurate Martin Meyerson, formerly dean of the College of Environmental Design at the University of Californiai in Berkeley, as its 10th chief executive. The 47-year-old Yale president deplored a tendency among liberals to excuse "a call to hate or to violence" if it is sounded in the name of victims of poverty or discrimination. Similarly he accused conservatives, especially in business, of sometimes rationalizing "the witch hunt."

#### Sees Strain by War

"Distaste for the implications of hateful slogans like 'black power' recoils into the subtler, more polite forms of inherited 'white power,'" Mr. Brewster said, "and almost unconciously permits racism to regain selfrespect." The task of preserving freedom amid economic, educational and social inequality is large in itself, but it is now complicated. said the Yale president, by the added strain "of a war we wish we were not in, which we cannot totally win and which we dare not lose." Mr. Brewster defended President Kennedy's decision in 1962 to increase American forces in South Vietnam. "To allow a war of national liberation to succeed in 1962 might have vindicated Chinese aggressive doctrine and might have encouraged a worldwide rash of sponsored wars, civil in form, but imperial in global pattern," he asserted.

But, added Mr. Brewster, disagreement over Vietnamese policy in 1962 "did not fester into distrust, and opposition did not erupt into demonstration, let alone disruption."

The Yale president said that while there was less likelihood now than five years ago of an American and South Vietnamese military defeat, the situation "is no better in terms of bringing a peace which might outlast our present." And "it is vastly worse," he said, "in terms of the risk of a larger war."

#### Says Defeat Unlikely

Mr. Brewster, who wore the academic robe of his university, expressed concern over "the "deep gulf between fellow citizens" that may accompany further escalation of the war, especially if Communist China presents the United States with a choice of American withdrawal or massive Chinese attack as in Korea.

He said that he had "no confident prescription for a peace that would not invite an even more frightful war." He added, "But I am confident that our chances of discovering such a path and our chances of enduring and surviving this time of anguish depend upon convincing rejection of the counsels of suppression and disruption."

# Johnson's Reply to K on Renouncing Use of Force

Following is the text. of President Johnson's reply to Soviet Premier Khrushchev's New Year's proposal for an international agreement to bar force in territorial disputes.

Dear Mr. Chairman:

welcome the stated objective of your December 31 letter and agree with much of its contents. It is my hope that we can build on these areas of agreement instead of merely emphasizing our well-known disagreements. This Nation is committed to the peaceful unification of Germany in accordance with the will of the people. This Nation, which has fundamental commitments to the Republic of China, has for many years sought the renunciation of force in the Taiwan Strait. This Nation's forces and bases abroad are for collective defense, and in accordance with treaties and agreements with the countries concerned. Let us emphasize, instead, our agreement on the im-

portance your letter places on preserving and strengthening peace — and on the need to accompany efforts for disarmament with new efforts to remove the causes of friction and to improve the world's machinery for peacefully settling disputes. In this spirit, let us both present new proposals to the Geneva Disarmament Conference — in pursuit of the objectives we have previously identified:

• To prevent the spread of nuclear weapons;

• To end the production of fissionable material for weapons;

• To transfer large amounts of fissionable materials to peaceful purposes:

these and other specific problems and proposals-as you and President Kennedy did on the test ban treatyinstead of confining ourselves to vague declarations of principle that oppose some wars but not all.

Your letter singles out the problem of territorial disputes and concludes that "the use of force for the solution of territorial disputes is not in the interest of any people or any country." I agree; moreover, the United States proposes guidelines to implement this principle which are even broader and stronger than your own.

First, all governments or regimes shall abstain from the direct or indirect threat or use of force to change: \*International boundaries: • Other territorial or administrative demarcation or dividing lines established or confirmed by international agreement or practice;

tion, diplomatic relations, or differences of political systems.

Third, the parties to any serious dispute, in adhering to these principles, shall seek a solution by peaceful means—resorting to negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial s e t t l ement, action by a regional or appropriate United Nations agency or other peaceful means of their own choice.

Fourth, these obligations, if they are to continue, would have to be quite generally observed. Any departure would require reappraisal; and the inherent right of self-defense which is recognized in Article 51 of the United Nations charter would, in any event, remain fully operative. You will not the basic similarities in our position. Agreement should not be impossible on this or other propositions — and I share your hope that such agreement will stimulate disarmament and peaceful relations. The prevention of wars over territorial and other disputes requires not only. general principles but also the "growth and improvement" to which you refer regarding the machinery

and methods for peaceful settlement. The United States believes that the peace-keeping processes of the United Nations --- and specifically its Security Council-should be more fully used and strengthened and that the special responsibilities and contributions of the larger countriesparticularly the permanent members of the Security Council—deserve greater attention in solving its financial problems.

In conclusion with our allies, we shall offer specific proposals along these lines in the weeks ahead. Both the Geneva disarmament conference and the United Nations are appropriate places for such discussions. Mr. Chairman, let me assure you that practical progress toward peace is my most fervent desire. This requires, not only agreements in principle but also concrete actions in accord with those principles. I believe this exchange of letters offers real hope for that kind of progress-and that hope is shared by all peace-loving men in every land. Sincerely,

• To ban all nuclear weapons tests;

• To place limitations on nuclear weapons systems;

• To reduce the risk of war by accident or design; • To move toward general disarmament.

I am sure you will agree that our task is to work hard and persistently on

### POLICY-From Page Al

# Real Action for Peace Urged on Khrushchev

were urging Nationalist China concerning access to areas to react cautiously to France's where international agreement impending move. These has established such success.

• The dispositions of truce or military armistice agreements; or

• Arrangements or procedures concerning access to, • passage across or the administration of those areas where international agreement or practice has established or confirmed such arrangements or procedures.

Nor shall any government or regime use or threaten force to enlarge the territory under its control or administration by overthrowing or displacing established authorities.

Second, these limitations shall apply regardless of the direct or indirect form which such threat or use of force might take, whether in the form of aggression, subversion, or clandestine sup-- ply of arms; regardless of is advanced; and regardless of any question of recogniLYNDON B. JOHNSON

matic relations.

the President emphasized that or differences of political systhe United States has "funda- tems. mental commitments" to the Taiwan regime and "has for many years sought the renunciation of force in the Taiwan Straits."

Khrushchev sald in his letter that Taiwan has always been "an integral part of the Chinese state" and that America was "unlawfully" occupy- istice line in Korea, the fighting the island.

spite certain differences he cess to Berlin. agreed "with much" that The President Khrushchev said.

build on these areas of agree- means of resolving territorial ment instead of merely em- disputes, and he said it should

sources added that the United The President said the clan-States is hoping that Taiwan destine supply of arms to will sit back and wait while change boundaries or engage France and Red China negoti- in subversion should be outate about the degree of diplo- lawed regardless of any ques-In the letter to Khrushchev, tion of diplomatic recognition what justification or purpose

In those words, the President answered Khrushchev's attempt to exclude so-called wars of liberation from his ban on territorial disputes. The President's language made it clear he had in mind the difficulties over the arming in South Viet-Nam and The President said that de- the problem of Western ac-

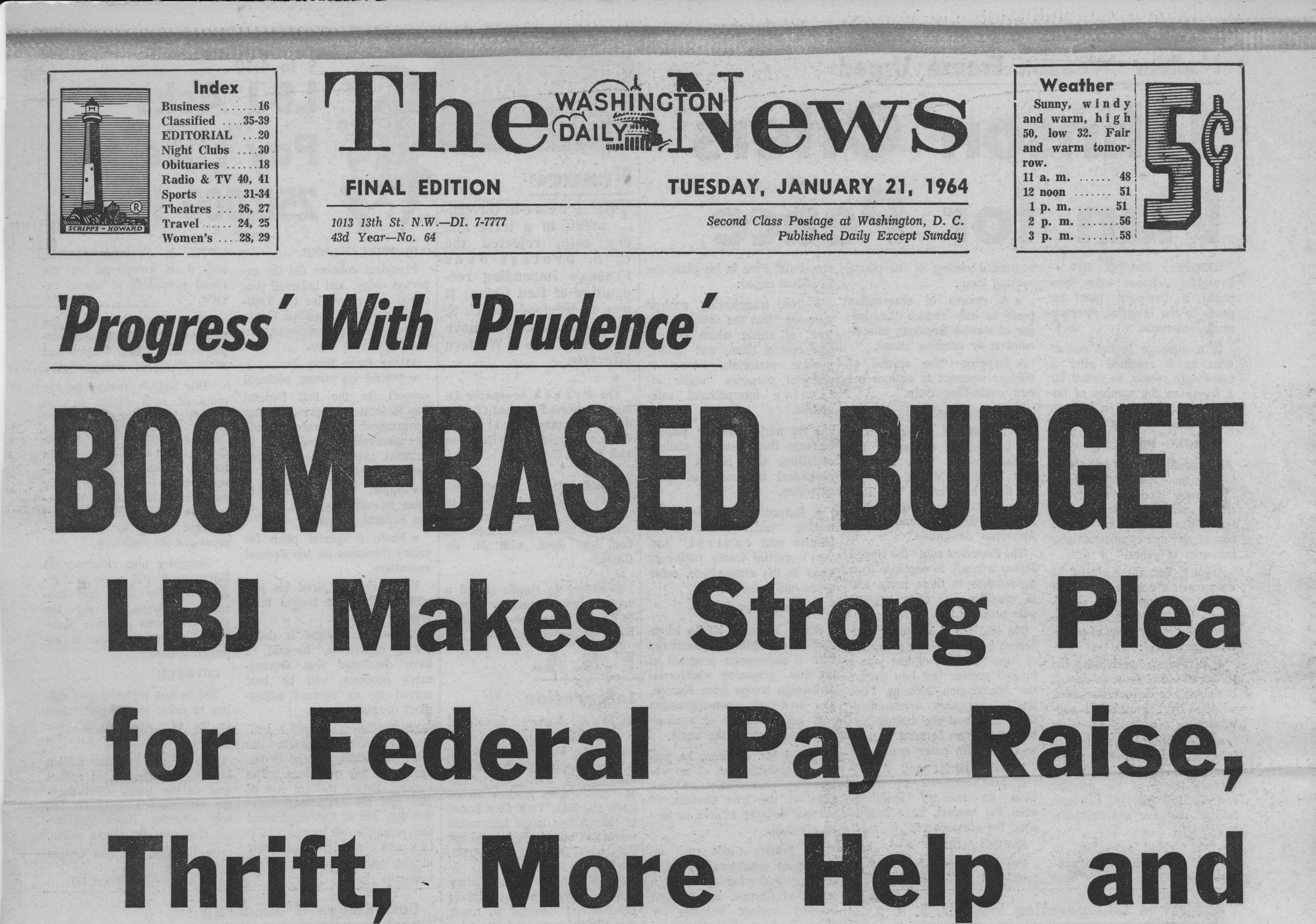
reminded Khrushchev that the United "It is my hope that we can Nations provides excellent

phasizing our well-known dis- be used more fully to keep agreements," he wrote. the peace.

ment that "the use of force for President concluded," that the solution of territorial dis- practical progress toward putes is not in the interest of peace is my most fervent deany people or any country," sire. This requires not only the President said he not only agreements in principle but agreed but believed that also concrete actions in acguidelines could be drawn "to cord with those principles." implement this principle which are even broader and stronger than your own."

All governments should abstain, the President said, from direct or indirect threat or use of force to change international boundaries or other dividing lines established by international agreement or practice; to change truce or military armistice agreements; change arrangements

Noting Khrushchev's state- "Let me assure you," the



# Higher Taxes for D. C.

night.

### (Stories on Pages 2, 3 and 5)

### **Gyprus Peace Talks Still Snagged**

LONDON, Jan. 21 (UPI)—The Greek and Turkish Cypriot delegates to the Cyprus peace talks appeared no closer to an agreement today on how to settle their inter-communal dispute despite a week of mediation efforts by British Commonwealth Relations Secretary Duncan Sandys, who has been holding informal separate sessions with both delegations to try to find some common ground, so the two sides can be brought together.

### K Discloses New Cuba Pact

### British Protest Wall Shooting

BERLIN, Jan. 21 (UPI)—The British today protested to the Soviets against the shooting of an East German teen-ager on the Berlin Wall on Sunday. The Soviets refused to accept the protest, a British spokesman said. The boy, 16-year-old Lothar Herklotz, was shot in the heel by a communist border guard as he attempted to scramble over the Wall in a heavily-guarded section near the Brandenburg Gate. West Berlin police rushed to the Wall and hauled him over it to freedom in the most serious accident since another teen-ager was shot and killed on the Wall on Christmas

### Heart Attack Halts GOP Candidate

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Jan. 21 (UPI)—Illinois Secretary of State Charles F. Carpentier, front runner in the race for Republican nomination for governor, revealed today he has suffered a heart attack and is withdrawing from the contest. His decision made Charles F. Percy, Chicago business executive and 1960 chairman of the GOP National Platform Committee, the favorite to secure the nomination to oppose Democratic Gov. Otto Kerner in the November election.

### Chou Arrives in Guinea

MOSCOW, Jan. 21 (UPI)—Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev today announced a new long term trade agreement with Cuba which he said "will reliably safeguard the Cuban economy" from sugar market influctuations and American "economic sabotage." Khrushchev made the announcement at a reception for Cuban Premier Fidel Castro currently visiting the Soviet Union.

### Secretary Plunges to Death

A 44-year-old secretary plunged to her death today from the 11th floor offices of the Import-Export Bank of Washington at 811 Vermont-av nw, police said. She was identified as Mrs. Annabelle W. Floyd, colored, of 2103 I-st ne. Police said friends of Mrs. Floyd told them she had recently been in poor health.

### Mansfield Hits French Decision

Senate Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield said today France's decision to recognize Red China's "weakens the allied position in Southeast Asia." He did not elaborate. (UPI) (See "World Today" items, Page 2.)

### Race Results, Page 34

### U. S.-Cambodia Pact Reported

KUALA LUMPUR, Malaysia, Jan. 21 (UPI)—The U. S. and Cambodia have agreed on the method for ending their dispute, Philippine Ambassador Modesto Farolan said today. Mr. Farolan, Philippine envoy to South Viet Nam and Cambodia, said separate statements would be issued from Washington and Phnom Penh announcing the normalization of relations between the two countries after recent Cambodian pronouncement of rejecting further American aid. The Philippines had offered its good offices to settle their differences.

### LBJ Omits Naval Reserve

President Johnson has resigned from the U. S. Naval Reserve, the Defense Department disclosed today. In a letter to Navy Secretary Paul H. Nitz, he asked the resignation be made effective "as soon as possible," because he felt that his role as commander in chief for all the military services precluded him from being affiliated with any one of them. The President served as a Navy commander in World War II, and held that rank in the Naval Reserve. (UPI)

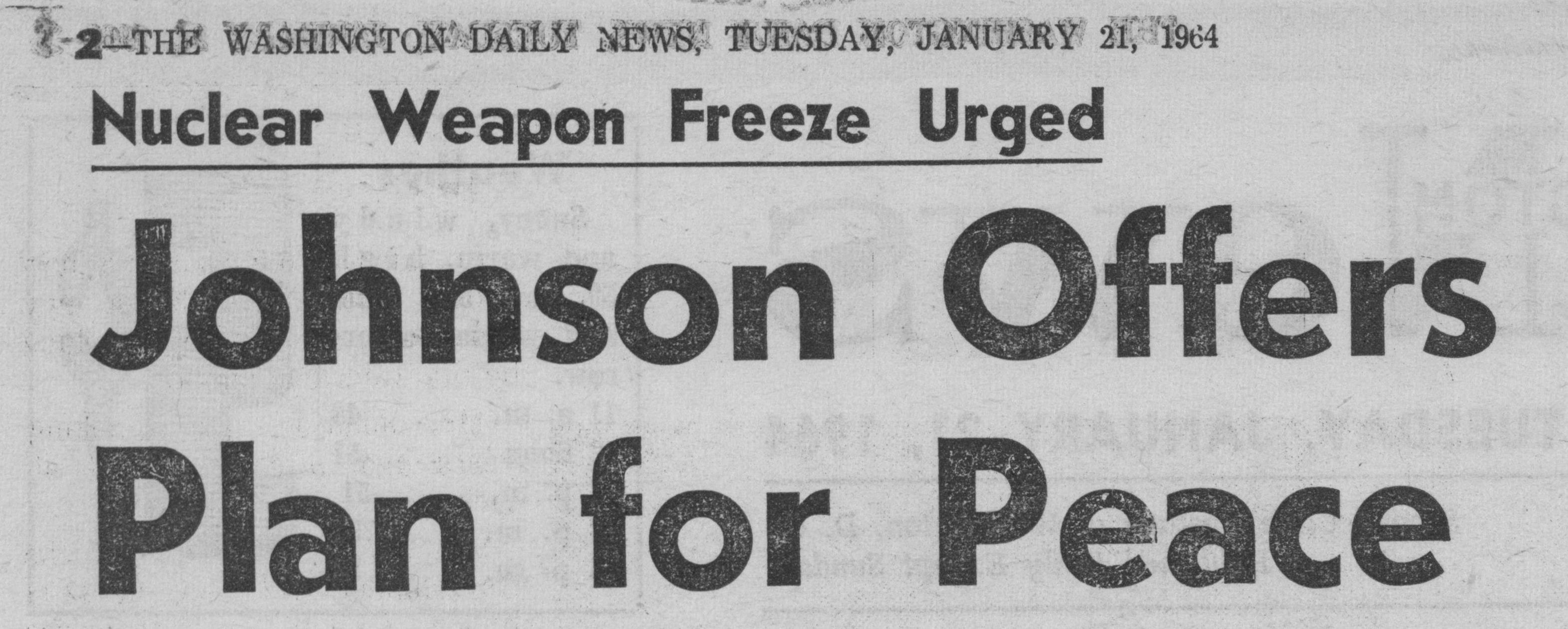
CONAKRY, Guinea, Jan. 21 (UPI)—Communist Chinese Premier Chou En-Lai arrived today for the seventh official visit of his three-month tour across this troubled continent. Informed sources said Chou would bypass revolt-torn Zanzibar and Tanganyika during his current tour of Africa.

### McCormack Pushes 'Rights' Action

Speaker John W. McCormack today called for House action on the civil rights bill "before Lincoln's Birthday." He expressed hope Republicans would help achieve that objective. The speaker made the comment after the regular weekly meeting of Democratic congressional leaders with President Johnson at the White House. (UPI)

### Reaction Varied to Budget

Democratic leaders today called President Johnson's \$97.9 billion budget as both sound and progressive. Republicans labelled it a phony. "This is a fast buck budget," said House GOP Leader Charles Halleck. "It must have been put together with mirrors." Speaker John McCormack called it "an excellent and progressive one." (UPI) (Early story on Page 3.)



GENEVA, Jan. 21 (UPI) -President Johnson today proposed a five-point plan for peace to the 17-nation disarmament conference.

ence as it resumed after a a freeze on the number of nuclear weapons, and a ban on their spread to other nations.

making them.

• A system of observation posts to help reduce the danger of war by accident, miscal-In a message to the confer- culation or surprise attack. • Stopping "the spread of four-month recess, he called for nuclear weapons to nations not now controlling them." **READ BY FOSTER** 

controlled closing of the plants ons, Point Five in his plan, the President urged:

> Not transferring nuclear weapons "into the national control" of states which do not now control them, and turning nuclear materials over to peaceful purposes "under effective international safeguards."

### France

THE French Govern-ment, in a terse and dry note, rejected the U. S. protest over France's impending recognition of Red China; it was understood the U.S. note criticized the move as a disservice to Western cluding 250,000 here. interests.

de Gaulle may invite Red Government pay rates should

# LBJ Asks Pay Hike for 250,0000 Here

9 to 4:30

By JOHN CRAMER President Johnson did the expected today, and indorsed proposed pay raises for the 1,600-000 Postal and Classified (white collar) Federal employes, in-

At the same time, he:

Voiced his strong personal

The French newspaper Le support for the 1962 Federal Monde reports President Charles | Pay Reform Act's principle that

"This is a sound principle, and it is reinforced by the sound procedure of annual review.

"This principal is fair to the taxpayer, to Government employes, and to the Government as an employer.

"This budget provides for the costs of such action in this session of Congress.

<ul> <li>ial agreement":</li> <li>A means of prohibiting the threat or use of force to change boundaries or demarcation lines whether by aggression or subversion.</li> <li>A method "to halt further increases in strategic armaments and to explore a verified freeze of the number and characteristics of strategic nuclear offensive and defensive vehicles."</li> <li>* A verified agreement to</li> </ul> <ul> <li>search begins anew in a climate of hope" because of last year's limited nuclear test ban treaty, the Washington - Moscow "hot lime" emergency communications link, and the United Nations resolution banning nuclear test ban treaty.</li> <li>A method "to halt further increases in strategic armaments and to explore a deverified freeze of the number and characteristics of strategic nuclear offensive and defensive vehicles."</li> <li>* A verified agreement to</li> </ul> <ul> <li>SAFEGUARDS</li> </ul> <ul> <li>Safeguards</li> </ul> <ul> <li>Safeguards</li> <li>Safeguards</li> </ul> <ul> <li>search begins anew in a climate of hope" because of last year's limited nuclear test ban treaty, the Washington - Moscow "hot lime" emergency communications link, and the United Nations resolution banning nuclear test ban treaty.</li> <li>Safeguards</li> <li>Safeguards</li></ul>	average rates in pri- average rates in pri- erprise. ed on Congress to own pay, and that of eral judiciary. e a special pitch for acreases for top Federal es. resident aired his pay his first budget mes- Congress. this budget is delib- restrictive," he said, "I oncluded that Govern- conomy will be best by an upward adjust- salaries. e last year and a half, leral Government has r-reaching steps to im- s pay practices. The Salary Reform Act of the Uniformed Serv- Act of 1963 established ciple of keeping mili- t civilian pay generally	for top executive branch posi- tions up to levels more nearly commensurate with their re- spective responsibilities, and increase rates for the Con- gress and the Judiciary. "Economy and efficiency in Government will come primar- ily from the hard and con- scientious work of our top managers, who are now plain- ly underpaid for what is ex- pected ofthem." <b>COVERED</b> The budget included \$544 mil- lion to cover the cost of raises in the new Government year beginning next July 1. This is roughly \$50 million less than the estimated annual cost of the House Civil Serv- ice Committee's Morrison Bill now awaiting Rules Commit- tee clearance for House action.
The Soviets Lade such an drop plans for a school boycott.	with pay in the private	(Continued on Page 15)

A First in Co-Operation With U.S.

Reds Will Join in Tracking Satellite

VANDENBERG AIR FORCE BASE, Calif., Jan. 21 (UPI) - The U.S. and Russia will join together in a satellite program for the first time with the launching by this nation of the largest space craft to be orbited by man. American officials said the Soviet Union planned to track and to conduct experiments with the giant Echo 2 balloon satellite which will be sent up from this Pacific missile range base early Thursday.

which acts as a giant "mirror in the sky."

In addition, two beacon transmitters (on a frequency of 162 megacycles) in the balloon will send telemeter data on its skin temperature and internal pressure to ground stations.

"The space craft is designed to permit satellite communication experiments thru radio. Teletype and voice as well as other data on its orbital environment," said Herbert Eaker, NASA's Echo 2 project manager

troops in Europe, but also on Hotta's jury-tampering trial in banning nuclear weapons for either East or West Germany.

Dead Pastor Talks to Her, Woman Says JACKSONVILLE, Fla., Jan. 21

terday that Mrs. Sara Thelma pended sentence in Los Angeles Luckie be committed to a men- for interstate transportation of tal hospital because she believes \$500,000 worth of counterfeit the Baptist minister she is accused of killing still talks to

Mrs. Luckie allegedly shot the Rev George Hodges whom she

Chattanooga dragged so much that the judge warned attorneys he might take over questioning of prospects himself. Four jurors were tentatively picked in a day and a half of court sessions.

South Dakota approval of the anti-poll tax amendment to the U. S. Constitution was still snarled in the State Senate. Passage appeared to be at least two days away.

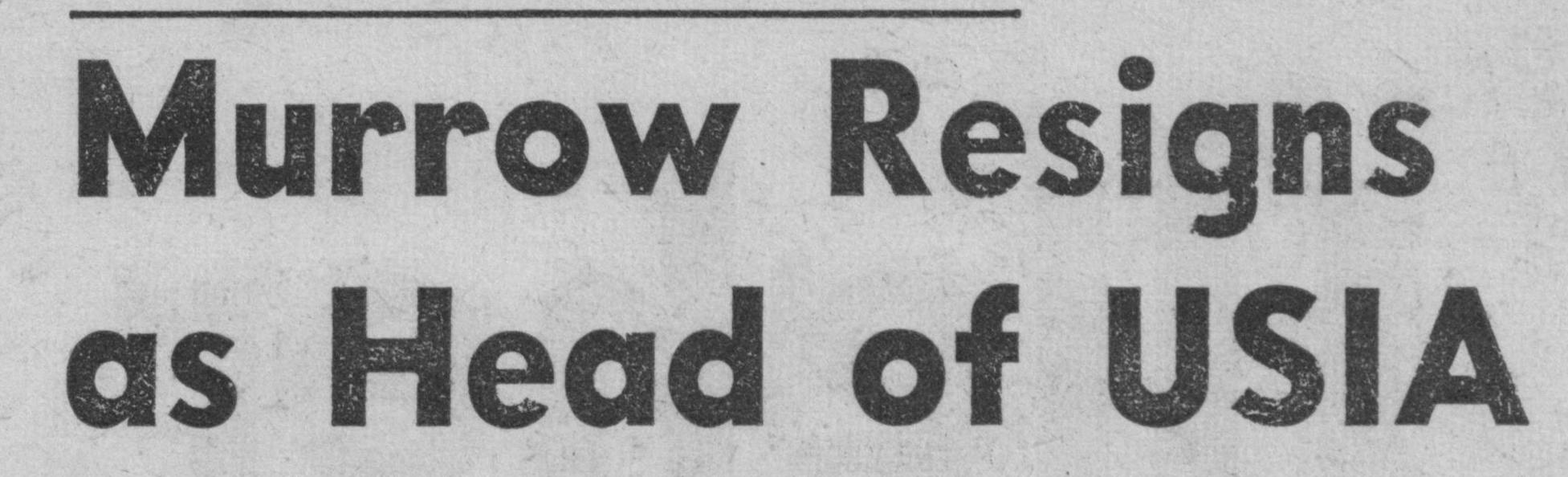
(UPI)- Dr. William Ingram, a C. Arvey, prominent Chicago sador to Finland, as psychiatrist, recommended yes- Democrat, was given a sussuccessor. an operation for lung cancer last October, informed the bonds.

> A Federal Appeals Court service. ruled in New York it is unconstitutional to draft a conscien-

President recently he could not

continue full-time Government

### Carl Rowan Is Successor

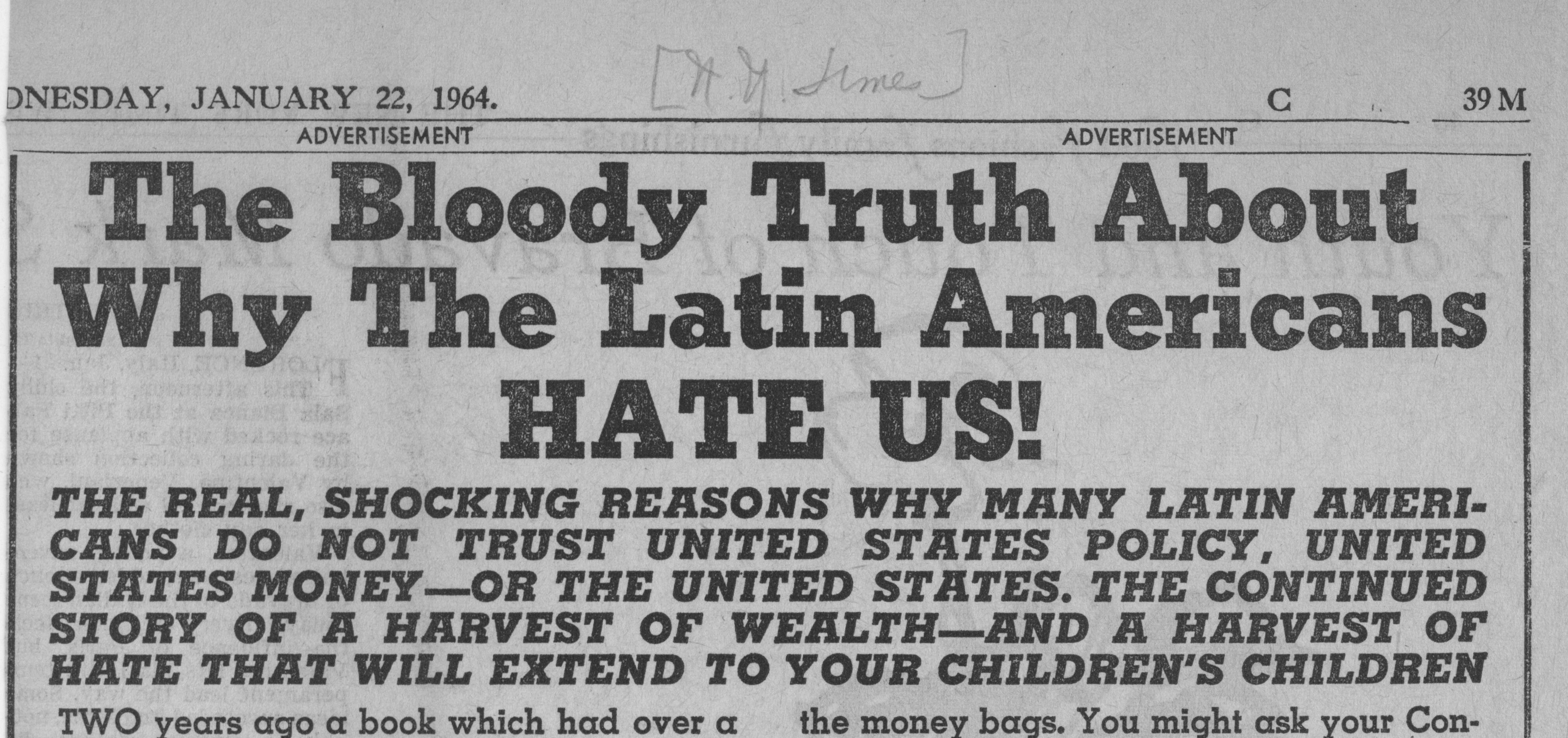


President Johnson today an- provement of American's nounced the resignation of position in the eyes of all the Edward R. Murrow as director world, he is superbly qualified of the United States Information by training and experience to Agency and the selection of carry on the work of Ed Erwin B. Arvey, son of Jacob Carl T. Rowan, present Ambas- Murrow," the President said. his

"I am reluctant to recall him from his important post in Finland, but I need him here." (UPI) Mr. Murrow, who underwent



<ul> <li>PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE'</li> <li>The National Aeronautics and Space Adfinistration said it will be "the first important step to- ward peaceful co-operation in space and a means of fur- thering people-to-people commu- nications thruout the world."</li> <li>In addition, NASA said the huge 13-story-high inflatable sat- ellite "is expected to be seen by more persons than any man- made object in the history of the world."</li> <li>It will appear in the sky as a bright star and will orbit the earth for at least three years.</li> <li>MIRROR IN SKY'</li> <li>NASA said Russia accepted an invitation to take part in radar- tracking of the 135-foot diameter "satelloon" and to bounce radio</li> <li>Discourt of the start of the start and tracking of the 135-foot diameter</li> <li>Mine days and to bounce radio</li> <li>Discourt of the start of the start component to the start of the start of the tast foor at least three years.</li> <li>Mine of the 135-foot diameter</li> <li>Mine of the 135-foot diameter</li> <li>Discourt of the tast concertation of the tast concertation of the start of the tast foor at least three years.</li> <li>Mine of the tast foor at least three years.</li> <li>Mine of the tast foor at least three years.</li> <li>Mine of the tast foor at least three years.</li> <li>Mine of the tast foor taimeter</li> <li>Mine of the tast foor tai</li></ul>	tious objector even the ne re- fuses to express his belief in God. <b>Elsewhere</b> <b>Congo Commies</b> THE Congo's government de- creed a state of emergency in Kwilu Province to fight what it said was communist-support- ed terrorism. The Russians have given up their "Mohole" project — an at- tempt to dig thru the earth's mantle into the interior — be- cause of technical and economic troubles, according to reports. A cholera epidemic is report- ed sweeping thru South Viet Nam; 81 are dead in Saigon	Minneapolis Tribune before join- ing the Government in 1961, will become the first Negro in h i s t o r y to sit in regularly on meetings of the National Security council a n d the Cabinet. His nomination was to be submitted to the Senate some- time late today or tomorrow. Mr. Rowan arrived in Wash- ington from Helsinki last Saturday. Mr. Murrow left yes- teday for La Joola, Calif. LBJ STATEMENT Mr. Johnson issued a special s t a t e m e n t extolling Mr. Rowan's qualifications for the USIA directorship. "As a perceptive observer of world affairs, as an effective	Conflicts The Virginia General Assembly yesterday got a bill to restrict State employes from dealing with firms in which they have more than five per cent interest in order to avoid conflict of interest. The measure was introduced by Del. Kathryn H. Stone of Arlington. The bill would also prevent legislators from receiving compensation for services rendered in State purchase of real estate, nor would they be allowed to receive compensation for acting as an expert witness before State agencies. The bill provides for penalties of between six and 12 months in jail or fines be
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million readers in Latin America reached the American public. It told facts that had been censored, suppressed and distorted in the United States. Its title: THE SHARK AND THE SARDINES. Its author: Dr. Juan Jose Arevalo, former President of Guatemala.

THE SHARK AND THE SARDINES advertisements triggered an international furor, drew lead editorials in major newspapers including The New York Times. It shattered the peace of some of America's mightiest corporations — although they still go their sharklike way, feeding on the Sardines to the south.

ANTI-KOMMUNISM IN LATIN AMERICA begins where THE SHARK AND THE SARDINES left off.

It reveals and details the U.S. State Department's latest excuse for using your money to suppress freedom and support tyranny. It shows why your money, which could do so much for Latin America's downtrodden, often stays with higher-ups who "play ball" with some big U.S. corporation. It shows how empire-building still continues, now sanctified as anti-C(K)ommunism<sup>\*</sup>. It names names, pinpoints sordid facts that simply are left out of the average newspaper story and out of U.S. school-books; facts that you as a citizen have a right to know.

gressman why so many poor Latin Americans still say: "Yankee, go home!" Read: The Church and its Anti-Kommunism

"Economic liberalism and conservatism lead to C(K)ommunism," a high-placed Latin American prelate said. The Church's anti-Kommunism does not have the same selfish reasons as some others', but it spreads wide and strikes deep. Even a Union of Latin American Universities, important in an area of widespread illiteracy, drew the suspicion of the Church because of its interest in the poor. Find out who in the hierarchy serves the interests of native dictators and imported corporations; how simple it is for a dictator to swing powerful Church influence in his favor-regardless of what he does to the people he rules.

Read: The Geese of the Capitol (the super-capitalized, industrialized, internationalized and brainwashed press)

### Read: The Police Rulers and Their Anti-Kommunism

Find out which U. S. oil company had "stability" in Venezuela protected at your expense, sustaining its profit and also sustaining one of the bloodiest dictators of history. See which U. S. fruit company pulled strings to have another dictator honored with a U.S. university degree. (At least a progressive ex-president thereupon returned his own Doctor Honoria Causa in disgust!) Find out which of today's cherished, anti-Kommunist Strong Men were Hitler's friends yesterday. See why a respected editor in Buenos Aires, when he read ANTI-KOMMUNISM IN LATIN AMER-ICA, said: "Here is the key to the policies of Washington that are driving us back down the bitter road of militarism." Read: The United States and its Anti-Kommunism Who says Latin Americans hate the United States? A spokesman for rich Peruvian landholders said: "Every anti-imperialist is an ally of C(K)ommunism." Also we hear: "C(K)ommunism and anti-Yankeeism are indistinguishable." Thus U. S. anti-Kommunism—backed with U. S. money in the right places-gets the rich and influential to root for Uncle Sam. More humble needle coe the truth helind

Most U.S. newspapers and Latin American newspapers know the truth about the anti-Kommunist smokescreen, but they dare not publish it. (You'll read how a correspondent for a top-ranked U. S. magazine was fired for trying to get the truth into print.) As we have a CIA to help governments rise and fall, so do we have a U.S. Information Service to give out biased bulletins on U. S. activities. Editors may gag at these bulletins—but print them when economic pressure is brought to bear. As a citizen who is entitled to know what your Government is doing-let this book show you how you are told only what you are supposed to know.

Thus the U.S. goes on pursuing its 150year-old policy of using Latin America as a private plantation run with low pay and high yield. Only the surface methods change; instead of sending U.S. Marines, we are more likely to send an over-kill supply of tanks, planes and credits to the right anti-Kommunist ... so much easier to deal with than a progressive President who may want to serve his own people. The United States is not the only villain quite a few are home-grown—but the U.S. calls the tune. Ask your Congressman: Which recent Latin American "revolution" was eased to success by the CIA? Which one is brewing for the near future? Why a U. S. corporation enjoys a strangling monopoly on regular freighter service to a so-called sovereign nation; would not allow a necessary port to be built.

Why U. S. money grants for "public

### Their Anti-Kommunism

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"Yankee workers had automobiles, refrigerators, television, libraries...our workers an enslaving feudal agriculture which ground men up till they were dregs ... our popular Guatemala revolution offered workers a minimum salary, schools and hospitals. Thus began our 'kommunismo'."

tion" was eased to success by the CIA? Which one is brewing for the near future?

Why a U. S. corporation enjoys a strangling monopoly on regular freighter service to a so-called sovereign nation; would not allow a necessary port to be built.

Why U. S. money grants for "public works" often do not filter down to the hopeful public.

This book suggests a good many more questions... enough to make you wonder what kind of world your elected representatives are building for your children. Juan Jose Arevalo has been shot at more than once; it took a fearless man to write this book. Like THE SHARK AND THE SARDINES it is illegal in some countries ... is passed from hand to hand among the underprivileged, read in whispers to those who cannot read. Read it. You will understand. You will be shocked-perhaps stirred to action. Some bookstores will display ANTI-KOMMUNISM IN LATIN AMERICA: some will not. If you have any difficulty in buying this book at a bookshop, send \$4.95 with the coupon below and a copy will be sent to you by return mail.

Dr. Juan Jose Arevalo has been a prominent author and educator. In 1944, when long-time dictator Ubico was ousted in Guatemala, Arevalo was elected President in the first free election to be held in Guatemala in decades.

In his six years in office he ended Army authority over the people and protected the rights of the have-nots. Some of his reforms and public works threatened to conflict with U. S. commercial interests. Arevalo withstood 31 suspiciously-sponsored attempts to overthrow him, stepped down at last when another President was duly elected.

"This book has had a wide and often illegal popularity among the disinherited and disenchanted of Central and South America . . . a fearless book, and Carleton Beals deserves credit for an able translation full-strength. We 'Yankees' should find out all sides of how we appear in the eyes of our neighbors to the south." -Virginia Kirkus Service

\*A KOMMUNIST is a Latin American who is called a Communist because he is so annoying to the privileged and rich. A KOMMUNIST may be a statesman who tries to raise the living standards of the poor and thus upsets a status quo that is good for U. S. business. A KOMMUNIST may be a starving peasant, such as those who were found hung, with signs on their dangling feet: MY SALARY WAS RAISED. . . ANTI-KOMMUNISM is the latest, All-American virtue.

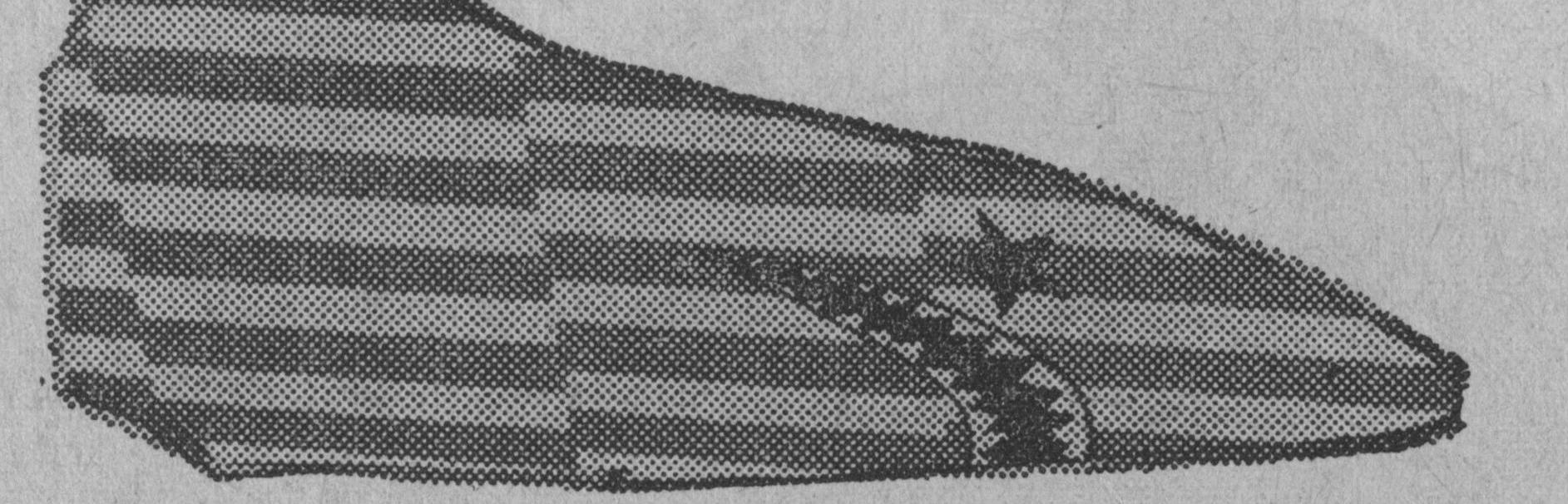
This coupon brings ANTI-KOMMUNISM IN LATIN AMERICA



If you have not read THE SHARK AND THE SARDINES Send an additional \$4.95; THE SHARK AND THE SARDINES will be shipped along with your copy of ANTI-KOMMUNISM IN LATIN AMERICA

### Lyle Stuart, Publisher

239 Park Avenue South New York, N. Y. 10003



The Shark and the Sardines fills in the background of 150 years in which Uncle Sam has been the shark feeding on the handy sardines—the Latin American states—he keeps in his private sea. As long ago as 1829, Simon Bolivar said:

"Providence seems to have ordained the United States to plague Latin America with misery."

- D Please send postpaid by return mail a copy of ANTI-KOMMUNISM IN LATIN AMERICA, by Dr. Juan Jose Arevalo, for which I enclose \$4.95 in full payment.
- D Please send postpaid by return mail a copy of THE SHARK AND THE SARDINES, by Dr. Juan Jose Arevalo, for which I enclose \$4.95 in full payment. (\$9.90 for both books)

Total amount enclosed \$\_

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### THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 22, 1964.

# Text of Johnson Arms Message

WASHINGTON, Jan. 21 (AP) —Following is the text of President Johnson's message today to the disarmament conference in Geneva, as made public here:

There is only one item on the agenda of this conference —it is the leading item on the agenda of mankind—and that one item is peace.

our efforts to achieve general and complete disarmament under effective international control, we must first endeavor to halt further increases in strategic armaments now. The United States, the Soviet Union and their respective allies should agree to explore a verified freeze of the number and characteristics of strategic nuclear offensive and defense vehicles. For our part, we are convinced that the security of all nations can be safeguraded within the scope of such an agreement and that this initial measure preventing the further expansion of the deadly and costly arms race will open the path to reductions in all types of forces from present levels.

Fifth, and finally, to stop the spread of nuclear weapons to nations not now controlling them, let us agree:

(a) That nuclear weapons not be transferred into the national control of states which do not now control them, and that all transfers of nuclear materials for peaceful purposes take place under effective international safeguards;
(b) That the major nuclear powers accept in an increasing number of their peaceful nuclear activities the same inspection they recommended for other states; and

Already this conference has led to more concrete and effective results than any disarmament conference in modern history. Your efforts and deliberations laid the groundwork for the nuclear test ban treaty — for the communications link between Washington and Moscow and for the United Nations General Assembly action against nuclear weapons in space.

Today your search begins anew in a climate of hope. Last year's genuine gains have given us new momentum. Recent Soviet and American announcements of reductions in military spending, even though modest, have brightened the atmosphere further. Let us pray that the tide has turned-that further and more far-reaching agreements lie ahead — and that future generations will mark 1964 as the year the world turned for all time away from the horrors of war and constructed new bulwarks of peace. Specifically, this nation now proposes five major types of potential agreement:

### Halt in Atomic Weapons

Third, in this same spirit of early action, the United States believes that a verified agreement to halt all production of fissionable materials for weapons use would be a major contribution to world peace. Moreover, while we seek agreement on this measure, the U.S. is willing to achieve prompt reductions through both sides closing comparable production facilities on a plant-by-plant basis, with mutual inspection. We have started in this direction-we hope the Soviet Union will do the same—and we are prepared to accept appropriate international verification of the reactor shut-down already scheduled in our country. Fourth, we must further reduce the danger of war by accident, miscalculation or surprise attack. In consultation with our allies, we will be prepared to discuss proposals for creating a system of observation posts as a move in this direction.

(c) On the banning of all nuclear weapons tests under effective verification and control.

Each of these proposed steps is important to peace. No one of them is impossible of agreement. The best way to begin disarming is to begin—and the Uinted States is ready to conclude firm agreements in these areas and to consider any other reasonable proposal. We shall at all times pursue a just and lasting peace—and with God's help, we shal' achieve it.

First, as Chairman Khrushchev and I have observed,

the use of force for the solution of territorial disputes is not in the interest of any people or country. In consultation with our allies, we will be prepared to discuss means of prohibiting the threat or use of force, directly or indirectly-whether by aggression, subversion, or the clandestine supply of arms — to change boundaries or demarcation lines; to interfere with access to territory; or to extend control or administration over territory by displacing established authorities. Second, while we continue

### 12 SOVIET BLOC WARY ON WESTERN TIES

New York Times

2/23/64

### Wants More Contacts but Fears Ideological Impact

### By PAUL UNDERWOOD

Special to The New York Times

BUDAPEST, Feb. 17 --Eastern Europe's Communist regimes want more contacts with the Western world, but they are afraid of the effect these might have on the people they rule. The concern involves principally the intellectuals in the Soviet-bloc lands-writers, artists, teachers, technical experts and scientists — who would be the most exposed to Western influence. The Communist regimes have held long dialogues with their intellectuals in recent months, emphasizing anew the guidelines for correct Communist thought. The tone has varied from country to country. In Bulgaria, it has been Stalinist, including the trial and execution of a prominent diplomat as a Western spy to serve as an unmistakable warning.

#### **Czech Regime Strident**

In Czechoslovakia, where the leadership has been under sharp fire from critics in the Communist party, the tone has become increasingly strident as the regime fights to hold its grip on the country. In Poland, professorial - style admonitions against ideological lapses have been reinforced by a flood of articles in the daily and weekly press portraying the worst features of the capitalist world, particularly the United States. In Hungary, the dialogue has been conducted almost entirely as an argument among literary journals over the proper form and content of Socialist literature. Despite the mildness of the Hungarian party discussions, the Budapest regime is preparing for a new step toward wider contacts between its people and the West.

#### Hungary Plans Exchanges

An official of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences disclosed that he and his colleagues were drawing up lists of candidates for fellowships for study in the United States under a special Ford Foundation program. The official said that although the details had not yet been arranged, a preliminary agreement between the Government and the Ford Foundation had been reached that provided for as many as 20 to 30 Hungarian scholars a year. Of the Soviet-bloc countries. only Poland has had a Ford Foundation scholarship program. This began in 1957 and continued for several years but was finally canceled as a result of a disagreement over the se lection of scholars. The Poles have agreed to a resumption of the program. Ir addition, foundation officials have begun talks with the Rumanians about a similar exchange. Throughout the Soviet bloc the regimes have stressed that opening the doors to the West does not mean that Western concepts will be tolerated.

# Africans Spend \$845 Million on Arms

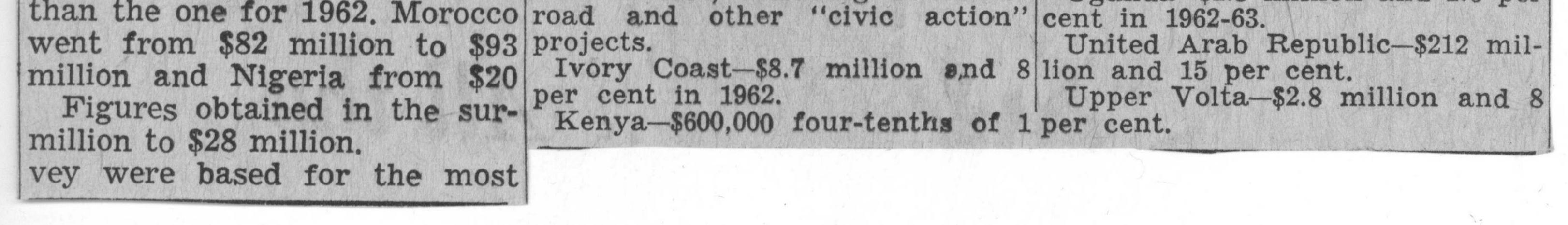
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(UPI)—The nations of Africa spend at least \$845.5 million a year on their armed forces. A United Press International survey showed today. And the nations plan to spend considerably more. Expenditures by European and other non-African powers for maintenance of forces and activities in Africa push the cent. dollars. The survey did not, for ex- 1962 but nearly double 1961. budget of \$200 million and has tions is under the interior rather about 45,000 troops in Africa. |than the defense ministry. chanding of \$2155 million

WASHINGTON, Feb. 22 part on authoritative estimates. per cent in 1963, before inde-Precise details on the extent of pendence. Liberia-\$2.4 million and 6 per foreign subsidies and grants cent. were unavailable. Libya-\$14 million and 12 per The estimated defense budcent. Malagasy-\$9 million and 10 per gets, and their percentage of cent. Military aid is said to acthe total budgets, by country count for about 40 per cent of (for 1963 unless otherwise) French aid, which totaled about noted): \$90 million in 1963). Mali-\$8.7 million and 8 per cent Algeria-\$66 million and 11 per in 1962. cent. Mauritania-\$4 million and 21.5 Burundi-\$1.2 million and 7.7 per per cent. Includes national guard over-all total well past a billion Cameroon-\$15.6 million and 16.3 were under Interior Ministry in per cent, about the same as in 1962. Morocco-\$93 million and 20.2 per ample, cover the African mili- Central African Republic-\$2.1 cent, compared with \$82 million in tary operations of Portugal, includes the budget for the Niger-\$3.4 million and 12 per which in 1962 had a defense gendarmerie, which in most na- cent. Nigeria-\$28 million and 5.8 per cent, compared with \$20 million The estimated annual military Chad—\$1.5 million and 6 per in 1962. Chad—\$1.5 million and 6 per in 1962. Chad—\$1.5 million and 6 per in 1962. Federation of Rohdesia and Ny-

THE NEW YORK TIMES, S

-	spending or action minion m-	expenditures.	asaland (now dissolved)-\$23.7 mil-
	cludes expenditures by indi-	The Congo (formerly French)-	lion and 11 per cent.
	vidual countries ranging from	\$3.7 million and 10 per cent in	Rwanda-\$1.3 million and 9 per
	South Africa's 1963-54 defense		cent in 1962.
1	hudget of \$210.8 million to	The Congo (formerly Belgian)-	
	Torger 01 9213.0 minion to	\$10 million and 25 per cent. Unit-	cent.
	10go's \$500,000 in 1962 and	ed Nations military costs totaling	Senegal—\$9 million and 5 per cent. Sierra Leone—\$2.2 million and
	Renya's \$600,000 in 1963. But	\$240 million from July, 1960, to	4.5 per cent.
	the Togo figures do not include	June, 1962, are not included.	Somalia-\$3.9 million and 15.2 per
	French training and equipment	Dahomey-\$1.1 million and 4 per	cent.
- 1			
	not moflost the Dritich willt	Ethiopia-\$17.9 million and 15.7	13.8 per cent.
	not reffect the British military	per cent. The figure would be 34	13.8 per cent. The Sudan-\$21.5 million and 9.5 per cent.
	involvement.	per cent if the police were in-	
	The survey indicated that	cluded.	Langanyina-pr. minion and 2
	most African nations are in-	Gabon-\$2.5 million and 8 per	per cent. Togo-\$500,000 and 2 per cent in
-	creasing defense spending. In	cent.	
-		Classes OOK O malling and - Land	1962. Tunisia-\$11.4 million and 4.7 per
	Gabon, 10r example, the 1963	8 ner cent	cent in 1962, \$2.9 million less than
	Gabon, for example, the 1963 defense appropriation of \$2.5 million was \$1 million higher	Guinea-\$5.8 million and 15 ner	in 1961
	million was \$1 million higher	cent in 1962, including funds for	Uganda-\$1.5 million and 1.6 per
-1			Channen bron warmente and hor hor



# Fast-Changing Policies Shape Radical New World of Peace

By RUSSELL BARNES The News Foreign Analyst The early withdrawal of seem likely to jolt Americans into readjusting their that has already occurred, of course, is the American - Russian-British decision to cut back production of nuclear explosives.

tions against trade between Washington and Moscow are apthe United States and the West, parently joining forces to preand Russia and the Communist vent atomic war. bloc. Mounting commerce As result of what seemingly all Soviet troops from Cuba, seems to be helping to level is a practical ending of the leaving only a small Red the Iron Curtain. American al- threat of thermonuclear war, mission at Havana, is only lies-particularly Britain - are the Communist and Western, one of several expected insisting on encouraging such blocs are disintegrating. The trade by giving long-term constituent nations are now world developments that credits. It is hard to see how tending to pursue independent the growing trend toward West- and nationalist policy lines, inern - Communist trade can be stead of taking direction from Moscow or Washington. arrested. foreign policy thinking. • The possibility that the A 'BIG 2' EMERGING Another such development United States may have to come • Both Russia and the United States are now moving tentatively toward cutting back mili-WORLD tary expenditures. Both Khrushchev and President Johnson are convinced that too much DAGROAUNU of their national wealth is going into defense spending. The rest of the national establishment is cold war - giving a new and to some kind of working agree- suffering. Consequently, they more peaceful look to the world ment with Cuba. Castro's gov- are matching military cutbacks. ernment appears to be firmly Something like a Big Two-• The reduction of U.S. armed entrenched. Canada and our the United States and Russiaforces in Western Europe. We European allies insist on trad- is emerging in the world. It is sent the GIs originally to sup- ing with Cuba. But the problem resulting from what seem to port a NATO effort to defend is complicated by the fact that be growing consulations and free Europe against a possible Venezuela, Brazil and other collaboration between the White Latin countries favor sanctions House and the Kremlin. The against Castro. broad aim is to maintain world peace and to stimulate world WORLD FAST CHANGING trade. Those are only some of the more obvious developments SOME DIE-HARD PROBLEMS that may be expected if the But the national conviction cold war logjam should break, that the United States is conand nations be forced to read-fronted by monolithic commujust national policies. Numerous nism-that under no circumothers could be mentioned. stances should we reduce our But the only certain fact at military establishment-will die this stage is that the world is hard. entering a period of profound Furthermore, the practical change, and the trend seems to union of military leaders and be accelerating. industrialists, to promote big It was the vague realization defense contracts, which former that change is in the wind that President Eisenhower warned dramatized the recent exciting against before he left the White speech of Senator Fulbright, House, may be expected to batchairman of the Senate For- the fiercely against all proposals eign Relations Committee, on to reduce national defense "Old Myths and New Reali-|spending.

### TROOP PULLBACK SEEN

Other projected world actions aimed at ending or thawing the picture-include:

Russian attack. The likelihood of such a Red attack is now small. • The easing of existing restric-



ties."

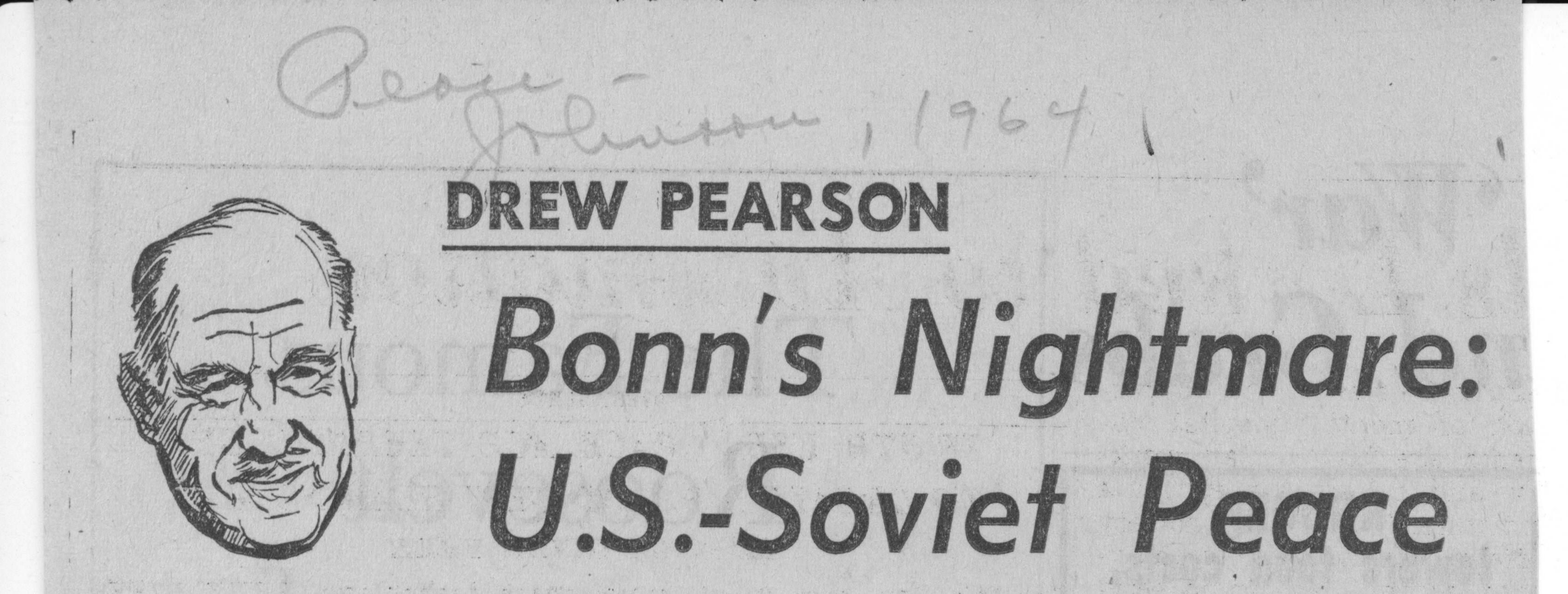
What has caused the profound OK Phone, Letter alteration in the international Prying in Bonn climate, that seems to be givpicture?

### **A-WAR THREAT FADES**

Among the causes: nized that monolithic commubloc is badly split, particularly Allied troops is endangered. by the Sino-Soviet quarrel. The But this may be done only as West presumably need no a last resort when other means longer worry about a concerted of surveillance are unsuccess-Communist attack, directed ful. from Moscow.

ing a new look to the world BONN, West Germany, April 23.—(Reuters)—The West German Cabinet yesterday approved a bill empowering security agencies to open letters • It is now generally recog- or tap telephones in cases where basic democratic order nism no longer exists. The Red or the safety of West German or

Applications to open letters or Russia presumably agrees tap telephones may be made with the United States that ther- only by the head or deputy monuclear war is too terrible head of the various security ofto be used as an instrument of fices and must be approved national policy. Consequently, by a federal court judge.



BY DREW PEARSON WASHINGTON — An interview President Johnson gave a Munich magazine the other day illustrates the problem facing the United States when it comes to working out a long-range peace:

The minute we try to work for better understanding with our main protagonist —Russia—the West Germans shudder. A continuing state of jitters, on the other hand, gives them a feeling of security because U.S. troops then are sure to stay in Germany. better, and that he intended to keep on exploring all avenues toward peace. \* \* \*

**REFERENCES TO** Russia, especially the advice on German-Russian relations, caused criticism in West Germany.

Said the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung: "The Federal Republic is not a satellite of the United States, nor is it wise even to give such a false impression . . . the Federal Republic does not like to see itself mistaken for South Viet Nam."

Significantly, just the opposite has long been said privately in backstage discussions of the State Department,

President Johnson had relaxed with the German writer after the end of a day's work, talking very frankly about the problems of peace.

He was most friendly toward the German government and the German people, gave them various pledges

He even telephoned Secretary of Defense McNamara and held the phone out so the German editor could hear McNamara's reply to the question of whether there would be



where Undersecretary Averill Harriman has argued that the United States has become a satellite of Bonn when it comes to foreign policy. JOHNSON does not want for a minute to diminish our friend ship with West Germany. But if we are to edge permanently away from the old Dulles "brink," it

more U.S. troops withdrawn.

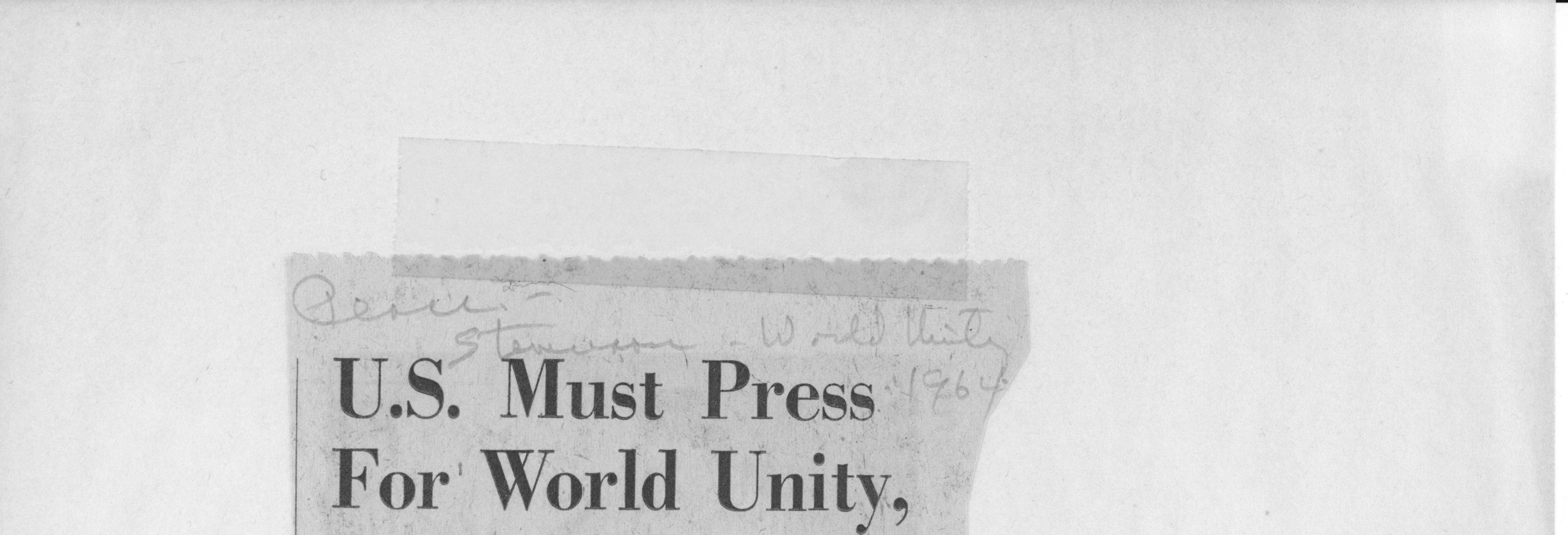
WHAT THE German press and critics of the United States played up, however, was not this, but the very sound advice Johnson gave the German writer about peace:

". . Remember the Russians are nervous about you. You can understand why. So examine your relations and see how they can be improved."

Johnson also said that relations between the Russians and the United States were never is obvious that the Harriman United States must fix its own foreign policy of better understanding with its No. 1 rival—Russia—and not let tensions be continued just to please Bonn

This is not going to be easy. For when the President moved cautiously and with great friendship along this line of better understanding, the reaction in West Germany was sour indeed.

Actually, even before the interview, Dr. Heinrich Krone, a senior cabinet member and chairman of the National Defense Council, had commented critically on U.S. efforts to relieve tensions with Russia.



# Stevenson Says

BERKELEY, Calif.—(A) — Americans must grasp with new strength the "audacious dream" of world unity, Adlai Stevenson, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, said Thursday.

"If the United States does not press on" in support of world policing and world law, said Stevenson, "The world, I believe without rhetoric or exaggeration, is lost." my lifetime our vaunted Western world has plunged the globe into near total war. "And in Nazism it reached a pitch of hysteria which betrayed the fact that uncon-

Stevenson and U Thant, secretary general of the United many ways an incurably path-Nations, were featured speakological condition."

Nations, were featured speakers at the 96th charter anniversary ceremonies at the University of California. The warned

that nationalism continues as the principal threat to world peace.

STEVENSON SAID Americans still are divided on the question of nationalism versus world government, despite the fact that "the rationale of separate, disperate sovereignty has all but vanished."

U Thant said that despite setbacks largely due to a renewed trend toward nationalism, the United Nations is progressing toward the "theoreticall, ultimate aim of a world legislature, if not a world government.

He cited the European Coal and Steel Community and the Common Market as examples of how countries can put aside

national interests to pool resources.

Stevenson warned Americans that they must be ready to accept changes.

"We love the poison that slays us," he said. "Twice in

Will I and the shall a particular and the second states and the second states and





Mr. Johnson announced that the United

Premier Nikita Khrushchev

KHRUSHCHEV'S statement

He cited the treaty for a par-

# No Danger LBJ Says

A-Arsenal Mighty, Growing Stronger

From AP, New York Times and UPI WASHINGTON -President Johnson acted quickly Monday to assure the American public that the joint atom cutback with Russia will not mean a lessening of U.S. power or security. Mr. Johnson reported that eight months of U.S. underground nuclear tests including the biggest ever in this country-have provided important new information about new weapons designs and effects. \* \* \* THE PRESIDENT made public a letter from Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara and Chairman Glenn T. Seaborg of the Atomic Energy Commission concerning progress toward implementing the test ban treaty safeguards recommended by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and approved by the late President John F. Kennedy. In accordance with safeguards promised at the time to protect U.S. security, the McNamara-Seaborg report said that the United Statesas of-Jan. 1-would be able to resume its first tests within two months if the Soviet Union violated the treaty. They also reported strides in developing systems for detecting clandestine tests in outer space and underground explosions elsewhere. An AEC spokesman said the most powerful nuclear device Mann and G. Mennen Williams. ever exploded in the United States was fired underground at the Nevada test site last Sept. 13. It had a yield of about 200 kilotons, or the equivalent force of 200,000 tons of TNT. Mr. Johnson, in his New York speech Monday announcing a new cutback in production of nuclear weapons material, added that he had "reaffirmed all the safeguards against weakening our nuclear strength."

# Third Move in Year In Cutback, Toward Disarming

How the cutback was achieved. Page 1B. Rockefeller, Goldwater view move with caution. Page 1B.

From AP, New York Times and UPI

NEW YORK — The third major step in reducing East-West tensions in less than a year was revealed Monday when the United States and the Soviet Union announced a cutback in the production of nuclear explosive materials. Great Britain is expected to follow suit Tuesday.

President Johnson revealed the plan to

American newspaper publishers at the annual luncheon of the Associated Press. He told them, "We reduce tensions while maintaining all necessary power."

Mr. Johnson announced that the United States was reducing its production of enriched uranium production 15 per cent beyond a move he announced in January, for a total cutback of 40 per cent during the coming four years. This was while continuing a 20 per cent plutonium production cut set in January.

> Mr. Johnson said he expected similar action by Moscow-and this was forthcoming with the Soviet announcement of what it called a substantial cutback.

# End of Cold War: What It Will Take

WASHINGTON - (A) - High-ranking U.S. officials Monday listed three tests on whether victory has been achieved in the cold war-and said these conditions have not yet been met:

1-Soviet permission for inspections inside Russian territory in order to carry out disarmament agreements. 2-Free elections in East Germany, looking toward reunification of that country.

3-Kremlin abandonment of its support for subversive movements involving the sending of men and arms across frontiers.

Some observers have suggested that the cold war has given way to an East-West "detente," or relaxation. They have cited developments such as the limited nuclear-testban treaty.

The U.S. officials denied that the cold war is over and listed what they termed the three "gut issues."

Premier Nikita Khrushchev announced that the Soviet Government would:

• Stop construction already under way on two big reactors for the production of plutonium;

Reduce "substantially" in the next several years the production of uranium 235 for nuclear weapons, and

• Allocate more fissionable materials to peaceful uses in industry, agriculture, medicine and other fields.

KHRUSHCHEV'S statement said the step had been made possible by a "definite strengthening of confidence" between the two countries.

He cited the treaty for a partial nuclear test ban signed here last August and a United Nations resolution banning the orbiting of nuclear weapons as the two principal steps that had improved the international climate.

THE McNAMARA---Seaborg report to Mr. Johnson said that in the eight months since the treaty was signed, the United States has announced 20 underground detonations. But the program actually has been more extensive since AEC policy has been and will continue to be to make some unannounced detonations at the Nevada test site. The AEC said the reduction in nuclear materials production ordered by Mr. Johnson will affect about 125 jobs at two AEC installations. Seaborg estimated the reduction would save \$55 million. He said the cutback still would assure adequate supplies of enriched uranium for both civil and military use. The parallel moves of the United States and Russia will not reduce by one kiloton the ability of both sides to wage a hot war. The production of atomic weapons will not be affected by the moves, although ultimately the growth of the nuclear arsenals of the two sides may be retarded.

This assessment of the international situation was made known as the State Department conducted a semiannual foreign-policy briefing for some 800 editors and broadcasters from around the country.

Listed speakers included policy planner Walt W. Rostow, Assistant Secretary of Defense John T. Mc-Naughton and Assistant Secretaries of State Thomas C.

The latest step does not "constitute actual disarmament" and will have to be followed by other steps, the Premier said. But he added that he was convinced it would further improve the international atmosphere.

Mr. Johnson hailed the Soviet cutback as a "definite commitment to steps toward a more peaceful world."

White House sources cautioned newsmen against describing the Johnson and Khrushchev announcements as a joint decision or Soviet-American 'agreement. There was no comment on the simultaneous timing of the announcements.

In their 18 years of negotiations, the United States and Russia have never signed an agreement involving removal of a single armament from service. The statement from Moscow noted that British Prime Minister Sir Alec Douglas-Home had notified Khrushchev that he also would issue a statement on "reducing manufacture of fissionable materials for military purposes."

A spokesman in London said the statement would be made in the House of Commons Tuesday.

THE WORLD'S only other nuclear producer is France which has given every indication that it plans no cutbacks and will continue to try to achieve atomic parity with the others.

Last Jan. 8 Mr. Johnson announced a 25 per cent cut in uranium production and asked

Turn to Page 2A, Column 3

LONDON - (UPI) - Informed the dispute with Communist candid admission of the burden Soviet Premier Nikita S. sures at home. out a peaceful co-existence deal with the publication in Mos- ards. with the United States after cow of an article by Khrushthe presidential elections.

Marine (1900 Colored and

The deal as outlined would Peaceful Co-Existence." be tantamount to a prolonged big power East-West truce.

The Kremlin might pledge as a foreward to a collection hands-off in U.S. spheres of in- of Khrushchev's speeches. terest in exchange for a status. Krushchev wrote that "rock to increase the might of the quo understanding in Europe, ets and guns are not butter' armed forces we could have which would mean continuation and challenged the West to a steeply raised the living standof a divided Germany. There peaceful struggle between capi- ards of our people and made was no indication, however, talism and Communism. them the highest in the world that Communist Cuba would be "That system will triumph in the near future." included in any noninterference which in its development would Khrushchev said the world pledge by Moscow.

WESTERN OBSERVERS needs and interests of the pop-the arms race be ended. He said Khrushchev's reported ular masses," Khrushchev said said the situation gives mandesire for an understanding "This is our credo and we kind a new challenge: "Let us with the United States appar- propose to all political parties: compete as to who makes the ently was motivated by a num- Let us compete in this field." biggest contribution to strengthber of considerations, including I IN WHAT was considered alening peace."

\* \* \*

Kusher - 1964

Detroit Free Press 5/6/64]

chev titled "On Peace and

The article was printed by the Soviet magazine Kommunist

East European diplomatic China, the high cost of the of Soviet armaments, Khrushsources Tuesday indicated arms race and economic pres- chev rhetorically asked if the current defense outlay was a Khrushchev would like to work The reports here coincided brake on raising living stand-

> "Yes it is a brake," he said. "Rockets and guns are not butter, are not meat, are not bread and are not kasha (hot cereal.)

"Had it not been necessary

help to strengthen peace, to had reached the point where it meet more and more fully the can prevent war and urged that

# Nikita Reported Seeking Coexistence Deal with U.S.

1)50/1

The Washington Post 5/11/64 UAW Chief Urges Huge 'Peace Offensive'

President Walter Reuther tween America's wealth and be to cut his armaments budof the United Auto Workers much of the world's poverty get, Reuther said. The United proposed last night that the is ever widening, Reuther United States start spending asked that the Nation turn to \$20 billion a year for 25 years his "peace offensive" with warin a massive "peace offensive" time vigor. in the uncommitted nations of Referring to the \$20 billion the world.

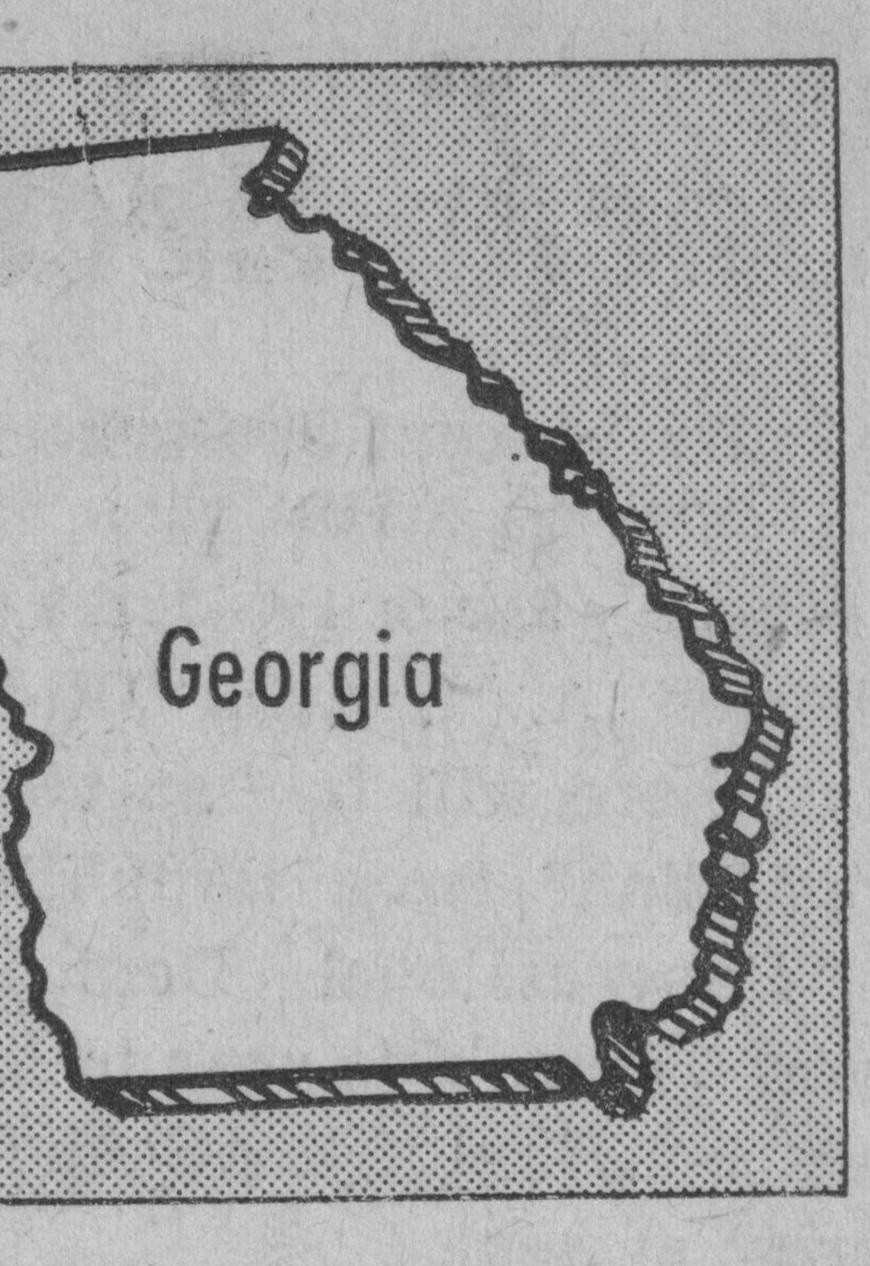
He urged that America had the courage to spend for quated concept of national raised. allenge the Soviet Union to war but not for peace." challenge the Soviet Union to war but not for peace." which system can do more to afford," he said.

ing. Reuther suggested that the ford \$20 billion for his peace \$20 billion be distributed program, but that in fact it among needy nations in the would help the economy by form of goods and services cutting down on unemploythrough agencies of the Unit- ment. The United States has the ed Nations.

These goods and services resources to wage such a camwould not be gifts, but interest paign, he said. The Soviet free, 100-year-loans. Repay- Union, however, would be hard ment would not begin until put to match it. per capita income in the recip- If Khrushchev would accept ient nation had reached \$1000, his challenge for a peace contest, the only way he could Reuther said.

Asserting that the gap be-'get the money for it would

A Company of the second s expenditures. Reuther also urged that the a year cost, he said, "We have United States change its "anti- other areas of the world are a "peace contest" in these Each year, he added, the concept of "national survival." Reuther spoke at the opennations and that the battle be- United States wastes \$70 bil- He said that American de- ing of a three-day conference tween communism and democ-lion through unemployment. mocracy will be remembered at the Shoreham Hotel called racy be measured in terms of "This is something we cannot "not for its pious platitudes by the American Association but for its deeds" and warned on the United Nations to raise world standards of liv- Reuther insisted that not that it cannot survive long study the UN's "Decade of only can the United States af- unless living standards in Development."



### Tuesday, April 21, '64 I-H DETROIT FREE PRESS Barry, Rocky Urge Caution on A-Arms Curb

#### From AP and UP1

of Arizona, and Nelson Rockesoller, of New York,-reacted with reservations Monday to the U.S. arsenal, he declared. Goldwater said. President Johnson's decision to trim uranium production.

Gov. Rockefeller, in San Diego on his campaign for votes in California urged the United States to proceed cautiously in cutting back fissionable material for weapons.

\* \* \*

SENATOR GOLDWATER, in Indianapolis for his only Indiana campaign appearance before the state's presidential preference primary May 5, said he was not surprised by announcements of the cutback in both the Soviet Union and the United States, but he questioned what arrangements had been made to see that both countries actually carry out the reductions.

leading information on the na-]continental ballistic missiles and

The senator said Soviet intermediate-range missiles missile power.

Two leading contenders for tion's defense stature in a their intermediate - range misthe Republican presidential "frantic attempt to justify its siles, they command a force that nomination — Barry Goldwater defense mismanagement." | may number as many as 880 Strategically placed Soviet missiles, or more than a hunmissiles outnumber those in dred more than the U.S. force,"

> MEANWHILE, in San Diego, that threaten Western Europe Rockefeller called the abortive tip the numerical scales in fa- revolution in Laos "clear evivor of the Russians despite a dence of the fact that this coun-U.S. lead in intercontinental try does not have a clear-cut foreign policy."



Goldwater Rockefeller

istration's failure to come to Congress. He refused, however, grips with it is further evidence to name a specific percentage. of a leadership gap in Washing- Meanwhile, a drive to raise ton."

Alabama also was in Indian- papers from Virginia to Texas. apolis Monday for the start of It was sponsored by "The an intensive four-day cam- Southern Committee to Help paign for Democratic votes in Elect the Next President of the the Indiana presidential pri- United States." mary.

funds for Wallace's campaign Gov. George Wallace of was launched Monday in news-

Advertisements in more than

The Southern segregationist 35 newspapers, with a total cirsaid he expects to draw a sig-culation of 5,322,290, solicited

States faces a "job crisis," and nificant vote in his drive against contributions to Wallace's In-"Altogether, with their inter- He also claimed the United that "the Democratic Admin- the civil-rights bill pending in diana and Maryland campaigns.

"I believe we have a big enough uranium stockpile to take care of our needs, and I strongly suspect Russia has, too," Goldwater said.

Rockefeller said he was concerned that we "be on the safe side in America."

Although he conceded that Mr. Johnson and Administration leaders were "in possession of the facts," Rockefeller indicated it was conceivable the cutback could upset the international balance of power.

"With the speed of technological development-the Soviets develop new defensive weapons -we might find ourselves with the need for fissionable material and in a position where we are not in possession of sufficient stock," he said.

ADDRESSING a rally in Indianapolis Monday night, Goldwater accused the Johnson Administration of issuing mis-

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# How LB. Won Arms Cathaolz

BY JOHN M. HIGHTOWER WASHINGTON ---- The U.S. and Soviet decisions to cut back production of nuclear weapons material represent the culmination of a series of private exchanges between President Johnson and Premier Nikita Khrushchev.

Mr. Johnson has carried on a correspondence with the Soviet Premier since shortly after he succeeded to the presidency following the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

WHEN IT BECAME apparent upon a review of American nuclear weapons need five or six weeks ago that the United States would be producing more nuclear explosives than were considered essential to its security requirements, Mr. Johnson decided to make what he called Monday a "substantial reduction" in the output of enriched uranium. He then notified Khrushchev of his intention in the belief that the Soviet chief would possibly find it desirable to take a similar step. He also consulted with British Prime Minister Sir Alec Douglas Home. According to qualified informants, Mr. Johnson received no response from Khrushchev for five weeks. Last Friday, he called Soviet Ambassador Anatoly F. Dobrynin to the White House and in the course of an hour-long discussion of U.S. Soviet relations informed the envoy that he was going ahead with his decision and would announce it Monday.

He then got fast word back from Moscow that the Soviet government also would act. As Mr. Johnson put in his speech to the Associated Press luncheon in New York:

"I am happy to say that Chairman Khrushchev has now indicated to me that he intends to make a move in this same direction.

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"I am happy to say that Chairman Khrushchev has now indicated to me that he intends to make a move in this same direction.

Mr. Johnson's speech was timed at 2:00 p.m. EST and a Tass news agency release from Moscow also timed for publication at the same hour announced that Khrushchev likewise was making a cutback in future nuclear weapons material production.