

Mr McGeorge Bundy
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr Bundy:

I write you this letter with no special mandate from the Inter-University Committee, but ~~it is~~ ^{my} ~~intention~~ ^{major} ~~to~~ ^{purpose}, ~~the~~ ^{which} ~~is~~ ^{to} ~~express~~ ^{thank you for} ~~my~~ ^{appreciation} ~~for~~ ^{your} ~~your~~ ^{cooperation} in the past few months, ~~is~~ ^{on} ~~which~~ ^{the} ~~Committee~~ ~~would~~ ~~be~~ ~~strongly~~ ~~endorsed~~ ^{by} ~~the~~ ~~Committee~~. I am particularly grateful to you, ~~and~~ ^{and your colleagues} ~~for~~ ^{for} ~~the~~ ^{time}, ~~energy~~ ^{and} ~~cooperation~~ ^{which} you gave to make ~~the~~ ^{our} several ventures a success.

The fact that, relative to the ~~same~~ ^{goals} which I believe we stand, neither the May nor the June events were entirely satisfactory is hard to deny. I wonder, then, if, before the new (academic) year begins, and pressures build toward some further contact between the universities and the government over Vietnam, it might ~~be~~ ^{be} profitable to set down ^{some} ~~my~~ ^{views} on ~~subject~~ ^{subject} ~~concerning~~ ^{those} ~~which~~ ^{deficiencies}, ~~as~~ ^{remediable}. ~~It~~ ^{It} ~~think~~ ^{think} ~~there~~ ^{are} ~~are~~ ^{deficiencies} ~~which~~ ^{follow} ~~unavoidably~~ ^{unavoidably} ~~from~~ ^{from} ~~your~~ ^{your} ~~side~~ ^{side}, ~~having~~ ^{to} ~~do~~ ^{with} ~~conflicting~~ ^{conflicting}; I will not attempt to guess what ~~over~~ ^{over} ~~pressures~~ ^{pressures} ~~the~~ ^{it} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~playing~~ ^{playing} ~~upon~~ ^{upon} factors, ^{if any,} influence your participation beyond your own personal convictions and your obvious interest in productive dialogue. I may believe not only ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~best~~ ^{best} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~but~~

~~because~~ no to assume that no such pressures exist would
seem naive, but to speculate about them ^{would be} ~~is~~ out of
my range of competence, and impertinent, to boot.

Let me turn, then, to the university side of these
"confrontations": You have several times referred to the
crux of this matter: the ^{sometimes} antithetical ~~conceptions~~ conceptions of
our activity as, on the one hand, ~~intellectually~~ open
discussions and, on the other, political pressure. These
~~these~~ ^{underlying conceptions} conceptions of what is going on determine two ~~of the~~
crucial aspects of the event itself; one is who we think
we are talking to (to you, to ~~our~~ "those", or to the undisciplined
segments of the audience) and the other is whether ^{anyone is} ~~someone~~
really listening to what the other are saying. We both
~~know~~ ~~that~~ ~~even~~ ~~under~~ ~~ideal~~ ~~conditions~~ ~~discussions~~
~~genuine~~ ~~dialogue~~ ~~is~~ ~~hard~~ ~~to~~ ~~come~~ ~~by~~, but what ^{might} ~~can~~ ~~we~~ ~~do~~ ~~to~~ ~~maintain~~
~~give~~ ~~the~~ ~~maximum~~ ~~of~~ ~~interaction~~? ~~This~~ ~~is~~ ~~that~~?
It is my impression that we were ^{to} ~~we~~ talking past you, not to you,
and that hardly a word you said ~~was~~ ~~heard~~ ~~too~~ ~~much~~ ~~of~~ ~~what~~
you said served only to trigger off rebuttal, ~~counterpoints~~
~~rather~~ ~~than~~ ~~the~~ in the absence of comprehension.

Would the following remedies seem appropriate?

- 1) Let us assume that ~~some~~ ~~one~~, and opposition to, the
present government policy ⁱⁿ ~~will~~ ~~continue~~. ~~The~~ ~~appropriate~~
~~of~~ ~~contact~~ ~~for~~ ~~such~~ ~~activity~~ ~~is~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~absence~~ ~~of~~
~~governmental~~ ~~representatives~~ ~~and~~ ~~since~~ ~~for~~ ~~such~~ ~~activity~~
~~the~~ ~~statements~~ ~~of~~ ~~opposition~~ ~~conscience~~ ~~and~~ ~~Would~~ ~~it~~
~~not~~ ~~be~~ ~~better~~ ~~to~~ ~~confine~~ ~~the~~ ~~monologues~~ ~~to~~ ~~rallies~~, ~~teach~~ ~~ins~~,
etc.? 2) Let us assume that pressures ~~ought~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~heavily~~

both sides. Would it not be better to let both (all) sides speak, ^{in tandem,} ~~in parallel,~~ with no pretence of listening to each other? ~~Although~~ Although subsequent reflection

~~on each other's telling points~~ ~~might~~ ~~be~~ ~~productive~~

3) Let us assume that ~~each~~ ^{all} sides began to have some interest, ~~in persuading the other,~~ ^{both} ~~and also some interest~~ ~~in being persuaded~~ in achieving some ~~mutual understanding~~ ~~of each other's position.~~ interest in direct contact, in convincing and being convinced, in talking and listening.

Would it not be more effective to meet without the audience, without the glare of lights, and simply ~~to~~ ^{to start trying} ~~begin~~ ~~to~~ ~~try~~ to have such a discussion - and to ~~begin~~ ~~at~~ ~~it~~ ~~rather~~ ~~at~~ ~~the~~ ~~beginning~~ ~~stages~~?

~~That discussion would not need~~ ~~to be~~ ~~public~~ ~~and~~ ~~transcribed~~ The results, or even the transcripts, of the discussion could be ^{made available to} ~~published~~

~~proper for all to see,~~ but all. The point is not that ~~we~~ ~~want~~ ~~to~~ ~~have~~ ~~some~~ ~~whispered~~ ~~in~~ ~~our~~ ~~ears~~ anyone will provide ^{someone} ~~us~~ with private but classified reasoning and conclusions.

The point is that people may ~~be~~ ~~able~~ ~~to~~ ~~do~~ ~~it~~ ~~themselves~~ ~~more~~ ~~effectively~~ ~~if~~ ~~they~~ ~~are~~ ~~not~~ ~~with~~ ~~some~~ ~~segmental~~ ~~continuity~~ ~~over~~ ~~time~~, as they hear what is being said to them. It ~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~the~~ ~~point~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~discussion~~

to ~~be~~ ~~an~~ ~~effort~~ ~~at~~ ~~persuasion~~, ~~but~~ ~~at~~ ~~the~~ ~~same~~ ~~time~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~an~~ ~~effort~~ ~~to~~ ~~persuade~~ ~~oneself~~, ~~but~~ ~~the~~ ~~intention~~ ~~is~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~straight~~

The point thought it would be in that the difference between those of our side. The point is that we might

assumptions and perspectives from which our different conclusions are drawn.

~~None of these thoughts make any assumption about~~
~~the rest of the assumption that you would be~~

It is, of course, a separate vision who would best play such a series of roles. I address these questions to you because I sensed in our meetings an interest in something which I fear did not quite work out as ^{we} hoped. I had my changes of ~~opinion~~ the previous year of Washington, and I realize you may not wish to respond at this time. But should you wish to, your reaction to these or other elements of the whole picture will ~~be of great~~ have a great impact upon us all.

Let me close as I began, with ~~an~~ an expression of my continuing awareness of the high hopes which brought our paths together briefly. Your courtesy and receptiveness seem, ^{to me} not to be isolated signs of a particular interpersonal style, but rather part and parcel of the ~~back of many~~ ~~to~~ dialogues to be evidence of your willingness to do even more than your part in creating an honest and respectful dialogue. ~~Greater~~ ~~our~~ ~~meeting~~, and I wish you I do hope such gains as have been made can be preserved and extended in the months to come.

Yours respectfully,