Approved For Release 2006/10/19 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000400170013-9

THE WASHINGTON POST
2 December 1975

Neal, Fred
Orgl Pacem in Terris IV
Orgl Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions

Fred Neal

Pacem in Terris IV: Another Effort at Peace

My colleagues at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in Santa Barbara, Calif., have a theory that every time I arrange a major international conference dedicated to peace and understanding, all hell breaks loose. The Center's Pacem in Terris IV Convocation which opens at the Sheraton Park Hotel Tuesday already seems to be bearing them out, but I hope the worst is not yet to come.

The first Pacem in Terris Convocation—the name being taken from the Encyclical of the late Pope John 23rd calling for coexistence—took place in New York in early 1965. Vice President Humphrey opened it in the United Nations General Assembly with an eloquent plea for peace. Next day began the first major American bombing of North Vietnam. Pacem in Terris II, in Geneva in 1967, opened on the same day as the Arab-Israeli War of that year. Pacem in Terris III, in Washington in 1973, coincided with the Yom Kippur War.

The Pacem in Terris Convocations are, in a way, something of a new type of international relations—a public dialogue on pressing issues between official government policy makers and private experts of various points of view. Regardless of how much they may or may not influence the source of international events, we feel they are a useful contribution to the American democratic process. The idea behind Pacem IV is that there is so much confusion about American foreign policy now that we badly need a high-level public discussion of the issues before the country gets totally bogged down in the politics of a presidential election year.

Pacem I, which brought Soviet officials to a public debate in the United States for the first time, did help make the idea of coexistence respectable. Pacem II, breaking new ground by bringing East and West German representatives to a conference table together, produced some new thinking about the long-moribund German deadlock and doubtless contributed to the eventual solution. And Pacem III launched the domestic debate about detente while illuminating some of its weaknesses as well as its strengths. Pacem IV, we hope, will show the necessity for relating foreign to domestic policies and provide some standards by which the forthcoming Presidential election rhetoric can be judged.

These conferences are not exactly easy to arrange. Most of the participants are not only frightfully busy but very hard to reach. Some of them are prima donnas. When we were planning Pacem in Terris I in 1964, involving not only American officials but nearly a dozen foreign ministers and premiers from other countries, the invariable first question was: "Who else is coming?" I remember how relieved I was when Paul-Henri Spaak, then Premier of Belgium, threw caution to the winds and accepted our invitation. In Pacem II, the Russians wouldn't consider coming unless we invited the North Vietnamese. The North Vietnamese wouldn't consider coming unless we pledged not to invite the South Vietnamese. The Johnson administration—leery of peace efforts anyway—wouldn't consider participating if we did not invite the South Vietnamese. Both of these conferences took a lot of commuting between Claremont, Calif., and Europe, the Soviet Union and Southeast Asia—some 40,000 miles or more of it.

Since the advent of Henry Kissinger, he has been both a major problem and a major asset. An intellectual interested in discussing issues, Kissinger was always sympathetic, and he agreed to participate in both Pacem III and Pacem IV. The trouble is that Kissinger is always somewhere else when you need him. This year, with Kissinger more peripetetic than ever, I approached both the Secretary and the White House. I was assured the week they would not be going to China was the first week in December, so Pacem IV was scheduled for that time. With the program all set, Dr. Kissinger advised that this would be, after all, the time he would be in Peking. This, however, was only the beginning of our troubles.

We thought Vice President Rockefeller a likely replacement. But also on the program were discussions between then-Secretary of Defense Schlesinger and Congressman Les Aspin, the military's chief congressional critic, and between CIA Director Colby and Senator Church.

There followed the "Halloween Massacre." Some 340 telephone calls later—beginning at 6 a.m. P.S.T.—it all got arranged. Messrs Schlesinger and Colby would stay on the program, and Ambassador Moynihan would take Kissinger's place. Then promptly strange things began to happen at the United Nations. Ambassador Moynihan is still hanging in there, however, and will perform at 9:30 Tuesday morning.

With this track record, it is not surprising that many Democrats—and some Republicans—have urged us to put President Ford on the program.

I am now taking applications for anybody who might wish to arrange Pacem in Terris V. All it takes is a willingness to suffer loss of weight and hair, furrows in the brow, a cauliflower ear from long distance telephone calls and a reputation for being a harbinger of woe.

Mr. Neal is chairman of the International Relations Program at Claremont graduate school and a consultant on international affairs to the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

MORI/CDF

Approved For Release 2006/10/19 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000400170013-9