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### **The policy of the United States of America towards the Vatican 1961- 1974**

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#### **Abstract**

This research sheds light on the policy of the United States towards the Vatican during the years (1961-1974), that is, during the era of American presidents (Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon). Although he was the first Catholic president, he openly declared his opposition to sending any diplomatic representative to the Vatican. Despite that, there were visits between the two sides, and the Pope's policies remained normal towards the American administration and he continued to exercise his moral influence on the policies of the countries of the world. The presidency of President Johnson, and his policy was similar to that of former President Kennedy, i.e. he announced that he would not establish any diplomatic relations with the Vatican, but Johnson was making important accounts for the Vatican in general and the Pope in particular, because of the pope's emergence as an important and influential figure on the world stage, especially since he was unusually involved in resolving the issue of Vietnam, which the US administration was involved in at that time, the situation remained as it is without diplomatic representation, only exchanged visits, until it came to a block President Nixon, who worked with moderation, had a clear policy towards the Vatican. As soon as he came to power, he announced the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Vatican, and Henry Cabot Lodge was appointed as the President's

representative to the Vatican. Lodge was the link between the American administration and the Pope, and the focus of discussions between the two sides at that time was Ending the war in Vietnam, Nixon supported the Pope in all his decisions in order to legitimize his foreign policy.

### **Introduction**

The US policy towards the Vatican during the extended period (1961-1974) was a complex policy characterized by contradiction and ambiguity, especially during the presidency of President Kennedy and Johnson. At that time, especially since Pope John XXIII did not care about President Kennedy's policy after realizing the danger of the nuclear threat as a result of Kennedy's declaration of anti-Soviet action with the spread of nuclear weapons and the occurrence of the missile crisis in Cuba, the Pope exercised his influence on international politics, and against that the Pope's work On issuing a number of general messages calling for peace in the world, thus Pope John XXIII was able to influence the Soviet Union and persuade them to stop working with nuclear weapons. The Pope had an influential role through which he was able to make a détente between the United States and the Soviet Union and stop the threat of nuclear weapons. After Pope Paul VI succeeded John XXIII, he also worked to spread peace among the world, especially during the presidency of US President Johnson, which witnessed turmoil due to the war in Vietnam, which in turn affected Johnson's policy towards the Vatican, despite not establishing any diplomatic relations with the Vatican, but that Johnson kept accurate accounts for the Pope in his policy, especially after the Johnson administration became confused about ending the war in Vietnam and with the Pope's increasing criticism of the United States. As a result, the American administration resorted to asking for the Pope's help in order to support its foreign policy, but the Pope did not take sides The conflicting parties sought, through his appeals, to achieve peace and end the conflict by sending envoys to the concerned parties to resolve the crisis by peaceful means away from disputes that lead to the tragedy of the world. Until his foreign policy is more stable and coherent, away from conflicts, indicating that he strived to work to end the war in Vietnam at that time.

### **Literature review**

#### **1. The impact of nuclear armament on the papal American relations during the Kennedy era.**

On September 12, 1960, in front of several hundred Protestant ministers and laypeople in Crystal Hall at the Rice Hotel in Houston, John Kennedy (Spencer, 2008), made the clearest and most accurate statement made by a presidential candidate about Religion and politics in the United States of America. Although Kennedy was a fourth-generation American, the grandson of the mayor of Boston, the son of an ambassador to Britain, and an American senator who had sworn allegiance to the US Constitution as a Catholic, he had to prove that he was American enough to hold the office. Kennedy had reassured him, his friend John Wright, the Catholic Bishop of Pittsburgh, that "contrary to popular belief, no public act of a president could lead to his excommunication and that he did not, as a Catholic, devote allegiance to the Pope." In return, Kennedy told a gathering of clergy, "I'm not a Catholic candidate for president, I'm the Democratic presidential candidate, who also happens to be Catholic. I don't speak for my church in public matters, and the church doesn't speak for me." This was confirmed by Kennedy when, before an assembly of electors, Cardinal Richard Cushing, asked by a clergyman to present his views on the Church and the Vatican State so that his views would be followed by all Roman Catholics in the United States, the candidate replied, "I do not really accept, As I have said, any

ecclesiastical official in telling me what I ought to do in my field of public responsibility as an elected official, nor do I suggest that I ask Cardinal Cushing to ask the Vatican to take some action. The audience applauded, and Cushing expressed his admiration for Kennedy's frankness. (Lawrence, 1990)

On January 20, 1961, Kennedy won the election and assumed the presidency of the United States, the only Catholic American president. He came to power in the United States of America during a terrible and critical period of conflict in the Cold War. Kennedy's election to the US presidency was a blessing and a curse for the Vatican. The last thing President Kennedy wanted was to appear to be taking orders from the Holy See, so he was careful to minimize public contact. (James, 2015) Nevertheless, Kennedy's election was seen as a net gain for Catholic Americans. President Kennedy was able to banish doubts about the ability of a Catholic to hold the highest office in the United States of America without interference from Rome. This was confirmed by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., a historian who served in the Kennedy era in the White House, "above all, he showed that there was no need for a conflict between Catholicism and modernity, and there was no objection to full Catholic participation in American society." (France, 2014)

Although the president sought to reassure the American electorate, he also disappointed some members of the American Catholic community, first and foremost Cardinal Spellman among them, not to mention the Vatican itself. It does not seem plausible that the newly elected Catholic president, as soon as he entered the White House, declared his opposition to diplomatic relations with the Holy See, and against educational aid for Catholic schools. (James, 2015) Furthermore, the president stated, "Religious opinions are his private business. Those who contravene the First Amendment, will not take orders, or even advice, or even counsel, from the Pope." He also said, "He was criticizing a nation that rejected the Protestant presidency. As soon as I get to the White House, I will do my best to dispel the hint of vulnerability to the wishes of the Vatican." He portrays his "special relationship" with an almost obsessive design, he simply cannot bear to allow his religion to become a problem. In fact, any contact with Rome has been entirely informal, and has always been carried out by former mediators with no direct role in the White House. It seems that it was a repetitive method of keeping the lines of communication open without breaking, the distance that was maintained was almost complete. The Vatican did not appreciate the distant new policy, nor did Spellman, who in his lifetime made great personal efforts to bring the Vatican and the White House closer, ironically, Spielman once had the influential help of Joseph Kennedy, the president's father. In fact, the American Catholic Church was watching reluctantly while Kennedy was dismantling some of the achievements they had fought so hard to win from the federal government. President Kennedy has already indicated that he would oppose full diplomatic relations with the Vatican because the American public does not like it. This matter was less important to American bishops than the prospect of losing financial support to Catholic schools. As for Spielman, he was no longer in touch with Rome, and when asked by Cardinal Frank Folsom, a mutual friend, "what Satan Kennedy, as some Catholic clergy called him, was planning to do", "the answer is exactly what he says." . (France, 2014)

As for Kennedy's position on relations with the Soviet Union, he pledged to "pay any price" to prevent the spread of Soviet influence around the world. and surpassed his Republican predecessor, Dwight Eisenhower, in his commitment to containing Soviet influence. The Catholic president who entered the White House was openly anti-Soviet. Returning to the relationship of the US administration with the Catholic Church only, the US government and the Roman Catholic

Church walked in parallel paths during the period 1961-1963, where Pope John XXIII included in his special message of the Feast of Peace 1961, a non-political statement in which he expressed his deep concern about the horrific acts of a large number of men who threaten those who love justice and a merciful and quiet life announcing a covert attack on the Soviet bloc emboldened by the American failure in Cuba (Hussam, 2014), in Operation Bay of Pigs (Kadhim, 2020), in April 1961 and Khrushchev's perceived control of Kennedy at their first summit meeting in Vienna. The situation worsened in June 1961, when Soviet Prime Minister Khrushchev warned the United States to withdraw its forces from West Berlin and Kennedy responded forcefully, pledging not to abandon the western region of Berlin until the entire city was liberated (Roger, 1996) and summoned twenty-five thousand reserve soldiers, To prepare for the worst-case scenario in the Cold War. In this regard, Richard Cushing of Boston, Kennedy's best friend, commented, "We are now engaged in a struggle for survival against the greatest enemy that has ever threatened world civilization." Pope John XXIII also stood firmly on the side of the United States and against naive diplomacy. And he repeated his previous denunciation of Soviet influence in his public message in July 1961, entitled "Mother and Teacher" (Masoud, 2010), declaring "that the summit of East and West cannot bridge different or radically opposing concepts of life without exchange, especially since the exchange of trust conspicuously absent in the Berlin crisis)) Although Khrushchev did indeed retreat from Berlin, not before he authorized the construction of the wall that would divide the city and prolong the Cold War for nearly three more decades. Although Khrushchev failed on Berlin, he renewed the nuclear arms race. (Minata, 2018)

He ordered the conduct of eighteen atomic tests within five weeks, and by the fall of 1961, the Soviets and the United States entered the sixteenth consecutive month without disarmament negotiations. Although Kennedy refuted the explosions, he pledged to build protective shelters for each as quickly as possible. In his Christmas message, he lamented the arms race, noting that "mutual mistrust made conditions progressively worse in the Cold War." (Lawrence J., 2014)

In its first annual foreign policy review, the Kennedy administration bragged about a 14 percent increase over President Eisenhower's last budgets for the Department of Defense, and warned of a Subjugation Campaign of 300 million people for a totalitarian state in the Far East that coincided with The start of a campaign launched by the editors of the hard-line Catholic newspaper *Komnri* when the Catholic president completed his inauguration, wrote in an editorial in January 1962, "The continued dependence on the nuclear threat will almost certainly end in unimaginable horror." for nuclear war). Beginning in his second year, President Kennedy clung to anti-Soviet staunchness. In March 1962, Kennedy expressed hope that the resumption of long-stalled arms control talks in Geneva would lead to tangible progress, but administration officials privately rejected this optimism. . In response to this, the President announced the resumption of US nuclear tests, and the United States of America conducted twenty-four nuclear tests between April and November 1962, to thwart the Soviets despite calls for peace. (Lawrence J., 2014)

On Kennedy's part, the pope's hostile attitudes provoked a direct challenge to the Soviets in Eastern Europe. It is likely that the influence of the Vatican on arms control policy was politically effective in more indirect ways than just a general statement of the papal position. The worse the Soviet-American relationship got, the more important regional initiatives by the national Catholic churches of countries, (Eric O, 1987), NATO (Dread, 2014) and Warsaw Pact countries (Glenn, 2015)

On the other hand, Kennedy had to deal with caution with the Vatican, and he had to present his opposition to diplomatic relations with the Holy See. It seems that this did not prevent American visits to the Vatican. In March 1962, Kennedy's wife Jacqueline (DK, 2009) met with The Pope. Moreover, September 1962 witnessed the visit of Vice President Lyndon Johnson to the Vatican and his meeting with Pope John XXIII, but these initiatives did not amount to the start of a lasting relationship, and the Pope had always to rely on less formal references. (De Rosa, 1994)

It seems that President Kennedy, through his nomination, has revived the prejudice against Catholicism that was not far from the surface. Once he took office, his administration's view of the relationship with the Holy See was more complex, as he ran his administration without any bias toward the Catholic Church or any other religion. He did not recommend any aid to religious schools, did not direct any money to faith-based programs, and did not send an ambassador to the Vatican, until he was not influenced by any clergyman from the Catholic or other denominations, where Kennedy faced the direct challenge to prove that the interests of his country mattered more to him than those of that country. The other is his religious headquarters and that as president he will not take his orders from the Pope.

Kennedy's tenure in office coincided with a watershed moment in the Church's history, the convening of the pagan Ecumenical Council known as Vatican II (Jo Renee, 2003.), which began on October 11, 1962, with the convocation of the Pope's 2,300 bishops to Rome, and it involved a lively discussion about the future of the Church. Pope John XXIII was not afraid of debate. Nor was he unwilling, after decades of keenness on the part of the popes to grant more power to the ruler of Rome, to give up some of his authority to the bishops and to decentralize the authority of the Church, greater openness, along with the explicit recognition of other religions. (Raymond F, 2006) On the day after the opening of the Second Vatican Council on October 12, 1962, the Pope gave a speech in the Sistine Chapel, in which he linked the Council's aspirations for peace in the nuclear age, and in reference to Michelangelo's Last Judgment, (He warned that heads of state should give account to God and be ready to make the sacrifices necessary to save the peace of the world). The Pope declared, "The alternative means the destruction of mankind." The Vatican II had a tremendous impact on Catholic life and theology in general, and on moral theology (Wayne, 2002) in particular, and Catholics shared with other Christian denominations an appreciation of human dignity and the pursuit of peace. (Charles E, 2008) The council also called for increased awareness, understandings and use of knowledge from the arts and sciences. (William, 2013) Accordingly, the Second Vatican Council represented a milestone due to the Holy See's quest to position itself in the international community. (Rosa, 2017) where he reached with his bold decisions far beyond the ecclesiastical or religious fields, and worked to find ways to establish understandings in the world and represented the highest point in the internal reform movement in the Catholic Church. Christian E., 2015 (Lerond, 2008)

On the other hand, the Protestants in the United States of America showed a serious and intense interest in the council. Some even went to Rome as observers. Others spoke of a new hope for a positive religious response and considered the council to be the most important religious event of the era. (Frances, 2014) At that very moment, the Soviet Union had installed in Cuba silos for missiles aimed at the United States of America. (IBP.inc. , 2009).

While the US administration continued to publicly distance itself from any relations with the Church, the events of the Second Vatican Council had a deep resonance within the United States. It was difficult to ignore the intertwining events of optimism and modernization rooted in the

new frontiers of the Second Vatican Council of the Church, and one of the first church decisions that Kennedy had to make was to send a personal representative to celebrate the third anniversary of Pope John XXIII's coronation. (Matthew L., 2008)

Ten days later, on the evening of Monday, October 22, 1962, President Kennedy appeared on American television to announce unequivocal evidence of the existence of missile sites in Cuba, which constituted a clear threat to the peace and security of the Americas. (Anscar J., 1997) He announced the imposition of a protective zone on all Soviet ships approaching Cuba and warned that any missiles launched from Cuba would be met with retaliation, and at the time began the most dangerous international confrontation in the history of the world. In the midst of these turbulent events, on Thursday afternoon October 25, 1962, the Pope announced a statement broadcast by Vatican Radio, speaking in an emotionally charged voice from his private library in the Apostolic Palace, urging world leaders (ie Kennedy and Khrushchev), to retreat from the horrors of the war that would be. It has tragic consequences that no one can predict the outcome of. Although the broadcast was unscheduled, the Vatican had already secretly sent the Pope's message to Washington and Moscow, and the day after the Pope's radio broadcast, the Pope's message was printed on the front page of Pravda, the official gazette of the Soviet Union, referring to Even within the Soviet Union, a totalitarian country with relatively few Catholics, Pope John XXIII's words are taken seriously. It was certainly important and welcomed by Khrushchev, which indicates that the Soviets were ready to negotiate a peaceful solution to the Cuban missile crisis. Accordingly, the next day, the Soviet prime minister wrote to Kennedy proposing a deal, which was the first real step in alleviating the crisis. (F.R.U.S., 1963)

It seems impossible to gauge the exact impact of the Pope's message on Khrushchev's actions, but it did help create space for Soviet Premier Khrushchev to step back from confrontation while limiting his political responsibilities within the Kremlin.

To complement the above, Pope John made it clear that he feels responsible towards the souls of the peoples of all countries, and that they are equally important to him, and that his responsibility as head of the Church extends to the peoples of each country, and therefore it cannot be limited only to the peoples of countries that follow a certain ideal or political thought. Therefore, he cannot distinguish between countries or their people, saying that this “was the starting point in all his efforts for peace”. (Mohammed, 1990)

In fact, the Second Vatican Council revolutionized the style of Catholic worship, delinking it from certain sacred traditions, but also narrowing the distinctions separating Roman Catholicism from mainstream Protestantism. Although many Protestants and Jews hardly noticed the changes, Catholics themselves began to think about their faith and rituals from a new perspective. The bishops who attended the sessions hoped to complete Pope John's mission to bring the Church into modernity, and the council issued sixteen documents aimed generally at strengthening the ecumenical spirit and urging Catholics to see the world as a partner in dialogue rather than a threat to an isolated Church. Yet the changes in the liturgy were the most obvious. The priest no longer had his back to his parishioners, instead guiding them in a spirit of intimacy. In the face of this, President Kennedy lost to Pope John ((that the message of Vatican II made American Catholics more daring inside and outside their church)). This spirit was alternately reinforced in American culture, the youth culture movement and these cultural changes pushed the freedom allowed by Vatican II to its limits. (Colleen, 2001)

Pope John was aware of the differences that divide nations, but he always hoped that by urging all people and all their leaders to follow the path of truth, he could influence an understanding of where the differences occurred and thus contribute to peace in the world. His Holiness said, "It has come to him from responsible but undisclosed sources that the people of Russia are beginning to feel that the Pope is working for peace, and is therefore ready to receive Alexei Ivanovich Adzhubey, discuss his general aims with him and extend his blessing to the people of the Soviet Union. , but not to discuss domestic or international political problems of the Soviet Union)). His Holiness also stated, "That Alexei Ad Jobe, was not requested by the public, and the petition was not made by the Vatican, but arose from a general public of representatives of the press attended by Sir Alexei Ad Jobe, after which he met privately with the Pope in a private room. The Soviet Union concluded that the Pope was really working for peace. (Ghada, 2005)

It appears from this that the Pope is the peacemaker and not the weak one who has conceded to the Americans, and his role was important and perhaps decisive in reality, and that his message and the exchanges that followed, opened the bonds of détente with the Soviet Union.

Indeed, Pope John's behavior irritated the Kennedy administration. While Pope John XXIII continued to seek dialogue with the Soviets after the missile crisis, Khrushchev, in turn, appeared to have developed a genuine, if grudging, admiration for the Pope. Towards the end of 1962, Khrushchev told the Soviet premiere of Norman Cousins, editor of the Saturday Review, who for some time in the 1960s had become an unofficial liaison between the Vatican, Moscow, and Washington to which Khrushchev commented: He will never convert the Pope to communism and the Pope will never convert him to Catholicism." "It was as if strange things had happened," Khrushchev added. Five months after the missile crisis on March 7, 1963, Pope John astonished the world by welcoming Rada Khrushchev, Khrushchev's daughter. and his son-in-law, Alexei Ed Djoby, who was the editor of the main Soviet propaganda machine. The meeting was the first between a high-ranking Soviet Jesuit and the Pope, and it lasted only eighteen minutes, but for some in the Kennedy administration This was enough to suggest further papal appeasement with the Soviets. And soon Pope John was surprised again. Where his general message was issued on April 11, 1963, and the general message was a call for "Peace in the Atomic Age" just a month after the Cuban missile crisis, which brought the world to the brink of destruction, and in light of these events, the Pope sent his message The general public is not only to Catholics but to all people of good will. (F.R.U.S., 1963)

This letter included the following: "Because this is the situation, efforts must always be made, to find ways of understanding and we are sure President Kennedy was doing so, but we must also be aware of the potential for deception. And there must be compromises on issues if it is to be done." Reach agreement but there can be no compromise on Christian faith or on the apostolic faith President Kennedy and the US government are ready to explore every avenue for the peaceful settlement of the differences between the free world and the totalitarian bloc has extended to vital issues such as disarmament, nuclear testing, etc. ). Despite those many years it was blocked by the "High Secrecy Wall". erected around the Soviet state, which noted the recurring frustrations in attempts to negotiate reasonable means to verify agreements in vital areas, the excessive secrecy surrounding the introduction of the threat of nuclear missiles in Cuba, the disappointments in Laos and South Korea, and so on. Moreover, the US government realized that the Soviets, while pursuing discussions in these areas, were expanding their capabilities to

launch nuclear war and this, along with their strong refusal to verify, revealed American questions about the sincerity of the Soviet purpose. (Noureddine, 1981)

In the face of the American question, the Pope replied, "These are all real problems, but we must continue to work to solve them." To this, the response of the American administration was represented by President Kennedy's statement "that at the same time I pointed out that the class of our free society and the class of the free societies of other nations have made the Soviets know everything we are doing because we are open, not closed as they are, but they insist on maintaining this situation as if it is a stumbling block, and as we learned from our intelligence sources, they have great resources to destroy the world and they have been adding to these resources constantly. In spite of this, the Pope referred on many occasions to his general encyclical of "Peace on Earth"<sup>44</sup> in which he described the mutual recognition of rights and duties in society and expressed his happiness at their reception in all parts of the world,<sup>45</sup> especially in the United States, stressing that he had tried to write a simple, understandable and non-provocative public message that would pave the way for understanding between all people and their leaders. He added that if his principles were followed, some progress could be made, although he was aware of the obstacles mentioned earlier. (Tracey, 2003)

In response to the foregoing, the New York Times described the Pope's message as just one of many concepts in its articles that are directed at "all men of good will" "instead of only Catholics." To act, the Pope went on to enumerate many of the rights which naturally belong to all human beings, the rights of liberty and expression and freedom of worship, which bore a curious resemblance to those of the Founding Fathers of America, because they were derived from a similar understanding of human capacity for moral reasoning whereby Reason for humans to recognize some absolute truths that cannot be violated, and the recognition of these truths compels a rational person to follow their agreements and act morally. The same is true of governments made up of and for rational men: they are compelled by reason, to perceive and observe the dictates of natural law. As Father Fr Drokristiansen, former editor of America magazine, emphasized, "The message of peace on earth is considered the backbone of modern Vatican diplomacy." "It is a document of the political reality of the Church," added Christiansen. "The political theology has been established on a global basis. Now the root of everything is the person that the state has the responsibility to protect." In fact, the message of Peace on Earth emphasized the Church's participation in the human rights movement. Until April 1963, President Kennedy had steadfastly avoided giving any hint that he was listening to the Pope but the message of Peace on Earth prompted Kennedy to speak, saying, "As a Catholic I am proud of it, and as an American I have left him." (Kadhim, 2020)

In the midst of these events, specifically in June 1963, the world was surprised by the news of the death of Pope John XXIII after a long struggle with stomach cancer. The Pope who made some important moves to stop the Cold War. The reaction from all over the world was unprecedented. The statement made by the then Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, represents the best picture of Pope John's character, saying: "The life of the noblest person I knew has ended. Everyone who saw the death of Pope John XXIII deeply felt that it was a symbol of universality, peace and harmony." ... In defining himself unreservedly with the cause of peace and international understanding, Pope John XXIII has become the embodiment of the special aspirations of mankind in this uncertain period of history) (Maureen, 2002).

It is evident from this that the term of Pope John XXIII's pontificate was a period of increasing tensions of the Cold War and the race of great powers to develop nuclear weapons that would lead to the destruction of the world. However, the Pope was a wise man who was able through his pleas for peace that witnessed a remarkable change in the world in those years. Nowhere was the change more evident than in the relationship between the United States and the Catholic Church, as the United States finally got rid of the anti-Catholic prejudices that plagued it from the start. Finally, the Church transcended the royalist and anti-liberal tendencies that prevented it from embracing the same rights whose history and theology had first supported it, and each was in a position to recognize the best in the other. The theology of Catholicism and the ideals of the United States is wonderfully reconciled.

On June 21, 1963, Cardinal Montini Battista was elected a new pope in the name of Paul VI 50 and that the appointment of the new pope did not cause much turmoil in the relationship between the Vatican and the United States of America because Pope Paul VI indicated in his speech on June 22 that he would complete What the previous Pope John XXIII started and keeping the decisions of Vatican II unchanged.<sup>51</sup> US President Kennedy learned of Pope John's death when he was on a visit to Ireland, after which he was going to visit Europe. The Vatican was scheduled to visit on July 2, and accordingly the CIA quickly provided Kennedy with details about the new pope and his political relations with the Christian Democratic Party, and Pope Paul specifically took the initiative the evening after his election to summon the Archbishop of Boston. Cardinal Richard Cushing to find out what topics he thinks President Kennedy would like to discuss with him. Cushing advised him not to discuss any case used as political propaganda against the (Catholic White House). Such as Catholic schools and the issue of race, and not to address domestic politics in the United States of America and focus in the talks on the subject of world peace. The Pope had decided to invite Kennedy to his official inauguration. But this decision scared President Kennedy and considered it a bad idea because he avoided any public honoring of the Catholic Church. (Ann, 2006)

In light of that scheduled time for Kennedy's arrival in Rome, specifically Tuesday July 2, 1963, Kennedy was received with all the warmth and honor of the people of the Vatican, as the crowds lined up on both sides of the road to welcome him. But it was especially meaningful to him. 55

However, the situation soon became turbulent in the United States following the assassination of President Kennedy on November 22, 1963, in Dallas, Texas. The country mourned the young president. On Monday, November 25, 1963, a state funeral for President John F. Kennedy was held at the Cathedral of St. Matthew the Apostle. With Kennedy's death, a page of American-Papal rapprochement turned. (France, 2014)

## **2. The impact of the Vietnamese issue on the US-Papal relations.**

After the assassination of President Kennedy, Vice President Kennedy came to power, Lyndon Johnson, who succeeded him in the presidency on November 22, 1963. During his rule, the United States experienced turmoil due to the war in Southeast Asia (Vietnam), which in turn affected President Johnson's policy towards the Vatican. Outwardly, he seemed influenced by President Wilson's policy towards the Vatican and rejected papal intervention as a distraction in a time of crisis. Efforts were not made to establish formal or informal diplomatic relations. Nevertheless, the Pope had special accounts in Johnson's policy and this was revealed by the US State Department documents, although a few US foreign policy initiatives were undertaken without consulting with the Vatican. However, the issue of Vietnam was the main topic and

concern of the Pope. Accordingly, the representative of the Holy See informed the US administration that “the Pope was very concerned about the events in Southeast Asia and the Pope was afraid that the gravity and accuracy of the situation would lead to a general war.” (Christina, 2015)

It turns out that the violence practiced by the United States in Vietnam greatly disturbed the Pope because the population of South Vietnam, including about 1.6 million Catholic Christians, and many Catholics immigrated from North Vietnam to the South after the occupation of the Communist Party (Viet Minh) and its control over the part Northern. At that time the United States was already involved in the war. Accordingly, on October 4, 1965, the Pope made a short but historic visit<sup>64</sup> to the headquarters of the United Nations (United Nations Organization) in New York, in which the Pope announced, saying, “A visit to America cannot happen.” However, he considered Himself he is visiting an international body on the territory of a particular country. (France, 2014)

In light of this, and with the Pope's arrival at Kennedy Airport in New York, Paul was the first pope in history to visit the United States. Millions of New Yorkers lined up to catch a glimpse of the Pope's procession, and the focus of Pope Paul's visit was a speech at the United Nations entitled "No More War." It is he who must direct the destiny of people and all mankind)) He called for relations between nations to be governed by reason, justice, law and negotiation rather than war and violence.<sup>69</sup> Pope Paul then met with President Johnson for 45 minutes, not only New York was affected by the visit, as James Reston confirmed James Reston (70) of the Newspaper new York times, a hard-line journalist ("that the Pope gave Washington politicians a vision of common human cooperation, shook the city at least a few moments"), was the pope's simple call for peace, as emphasized by Reston. <sup>71</sup> It may turn out that the Pope's visit to the United Nations will be in Washington's favour, because Johnson and his staff are familiar with Paul VI's popularity, especially since Washington considers the Catholic Church an important source of information on all that is to come from the world. (John C. , 2004)

By December 8, 1965, the end of the second Vatican meeting meant the return of the bishops and theologians from Rome to their local churches. Due to the occurrence of certain interpretations of the Second Vatican Council, the misperception of sociological concepts, the exacerbation of the secular Catholic schism, the contradiction of the new focus of the Vatican with foreign policies, the inability of the Council to maintain its control over the hard work of the clergy and ordinary people in a way that depends on the previous temporal authority of the Pope. The internal affairs of the United States would pit American Catholics against their spiritual leader if they were not sincere. (Salah, 2013)

Based on this and during 1966, the Pope made an extra effort to bring peace between the United States and Vietnam by persuading North Vietnamese President Ho Chi Minh to hold peace talks with the United States and suggested that the Vatican be the venue for these talks. The United States suspended aerial bombardment for more than a month to show goodwill, but this backfired, as Hanoi <sup>76</sup> took advantage of this period to mobilize its forces and prepare for more attacks that cost the United States more losses. This coincided with the increase in anti-war rallies, which increased in The American president was embarrassed when she described that period as the dark days in the Johnson administration, and after Johnson and his advisors became desperate to end the war, and with few and dwindling options, they turned to Pope Paul VI for help (Norman, 2012).

This led him to state that “the continuing and fierce aggression of the Viet Minh from North Vietnam was identified as the root cause of the problem in Southeast Asia” and the Pope attempted to calm the situation by declaring that the actions of the United States government were carefully controlled and would be measured and moderated. It turns out that Johnson was determined to convince the Pope that he would "do everything in his power to avoid any wider war." However, it appears that North Vietnamese leaders would have preferred death to surrender, which would eventually lead to the United States. The US escalated the war instead of limiting it, which Johnson justified, saying, “the need to contain the progress of the Viet Minh and preserve the independence of South Vietnam.” Among Johnson's initiatives to stop the war, he offered Ho Chi Minh a "billion dollar" development plan for Southeast Asia in exchange for peace. Two days after Johnson's speech, the Pope declined to advise him but stressed his continuing concern about the situation in Southeast Asia. The Pope's goal was to bring peace, to end war and its scourge, and to work for the well-being of the peoples of Asia. The unsigned Vatican memorandum submitted to the US Embassy in Rome contained more specific concerns of concern and fear for the fate of the Catholic population, not only because of the hostile attitude of the Viet Minh but also because of the possible opposition of Buddhists. After that, the US administration suspended the bombing campaign and the Pope immediately proposed arbitration between the two countries by neutral countries under the auspices of the United Nations. (Massimo, 2012)

The Pope's pacifist stance reflected the Pope's growing concern and his efforts to mediate the dispute.<sup>79</sup> Although President Johnson described the Pope's arbitration proposal as diplomatic and interesting, he preferred to bring North Vietnam to the table of the UN Security Council 80 an initiative that was doomed to failure. Accordingly, Johnson issued orders to resume the aerial bombardment, justifying this by Hanoi's intransigence and promised to send evidence to the Pope of North Vietnamese military activity during the suspension of the bombing, and in an attempt for Johnson to gain the support of the Pope for the position of the United States in the Vietnam War because Johnson knew the importance of the main role of the Vatican in international affairs. Or at least to get his help easing international tensions. Accordingly, and without Johnson's knowledge, the Pope had already begun to enact the role of bishops in Cambodia, at the United Nations, and elsewhere in an effort to achieve a ceasefire.<sup>81</sup>

It seems that the United States was more interested in obtaining the Pope's support to legitimize its strategy rather than listening to his political advice because the Johnson administration was sensitive to the Pope's criticism of the open fighting of the United States of America in Southeast Asia.

Accordingly, on May 3, 1966, the US administration sent its ambassador to South Vietnam, Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., to the Vatican to explain himself the policy of the US administration to the Holy Pope. Lodge argued that "the North Vietnamese believe they will win not because of US military weakness, but because Hanoi, believes the US administration lacks the will to win. Hanoi interprets pleas for peace as a sign of weakness. This is largely due to an Eastern mentality." With the communist build-up)) Lodge then pressured the Pope to stop sending any peace appeal to North Vietnam because "such calls can actually prolong the war", but the Pope did not respond to this criticism. Lodge noted that the Pope "looked impressed and understood that the real problem was a lack of Hanoi's desire for peace rather than a lack of channels of communication." (Luke A., 2020)

In light of this, it appears that the meeting between Ambassador Lodge and Pope Paul VI on January 16, 1967, demonstrated to what extent the Vatican's faith in Washington's moral cause persisted, with limited criticism of the American bombing even before Lodge began talking. Our cause in the world)) The Pope was apparently convinced that the US administration had a "strong case" and was morally right as the Pope, speaking to Lodge, "recommended that the Vietnam issue should be better and concretely defined, and suggested that the bombing be suspended and that action be multilateral but without getting a positive response)). Then Lodge spoke, "The loss of Vietnam would mean that all Catholics would be killed, and the consequences for Catholics in the countries on the edge of East Asia would be very precarious." The Pope agreed to this proposal, but the United States did not take the advice because it did not suit its international interests.

On the other hand, specifically in May 1967, Pope Paul VI expressed his explicit position on Vietnam. And his quest to achieve peace and end the conflict, as he took the initiative to send envoys to the concerned parties and offered his willingness to be a mediator. The Pope spoke with a group of Vietnamese officers, explaining that "it is necessary for the bombing to stop at the same time as stopping the leakage of weapons and war materials to the south." ). The Pope encouraged the efforts of men of goodwill for peace, and was ready to offer any cooperation on his part. While others directed that the activities of the Vatican may be of interest to the US administration because the Holy See maintains friendly and respectful relations with all parties, but all of these things did not achieve any tangible progress on the issue of Vietnam. (F.R.U.S., 1969)

On December 23, 1967, President Johnson visited the Vatican after inspecting US forces in South Vietnam, and then set off for Rome. . When they arrived in Italy, the presidential plane landed at Ciampino Maritime Airport in Rome, 86 and after a quick official call with Italian President (Giuseppe Saragat) 87 and Prime Minister (Aldo Moro), Johnson quickly went to the Vatican. The meeting between Johnson and the Pope took place inside the Apostolic Palace of the Pope. (Emilio, 1978)

During the meeting, both sides were clearly disturbed by the differing views on the bombing of North Vietnam. While Johnson did not hide his annoyance at Pope Paul VI's growing public criticism of the US administration's handling of the war in Vietnam, Vatican officials were alarmed by the lack of kindness on the part of Johnson, who asked to meet the Pope during Christmas in such a short event during One of the decrees of the Supreme Pontiff. (James, 2015)

The meeting was held exactly before 9:00 pm, and the American president began to speak, stating and assuring the Pope that he wanted peace in Vietnam. He had two requests, one of which was that the Vatican send a representative of American prisoners to North Vietnam, in the hope of obtaining more humane treatment for American prisoners of war. The other request, apparently the main reason for the visit, was to ask for the Pope's help in getting the government of South Vietnam and the government of the Viet Cong to sit in informal talks, without the interference of North Vietnam and the United States. The Pope had his own agenda at the meeting as he wanted Johnson to stop the bombing of North Vietnam. (France, 2014)

In light of this, the Pope clarified his position that he could not agree to the war, noting that he had received letters from prominent figures calling on him to stop the bombing and that he did not agree to the idea that the bombing was a means to defend freedom. He demanded to stop the war and made it clear to the US President that these methods would not lead him to his expected

goal, but rather would lead to the expansion and intensity of the war. Because North Vietnam is supported by superpowers, the Pope called on the president to make this war defensive, not offensive.

It seems from this that the Vatican has reached a conviction that there are common points between it and the US administration, because they seek to achieve peace, and that the US administration is serious about that. While the Vatican noticed that the military situation was forced to see some things in a different light from the US administration. (A. Alexander, 2018)

In light of this, the Pope offered assistance to President Johnson. "Can I be your go-between? 96 I can say I know what the United States sees. It is true that they really want peace. Can you give me your assurances of this?" Johnson reminded the Pope that "every time he stopped the bombing in the past, North Vietnam used the pause to its tactical advantage." "We've stopped bombing five times, but that increases the killing," the Pope replied, "I think it's important for you to give new aspects to this war to make it more defensive rather than offensive. That would enhance your moral standing in the world." He repeatedly hoped that Pope Paul VI would intervene in South Vietnam. The Pope worked with familiar persistence with Washington politicians who objected to Johnson's policy as it was known in the halls of Congress. "I hope the Pope will encourage them to speak up, just as the Pope encouraged me to pass his education bills. We are now spending another \$9 billion on education, and the Pope can claim some responsibility for that)). "I think I can do something," said the Pope with a smile. Johnson emphasized again before the meeting ended, "I don't want to press this point but I wanted to know if I could suppose that the Pope would try to bring the South Vietnamese into informal talks. He would immediately help solve the prisoners' problem." He replied. The Pope said, "I will do everything possible because this issue is close to my heart." At the end of the meeting between Pope Paul and President Johnson, he acknowledged the fact that Christmas was two days later and after that they exchanged gifts. Pope Paul gave President Johnson a Christmas plaque, and presented Johnson offered the Pope a chest and as soon as he opened it revealed a bronze statue. Nevertheless, the Pope smiled and kindly thanked the President. (France, 2014)

It seems that President Johnson, through his meeting with the Pope, expressed his concern over the conflict in Vietnam, and that concern increased when the danger of the war increased and the heavy losses suffered by the American army at the hands of the North Vietnamese increased, so Johnson had no choice but to accept the *fait accompli*.

By March 1968, after President Johnson withdrew from the US presidential race, he announced an immediate reduction in the bombing campaign, followed by a complete cessation of the bombing, which became effective on November 1, and Pope Paul VI expressed his deep joy to stop the bombing. On March 15, 1968, the US administration expressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations its hope to find a peaceful settlement of the Vietnamese issue, and to end the conflict in it as proposed by Thant. That organization is not from the United States. (Kadhim, 2020)

Based on the foregoing, the decision to stop the sudden bombing taken by President Johnson is not out of affection or surrender to the opinion of the Pope, but because of the devastating attack launched by the Viet Cong during the months of January and February of 1968, which included more than a hundred cities and towns in South Vietnam, where the conviction of the The US President that such attacks could not be stopped by aerial bombardment Johnson then allowed Robert Kennedy, to present himself as a credible alternative on the anti-war platform, facilitating

the downfall of President Johnson. It is worth noting that the Holy See not only pressured the American side to stop the bombing, but also pressured North Vietnam to stop the attacks on the south, and the Pope showed great support and sympathy with the American administration's decision to stop the bombing. (Daryl, 2006)

After that, the Pope encouraged peace talks in South Vietnam, which prompted the North Vietnamese government to negotiate with the US administration. As for President Johnson, meanwhile, he expressed his unwillingness to obtain the Democratic nomination for the presidency, but his desire was to end the war, demonstrating this to the American people and to the goal of achieving peace. In late April 1968, President Johnson ordered his aide, Joseph A. Califano Jr., a Catholic, to contact the Apostolic Delegate to the United States, Archbishop Luigi Raimondi, to ask if the Pope was still willing to be. The Vatican is a place for peace talks. As he did in the past. The Vatican responded on April 27, 1968, to Califano: that the Pope would be pleased to extend an invitation to both the American administration and the government of North Vietnam. In light of this, President Johnson considered the Pope's invitation "a beautiful message." It appears from this that the invitation was also a clever diplomatic method, benefiting from the "soft power" of the Holy See, as Johnson undoubtedly intended and the Pope certainly understood. Either North Vietnam agrees to participate in peace talks or Washington can show the world that it is more willing than Hanoi to come to the negotiating table, giving the United States a high moral standing in world opinion. Less than a week later, on May 3, 1968, Hanoi agreed to negotiate. The North Vietnamese preferred to hold talks at a (secular) venue rather than the Vatican, which led to a relocation to Paris. Nevertheless, the Pope's call fulfilled its purpose. The peace talks in Paris were long, and it took a long time to reach a truce. (France, 2014)

It is evident from the foregoing that the US administration has tried to show itself that it wants peace, which might gain it a moral standing before the world and put North Vietnam in an embarrassing position if it did not agree to this invitation.

In light of this, the US administration began to adopt a new policy known as "maximum frankness" when the US administration became more deeply and directly involved in the war on Vietnam during the era of President Johnson, and this new policy formed the basis for the information policy until the US forces began their gradual withdrawal from Vietnam in 1969. (Mitchell K., 2002)

Although the Pope was disappointed that he would be the man who would end the Vietnam War, he was not the Pope's last deportation. Even if the war could not advance the goals of the Vatican at the time, it was still possible to develop a working relationship with the Johnson administration. They could have requested a favor at another time. Or otherwise take advantage of the relationship of mutual respect between the Pope and the President. And when the Johnson administration could not win in Vietnam because it was politically impossible to send an additional million troops, the United States could not withdraw just because that would require admitting mistakes that have already cost hundreds of thousands of lives. It seems that the only alternative left is to fight. Some may think that the Johnson administration has been defeated in the war, and the reason for this feeling is the failure to nominate President Johnson for a second. However, President Johnson's announcement on March 31, 1968, that he would not seek re-election, or his desire to run for a second presidency, gave the relationship between him and the Vatican a lot of coolness and unwillingness to develop, because he was no longer interested in the votes of Catholic voters. (John C., 2004)

It is clear from this that the Pope wanted to establish close relations with the United States and use its global standing to advance the interests of the Vatican. Although the United States was initially unwilling, President Lyndon Johnson continued Kennedy's policy of repudiating diplomatic relations with the Holy See. But the emergence of the Vatican as a diplomatic player on the world stage created a conviction in President Johnson and his administration that standing with the Pope and using the influence of the Catholic Church would be useful in implementing its own, foreign and domestic policy goals, and would be a powerful tool in implementing their administrative goals locally and internationally, and that this desire to benefit from Supporting the Pope would lead to a bipolar relationship with him. On the one hand, Johnson described himself as respecting the moral proposition of the leader of world peace, and on the other hand would undermine some sources of the Pope's authority to strengthen certain policy initiatives. At first promising to benefit, it eventually proved ineffective not because of the details of the Vietnam War itself, but because of certain interpretations of the Second Vatican Council, interpretations of Washington, the growing secular Catholic schism, and the discredit of the United States in negotiating peace in Vietnam.

In conclusion, it can be noted that the period from 1961 to 1969 represented the diplomatic neglect by the US administration towards the Vatican, although relations between them were somewhat silent with the presence of exchange visits between President Kennedy Johnson and the Pope. This can be attributed to the reluctance of the presidents who took power in the United States, Kennedy and Johnson, to formalize relations with the Vatican, especially Kennedy, who brought back the issue of discrimination against the Catholic Church at that time. However, the Holy See continued to exercise their influence in international politics and the openness of the Catholic Church to the world after the reforms of the Second Vatican Council.

### **3. The restoration of diplomatic relations between the United States of America and the Vatican during the Nixon era.**

When Richard Nixon came to power and assumed the US presidency on January 20, 1969, he set about establishing new relations with the Vatican. Nixon clearly sought to improve relations with the Vatican and the Catholic Church. In light of this, President Nixon worked to prepare for a meeting with the Pope. Indeed, the President met in Rome with government officials in Italy and then returned on March 2, 1969, with Secretary of State William P. Rogers and National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger met with the Pope and Vatican officials on the final part of his intense eight-day European tour of Western Europe, and it is quite clear the importance Nixon gave in his meeting with Pope Paul VI. Nixon met the Pope privately for an hour and a quarter, and they discussed tensions and the US war in Vietnam, and Nixon showed a strong desire to court the Pope. The meeting was important in several respects. (Kristin E.,2007)

The president pledged that he would "do everything" to end the war in Vietnam through negotiations and achieve a just peace, and the Pope expressed the hope that the president would take into account during the negotiations the Christian communities, especially the Catholics in South Vietnam, who were from the middle and upper classes in the event that they were There is an undesirable settlement, they may be killed. Nixon assured the Pope that the United States could not quickly abandon South Vietnam or make peace that would condemn these people to death. She reiterated a memorandum delivered by the Pope to President Nixon in the Vatican's desire for a solution consistent with justice and the people's legitimate aspirations for freedom and independence. It commended the continuous cessation of bombing and expressed its regret for

the continuation of the war in South Vietnam and the infliction of many unarmed civilian casualties despite the complex and difficult negotiations witnessed by the Paris Peace Conference to resolve the Vietnamese issue.

On the other hand, Nixon replied to the Pope, "The urgent goal of 1969, is to end the war in Vietnam, which must be a great achievement and eliminate the chaos caused by President Kennedy and the Democrats, and there will be hope to build a foundation for the new world." (Christopher M, 2016)

On the other hand, the Pope expressed to the American president his confidence in the wisdom of all parties and their desire to "re-engage in a constructive dialogue" and conveyed to him the fears and concerns of Christians in South Vietnam and asked the US administration to provide them with "special care" for their freedom and independence. Americans were targets of Nixon's campaign to end the war in Vietnam to gain more domestic moral support in his 1969 speech on the "silent majority" in which President Nixon blamed public anti-war demonstrations on a vociferous minority opposed by the silent majority, and Nixon asked the Pope for united support to end the war in a way that could Through which peace is consolidated in the region. (A. Alexander, 2018)

It is clear from this that the Vatican's position was to resolve the conflict, recognize and respect the rights of Christians, and guarantee the full religious freedom of the Catholic Church in Vietnam, which is why the Pope so strove to uphold Nixon's vision of an honorable peace.

Before the president left the Vatican, he told the Pope, "All that the world needs today is the spiritual and moral leadership that your Holiness defended." Pope Paul VI responded to President Nixon's statement, "We are very pleased and grateful that you have made this visit the conclusion of your hard work journey through Europe, and I have indeed had the honor of your visit." My personal appreciation for the time when you have had to talk to me about some of the major issues of concern to the world, especially issues which are of concern, whether by temporal and spiritual leaders, and which are cause for concern, or which we may be able to resolve in an atmosphere of peace. When his visit with the Pope ended, Nixon, his entourage, and the Pope left and went to visit the members of the North American College, where he was warmly received by the American seminarians and nuns who joined that private Pontifical College. (James, 2015)

In fact, Nixon took office and laid out detailed plans for the future of the United States, and he was seeking in his foreign policy with his National Security Adviser, Dr. Henry Kissinger, to find a more stable and interconnected world, and Nixon wanted to achieve many of his foreign policy goals, Nixon later wrote ( (The settlement in Vietnam was the key to everything)) Ending the war was also essential to achieving peace at home, as a social goal. The turmoil within the United States of America provoked by the Vietnam War reached its last extent, but the United States could not extricate itself from Vietnam Unilateral ie through immediate withdrawal. Nixon believed that such a measure would have amounted to an admission of defeat and would have harmed the standing of the United States and its leadership around the world, as if in recognition that the war was a mistake. to defend itself. (Christopher M, 2016)

Subsequently, the assistant to the President, Peter Flanigan, met with the Apostolic delegate in Washington to speak with him to request moral support from the Pope to the United States in Vietnam, on the grounds that it was the only acceptable position, but the Holy See refused to meet that request. Nevertheless, the Apostolic delegate to Flanigan confirmed The Holy Father and the Vatican fully sympathize with the president's position and goals and share a commitment

to defend the fundamental rights of the South Vietnamese. However, the Pope was unable to make a favorable statement out of concern about the impact of such a statement on Americans who were in favor of an immediate withdrawal. After the Pope's position, Flannigan felt upset and resentful, especially since the latter believed that the Pope was using the veto (The Veto) over his statements. (Hisham, 2015)

It is clear that the reign of Pope Paul VI represented a continuity for the Holy See to follow Catholic teachings about peace during the Vietnam War but with great caution, and that its preference for a bilateral solution as opposed to an immediate solution, aroused the gratitude of the US administration and conflicted with the interests of both North Vietnam and the American liberal anti-war movement. The two parties agreed on their desire for a just and honorable peace to be reached in Vietnam, as the Pope's goal was to preserve the Catholic Christians in South Vietnam, and that a negotiated diplomatic solution would guarantee their freedom and safety and not an unconditional American withdrawal that would cause their death and destruction. In this position, the Pope considered himself a personal friend, not a political ally, of the United States. (A. Alexander, 2018)

After that, President Nixon decided to raise diplomatic relations between the United States and the Holy See to a level similar to what it was under President Roosevelt. At the President's desire to send a representative to the Vatican, Mr. Kissinger called Archbishop Terence Cook of New York, on behalf of President Nixon, and said, "I have called on behalf of the President to ask you a sensitive question that it is the President's intent to have Personal representative to the Vatican and there are many reasons for the foreign policy of the Vatican that we are interested in sharing with him, but we have received a great deal of advice that His Holiness Roman Catholics resent doing this? The current situation and I did not know where you got this information)). "I got this information from a priest and a common man," said the minister, "but instead of these words, I think it is better to speak with the Archbishop." Cook replied, "The issue of sending an ambassador to the Vatican has not been discussed for the past 10 years, and discussions have not taken place yet." The latter added, "If the president decides to do something in this area, I think His Holiness will be very grateful and that his reaction is far from negative and must be positive." Kissinger replied, "It is purely foreign policy, and we achieve it in any way that shows." Then Cook asked Kissinger to give him some time. He also added, "I know that the matter was on the President's mind as he once mentioned it to me at the inaugural lunch." After that, the Secretary of State said, "The President has good feelings for you," and the Archbishop replied, "He will check the reaction." The Holy See is quietly at the moment in reaction to the last time there was a representative and that I will call tomorrow to give you the answer, and I hope you will convey to the President my best wishes." (A. Alexander, 2018)

Indeed, the next day, Cook called Kissinger and said, "He has twice revised the reaction regarding His Holiness's position on the offer of the American presidency, and that this matter is welcome." More satisfactory to them is that the appointment should be at the level of an ambassador." He also added, "The purpose of appointing an ambassador to the Vatican during the era of previous presidents is to obtain a listening job, not access to information. It must help us in our understanding of the world and what we are trying to do about world peace around the world." "That's exactly what presidents think," replied Kissinger. The Archbishop remarked, "We can't question the president's preference for one over the other." Then the Secretary of State asked him, "How can we avoid that question?" Cook replied, "In the way the president does, appointing

an ambassador-style envoy to avoid what presidents do." In the previous)). After that, Cook asked Kissinger if there was anything else he should do, or should we leave it at that, Kissinger replied, "The issue of sending the ambassador to the Vatican will be announced after President Nixon returns from Europe." Cook replied, "That would be better." ( IBP.USA, 2007)

After making the contacts, the president made the decision to restore relations with the Vatican by sending an envoy. President Nixon chose "Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr." President Nixon called Lodge and said, "We invite you to dinner, and I hope you'll lead my way." Lodge replied, "I am." I am happy and honored." Then the president spoke to him that he would move to Rome in a few days for the future of the United States and it would take a week or so and then we would have your credentials.

Accordingly, on June 5, 1970, President Nixon appointed Henry Cabot Lodge as Special Envoy to the Holy See, and the President stated, "He will send Henry Cabot to the Vatican from time to time." ). (James, 2015)

Lodge presented his credentials as Nixon's special envoy to the Vatican on July 4, 1970. Lodge did not settle in Rome permanently, but regularly visited the Vatican in his capacity as an envoy, and he made his residence at the Grand Place Hotel Rome, which is located opposite the US Embassy in Rome in the Via Veneto region. This was an encouraging start that resulted in the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two parties, and it appears that this diplomatic relationship made it easier for representatives of the Vatican to take an active role in issues such as the war in Vietnam, improving the conditions of prisoners and securing their eventual return. At the time, Lodge was not fully accredited to the Vatican, did not operate an embassy or diplomatic facility in Rome, and had no permanent staff. "This mission was new and unprecedented since the last time the United States was represented at the Vatican by Myron Taylor in World War II under conditions difficult to compare," wrote Lodge, describing his situation. (Luke A., 2020)

He worked with Lodge as a small team, and among his accomplishments was that he resolved a matter related to Cardinal Joseph Mindzenti, the issue that was a point of contention between President Nixon and the Pope. Mindzenti had been a refugee inside the US Embassy in Budapest, Hungary, since 1956, which He was an unwelcome guest there and an obstacle to the détente that both the Pope and the President sought. However, Lodge was able to negotiate with Mendeztny until he persuaded him to leave the US embassy in Budapest. While Lodge worked with the Holy See to secure Catholic holy sites in Jerusalem, he worked with the Vatican to obtain better contacts with American prisoners of war in Vietnam. (France, 2014)

Lodge had planned to visit the Vatican several times a year on a personal basis, despite visits previously approved with the White House. The Vatican was keen to develop it. It may appear that the advantage of remaining as an envoy of a higher diplomatic status to the Vatican made the Lodge above an ordinary ambassador and affairs were conducted clandestinely and was the link between the Lodge and agencies such as the Bureau of State for Near Eastern Affairs, the Bureau of Latin American Affairs, and the Agency for Arms Control and Disarmament. Lodge was able to boast of many bilateral achievements, and this is what he indicated in his correspondence with the White House, explaining, "We have worked with the Vatican on a treaty aimed at preventing the spread of nuclear weapons, and we have worked together to provide economic and social assistance to some developing countries, as well as explaining to the Vatican." About the US administration's attempts to curb the international drug trade)) Lodge

also clarified in his correspondence about the positive role of the Vatican to work with the French government to curb heroin smuggling through the main port of Marseille. The latter added that during many talks in the Vatican, "I was able to get a clear picture of the positions of the Holy See on far-reaching issues such as the problems of the Middle East, the Salt Talks, the status of Jerusalem, European security, and religious problems in Poland and Czechoslovakia." (Mark J.,2018)

There were rumors about the Lodge mission that President Nixon was about to establish some kind of official relationship with the Holy See, a position that was opposed by the major Protestant groups. Despite the denial of these rumors, the protests continued against that formal appointment, mainly. It appeared that the selection of Lodge as a former ambassador to South Vietnam indicated that the United States was afraid that the Pope would openly oppose the American policy in Vietnam. Despite the public backlash that resulted, President Nixon made it clear that his motivation for this important step was that the United States had held close consultations with the Vatican on foreign policy matters in which the Vatican had the greatest interest and influence (James, 2015).

Subsequently, on September 28, 1970, President Nixon visited the Vatican again and met the Pope for more than an hour, during which they discussed efforts to bring peace, not only to Vietnam, but also to the Middle East. It is worth noting that both the Soviet Union and the United States had requested the support of the Holy See in this regard. Accordingly, in November 1970, the Pope received the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Andrei Gromyko, for 80 minutes, the same time that he received Nixon. The humble reception he gave Nixon last September. This was Gromyko's second visit to the Pope. It seemed clear that the position of the Holy See in global affairs has changed dramatically and gradually, especially in light of the direction of the US administration to grant it greater recognition. (Mark J., 2018)

Despite all of the above, the most important issue for which President Nixon had sent Lodge repeatedly to the Vatican was the issue of Vietnam, and it seems that Lodge was unable to handle the issue with the Vatican properly, which led to the Vatican's criticism of the American administration. The criticism was not public, but Lodge was unable to contain the criticism of the Vatican. In light of this, President Nixon was upset with Lodge, telling Kissinger, "I'm really tired of Lodge. I sent him to the Vatican to find a solution to the Vietnam issue, but he shot him there with the Pope." It is worth noting that Lodge's mission was not always easy, and Nixon's visit to the Vatican in September 1970 was not meaningful and useful because of the differences over Vietnam. A useful partner in the Cold War and would be on par with the United States on many other issues." He added, "The Vatican supports contact with the Soviet bloc as well as U.S. arms control efforts and talks with the Soviet Union. The human side of their plight is in contrast to its tactical value. He concluded his message, "I believe that this relationship was certainly in our national interest." (Henry, 2010)

Kissinger indicated that Nixon was committed to putting an end to the war as quickly as possible in the sense that he had personally alerted Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko at the end of September 1972, but that this was the last chance to end the war before the US presidential election.

It appears that President Nixon continued to send an envoy to the Vatican despite a breakthrough that led to a short lull in the Cold War. However, this did not prevent the Soviet Union from developing its capabilities and pushing its influence to wider areas. Which led to anxiety in a way

that strained the relationship between the Vatican and the United States somewhat because of the Vatican's criticism of the United States in the wake of the continuation of the Vietnam War, because Nixon and Kissinger believed that national self-interest and the relations of major powers are the only real considerations of foreign policy, but that did not prevent Nixon from To stress establishing relations with the Vatican and consolidating his position through his visit to the Pope, because he sees the relationship with the Vatican very useful because it enhances the confidence and reassurance of the Vatican's General Secretariat towards the US administration, because the latter appreciates the relationship, especially the Vatican's assistance to them in the past regarding the issue of prisoners of war in Vietnam . The president was of the opinion that contact with the Vatican would add a local revenue that would strengthen his domestic policy.

Based on that, and after Nixon won a second term of office, relations were resumed again with the Holy See. On July 6, 1974, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger met with the Pope and Archbishop Agostino Casaroli, the Vatican's Secretary of State and translator, Monsignor Justin Rigali, and Ambassador Lodge, the Envoy. The meeting lasted for an hour, and the Pope appeared to be interested in listening to the minister. He began by thanking the minister, expressing his confidence in the representatives of the American side and his confidence in the American administration. The Pope commended the minister's activities for peace and the attention he paid in his judgment to methods and systems, adding, "The minister is a man who does not only wait for peace but works for achievements with regard to Vietnam, the Soviet Union, China and the Middle East. One can indeed call the minister a doctor of peace." He intends to keep the Pope more informed in the future than the United States has done in the past. He expressed his hope that "the Pope will tell us what the Vatican or the United States can do to advance peace." He added, "We are facing these problems in the Middle East as a result of the first reasons: that the Arabs did not give up their occupied lands, and secondly: that the political structure of Israel does not Flexibility is allowed. Moreover, Israel has used its influence in the United States to prevent promising peace initiatives from taking place. One thing is clear and the core of our policy must be the United States must always tell everyone that the latter is not proposing anything and has not been implemented as it should, and Israel must not believe Its security depends exclusively on military methods in coming to Jerusalem," he added, adding that this was "at the end of the operation that began in the Middle East." Then the Pope intervened. ((Jerusalem is sensitive and important to us)) In the meantime, a number of religious sects requested that the minister be given a memorandum regarding Jerusalem, but it seemed clear that he was on a mission and did not take any action on the memorandum, and Kissinger commented on that, "It is time to consider Jerusalem It has not yet matured and that the borders must be settled first." The Pope replied, "I am afraid that if the issue of Jerusalem comes last, it may repeat what happened before, and therefore this must be done simultaneously with the settlement of the West Bank problem, and he admitted that there is no permanent solution." for the Palestinian cause without Jerusalem). The Pope conveyed requests he received from African and Arab countries regarding refugees. He also received requests from Lebanon requesting the intervention of the Pope and expressed that he feared Lebanon's absorption of refugees. As a result, Archbishop Cassaroli intervened and said, "Lebanon is basically a Western country, and it is much more important than what its size indicates." The minister replied, "The United States is committed to preserving Lebanon's internal entity, but the situation is very difficult for the Israelis because these terrorist raids and bloodbaths are taking place in Lebanon." "The United States intends to establish political contact with the

Palestinians next month, and I am confident that we will be able to help Lebanon," he added. The Pope commented, "Revenge provokes more revenge, and the greater the revenge, the more feelings are united against the Israelis." On the other hand, the minister said, "We support any appeal that is directed to both sides." The Pope replied, smiling, "In this case, we will be allied with you." The minister repeated, "We are doing our best to preserve Lebanon's independence, because it is important for the balance of the entire Mediterranean region, and the way in which the balance between two completely different religions in Lebanon is worth saving." He also pointed out that "if Lebanon manages to rein in the Israelis and intends to build a separation fence, this must make the matter more difficult, and accordingly, a general solution to the Palestinian issue must be found in the end." In the aftermath, Kissinger raised another issue when he pointed out that "there are places in the Mediterranean region other than the Middle East that were of great concern to us" and specifically focused on Italy by saying that "the United States is totally opposed to any opening to the left in It was evident that Archbishop Cassaroli was greatly affected by this announcement. The Pope commented, "We ask the United States to be very patient with Europe." The minister replied, "We support European unity and believe that the advent of a new French president must remove the difficulties which On the other hand, the Pope referred to the situation in the African continent and commented, "The President of Zambia Kaunda, has asked me to present a letter to the Minister concerning the development of a new and peaceful relationship between Portugal and the African colonies." The minister replied "The United States supports harmony between Portugal, Mozambique and the rest of Africa," and he concluded his meeting with the Pope, "It is possible to achieve a revolution there without bloodshed." (Dredd, 2014)

Then, for nearly two years, Nixon had concealed what had happened at Watergate 150 from the judges, Congress, and the American people, after which he was accused of spying on the US Democratic Party headquarters in 1972, in Watergate, California. His popularity began to crumble when Congress learned of the scandal from a Nixon aide, who had recorded nearly every conversation in the Oval Office, and five of the perpetrators were arrested, who admitted collaborating with Nixon. As a result, the president submitted his resignation on August 8, 1974, when he decided to act on the advice of his Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, that his resignation was the best for the country. (Margaret, 2006)

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