

NYC70 21 APRIL 1960

TO HAZELHOFF PENN MILLER

FM BROWN DUNNING NATHAN COPIES ALEXANDER YARROW

FOLLOWING DRAFT OF MONTHLY DIRECTIVE NUMBER 20 FOR MAY.
ANNEXES WHICH ARE IN SUBSTANCE MERELY DOCUMENTATION WILL
BE AIR POUCHED TOMORROW TO AVOID CROWDING WIRES.

MONTHLY DIRECTIVE NO 20 FOR MAY 1960

1. RFE AND THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

A. THE SUMMIT MEETING

1. BACKGROUND:

WORLD PUBLIC OPINION DURING THE MONTH OF MAY IS CERTAIN TO
FOCUS ON THE SUMMIT MEETING, SCHEDULED TO BE HELD IN PARIS
BEGINNING MAY 16TH.

THE POSITION OF THE WESTERN ALLIES TOWARD THIS MEETING HAS
BEEN ESTABLISHED UNEQUIVOCALLY AND WILL BE MAINTAINED UNEQUIV-
OCALLY: THEIR DECISION TO ATTEND THE MEETING REFLECTS THEIR
EARNEST DESIRE TO CONTINUE THEIR CEASELESS SEARCH FOR AN
ENDURING PEACE WITH JUSTICE AND FREEDOM FOR ALL NATIONS
AND PEOPLES. THEY ARE DETERMINED TO EXPLORE EVERY AVENUE THAT
MAY HOLD HOPE OF PROGRESS TOWARD A RELAXATION OF THE INTER-
NATIONAL TENSIONS MENACING THE WORLD.

SOVIET OBJECTIVES CANNOT BE DEFINED WITH COMPARABLE
SIMPLICITY. GRANTING THAT MOSCOW'S DESIRE TO AVOID PHYSICAL
CONFLICT AT THE PRESENT STAGE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOVIET
ECONOMY MAY BE SINCERE, IT DOES NOT INCLUDE THE QUEST FOR
JUSTICE AND FREEDOM SINCE COMMUNISM CAN GRANT NEITHER AND
HOPE TO SURVIVE. "FOR A SUMMIT CONFERENCE TO YIELD POSITIVE
RESULTS," KHRUSHCHEV SAID IN MINSK ON 22 JANUARY, 1958, "THE
STATUS QUO SHOULD BE RECOGNIZED" (THOUGH, AS HE CLARIFIED
SUBSEQUENTLY, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE STATUS QUO OF WEST
BERLIN), AND IT IS OBVIOUSLY IMPOSSIBLE TO HAVE BOTH, NAMELY
THE STATUS QUO AND PEACE WITH JUSTICE AND FREEDOM.

IT IS, THEREFORE, AS MONTHLY DIRECTIVE NO 19 POINTED OUT,
AND AS AMERICAN STATESMEN HAVE INDICATED "HIGHLY IMPROBABLE THAT
(THE SUMMIT MEETING) WILL PRODUCE A SETTLEMENT OF ANY FUNDAMENTAL
COLD WAR ISSUE." IT IS CONCEIVABLE THAT CERTAIN MUTUAL
ACCOMMODATIONS CAPABLE OF BETTER SAFEGUARDING THE ABSENCE OF
PHYSICAL CONFLICT MAY BE AGREED UPON. BUT IT IS CERTAIN THAT
MUCH OF THE SOVIET APPROACH TO THE SUMMIT MEETING WILL NOT
BE DEVOTED TO SECURING

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SERIOUS AGREEMENTS ON THE ROAD TO PEACE BUT TO CONDUCTING PROPAGANDA IN THE LIMELIGHT OF WORLD PUBLIC OPINION. IT IS RADIO FREE EUROPE'S FUNCTION IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, TO PRECLUDE THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE SOVIET PROPAGANDA OBJECTIVES AT THE SUMMIT MEETING BY CONSISTENTLY AND EFFECTIVELY CLARIFYING THE BASIC ISSUES, BY POINTING OUT AND RESTATING THE RATIONALE OF THE WESTERN APPROACHES AND BY EXPOSING THE ULTERIOR MOTIVES AND THE TRUE DESIGNS OF SOVIET STRATEGY AND TACTICS.

2. GUIDANCE:

(A) R.F.E.'S COVERAGE OF THE MEETING WILL TAKE ITS CUES FROM AND EMPHASIZE WESTERN POLICY OBJECTIVES AS THEY EVOLVE AND ARE EXPOUNDED AT THE MEETING. WE SHALL, IN THIS MANNER, DENY TO THE SOVIETS ONE OF THEIR MOST FRAUDULENT PROPAGANDA ADVANTAGES, NAMELY THE IMPRESSION THEY ALWAYS TRY TO CREATE, THAT IT IS THE SOVIET UNION WHICH HOLDS THE INITIATIVE IN ATTEMPTING TO SECURE THE PEACE.

(B) R.F.E.'S COVERAGE WILL AT ALL TIMES REFLECT THE DETERMINATION OF THE WESTERN ALLIES TO PREVENT THE SOVIETS FROM ACHIEVING THE POWER-POLITICAL ADVANTAGES (SUCH AS THE EMASCULATION OF NATO, DISARMAMENT WITHOUT EFFECTIVE CONTROL, THE RECOGNITION OF THE STATUS QUO IN EASTERN EUROPE, THE RECOGNITION OF EAST GERMANY, THE GRADUAL ELIMINATION OF FREEDOM IN WEST BERLIN) WHICH THEY SEEK BEHIND THE SMOKESCREEN OF STRUGGLING FOR "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE."

(C) IT WILL EMPHASIZE ALLIED UNITY AND STRENGTH AND CALMLY SOUND A NOTE OF WARNING THAT UNILATERAL COMMUNIST ACTION ON BERLIN WOULD PRECIPITATE A GRAVE CRISIS; AND IT WILL, IN THIS CONTEXT AND AT EVERY OTHER OPPORTUNITY THAT MAY PRESENT ITSELF, POINT OUT THE VITAL IMPORTANCE FOR THE PEACE OF THE WORLD OF NATO'S DEFENSIVE STRENGTH--AN IMPORTANCE THAT WILL CONTINUE AS LONG AS THERE IS NO BASIC CHANGE IN THE SOVIET POSITION ON MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ISSUES.

(D) IT WILL CHALLENGE AND EXPOSE THE SOVIET PROPAGANDA THEMES KHRUSHCHEV
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WILL CONTINUE TO EXPOUND (HE MADE 52 SPEECHES BEARING ON THEM BETWEEN JANUARY AND THE BEGINNING OF APRIL THIS YEAR!), ESPECIALLY

(AA) "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" A LA MOSCOW (SEE ANNEX ON SEMANTIC CONSIDERATIONS);

(BB) "COMPLETE AND GENERAL DISARMAMENT" (SEE ANNEX ON THE CURRENT STATE OF AND POSSIBLE SUMMIT MOVES ON THE DISARMAMENT ISSUE) AND PROPOSALS FOR NUCLEAR FORCE ZONES AND OTHER AREA DISARMAMENT AND NEUTRALIZATION SCHEMES (ALL OF WHICH ARE WHOLLY IRRELEVANT IN AN AGE OF MISSILES);

(CC) THE ALLEGED SUPERIORITY AND INVINCIBILITY OF THE USSR AND THE COMMUNIST BLOC--A THEME INCREASINGLY EMERGING AS KHRUSHCHEV'S MAJOR TOPIC AND PARTIALLY DESIGNED TO DEP

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HOPES OF THE CAPTIVE PEOPLES FOR A CHANGE IN THEIR PRESENT
CONDITION;

(DD) THE CLAIM THAT THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY IN
GENERAL AND CHANCELLOR ADENAUER IN PARTICULAR REPRESENT
THREATS TO THE PEACE;

(EE) THE KREMLIN'S ALLEGED DESIRE TO LIQUIDATE THE
"LEFT-OVERS" OF WORLD WAR II-A DESIRE WHICH CLEARLY EXCLUDES
THE LIQUIDATION OF THE STATUS QUO IN EASTERN EUROPE, DEFINITELY
A "LEFT-OVER" FROM THE WAR, AND WHICH IN FACT AIMS EXCLUSIVELY
AT THE DESTRUCTION OF WEST BERLIN'S FREEDOM AND AT INTERNATIONAL
RECOGNITION OF PUPPET EAST GERMANY;

(FF) THE KREMLIN'S ALLEGED ALLEGIANCE TO THE PRINCIPLE OF
SELF-DETERMINATION FOR ALL PEOPLES-FROM WHICH IT EXCEPTS THOSE
HELD CAPTIVE BY COMMUNIST IMPERIALISM;

(GG) THE "OFFER" OF "FREE CITY" STATUS FOR BERLIN- AN OFFER
WHICH NOT ONLY EXCLUDES EAST BERLIN BUT WHICH IS DESIGNED TO
UNDERMINE THE ACTUAL FREEDOM OF WEST BERLIN AND OF ITS
INHABITANTS;

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(HH) AND, IMPORTANTLY, THE COMMUNIST CONCEPT OF "HOSTILE
PROPAGANDA"-DESIGNED TO CURB FREE WORLD INFORMATION FROM REACH-
ING THE PEOPLES SUBJUGATED BY COMMUNIST DICTATORSHIP AND TO
GRANT A MONOPOLY TO COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA (WHICH, FROM THE SOVIET
POINT OF VIEW, CANNOT BE AFFECTED BY ANY BAN ON PROPAGANDA
SINCE IT PROJECTS THE ONLY "TRUTH" THAT EXISTS, NAMELY THE
COMMUNIST TRUTH).

B. ALLIANCES FREE WORLD AND SOVIET STYLE

1. BACKGROUND:

THE MONTH OF MAY PRESENTS R.F.E. WITH SEVERAL OPPORTUNITIES TO EXPOUND ON
~~TO EXPOSE THE~~ FREE WORLD ALLIANCES AND TO
EXPOSE THE FRAUD OF SOVIET-IMPOSED ALLIANCE FACTS.

THE MINISTERIAL COUNCIL OF NATO WILL MEET IN ISTANBUL ON
MAY FIRST.

THE MINISTERIAL COUNCIL OF SEATO WILL MEET IN WASHINGTON
ON MAY 26TH.

MAY 14TH MARKS THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SO-CALLED
WARSAW PACT.

IT IS CONCEIVABLE, FURTHERMORE, THAT KHRUSHCHEV, AT
THE SUMMIT MEETING, WILL RENEW PROPOSALS TO SCRAP THE WARSAW
PACT IF THE WESTERN ALLIES ARE WILLING TO DISSOLVE NATO
(AND PERHAPS SIMULTANEOUSLY TO DO AWAY WITH U.S. MILITARY
BASES SERVING NATO'S DEFENSES).

2. GUIDANCE:

A) R.F.E.'S COVERAGE OF THE NATO AND SEATO MINISTERIAL
COUNCIL MEETINGS WILL INCLUDE REVIEWS OF THE HISTORICAL REASONS
FOR THE TWO ALLIANCE SYSTEMS, NONE OF WHICH REASONS HAVE BEEN
OBTIATED BY POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS SUBSEQUENT TO THEIR
CREATION, AND WILL EXPAND ON THE NATURE OF FREE WORLD
ALLIANCES. WE POINT OUT THAT THEY ARE VOLUNTARY, THAT ALL
PARTIES TO THEM ARE EQUAL, AND THAT ALL DECISIONS ARE THE
RESULT OF FREE AND OPEN DELIBERATIONS WHICH TAKE INTO
CONSIDERATION THE TRUE NATIONAL NEEDS AND INTERESTS OF EACH
AND EVERY PARTNER; THAT NOBODY IS ABLE TO DICTATE TO ANYBODY
AND THAT DISAGREEMENTS THEREFORE ARE FREELY AIRED WHILE THE
ESSENTIAL UNITY OF THE ALLIES IS TAKEN FOR GRANTED; THAT
COMPROMISE SOLUTIONS ARE NOT SHUNNED BUT STUGHTS"

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AZE IN THIS MANNER THAT WYE SOLIDITY OF FREE ALLIANCES DOES NOT RESTION ENFORCED UNANIMITY BUT ON THE FACT THAT ALREEMENTS, REACHED BY THE PROCESS OF DEBATING RAND IRONINGQ OUT OR COMPROMISING DISAGREEMENTS REFLECT THE FREE CONSENSUS AND THUS COMMAND THE VOLUNTARY ADHERENCE OF ALL PARTIES CONCERNED.

(B) WE RECDKL, ~~OS THE OTHER HAND~~, (5-5 53 43-1856 9

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AND IRONINGQ OUT OR COMPROMISING DISAGREEMENTS REFLECT THE FREE CONSENSUS AND THUS COMMAND THE VOLUNTARY ADHERENCE OF ALL PARTIES CONCERNED.

(B) WE RECDKL, OF THE OTHER HAND, NKTHAT THE REALITY OF THE SO-CALLED WARSAW PACT IS MOSCOW'S DOMINATION OF THE REGIMES WHICH SIGNED IT; THAT IT IS THIS DOMINATION AND NOT THE "TREATY" WHICH MATTERS; AND THAT ABOLITION OF THE "PACT", THEREFORE, WOULD NOT CHANGE BY AN IOTA THE ACTUAL POWER SITUATION. WE CLARIFY IN THIS MANNER THAT THE WARSAW PACT IS NO MORE THAN A FAKE AND A FACADE DESIGNED

AA) TO "LEGALIZE" SOVIET FREEDOM OF ACTION IN THE GEOGRAPHICAL AREA INVOLVED, AND

BB) TO SERVE AS A ARTIFICIAL BARGAINING COUNTY IN SOVIET EFFORTS TO ELIMINATE NATO.

WE POINT OUT, FINALLY, THAT THE PURPOSE OF NATO AND SEATO IS REAL AND SERIOUS SINCE THE DANGER OF COMMUNIST

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ZYOYSZDVZPPGRAPHICAL AREA INVOLVED, AND

BB) TO SERVE AS A ARTIFICIAL BARGAINING COUNTY IN SOVIET EFFORTS TO ELIMINATE NATO.

WE POINT OUT, FINALLY, THAT THE PURPOSE OF NATO AND SEATO IS REAL AND SERIOUS SINCE THE DANGER OF COMMUNIST AAGGRESSION AGAINST THE NATO AND SEATO ALLIES HAS BEEN EVER-PRESENT SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II--WHILE NO SIMILAR THREAT AGAINST THE SIGNATORIES TO THE WARSAW PACT HAS EVER EXISTED.

CC) IN THE EVENT THAT KHRUSHCHEV WERE TO "OFFER" THE ABOLITION OF THE WARSAW PACT IN EXCHANGE FOR THE DISSOLUTION OF NATO, AND WITH IT THE EVACUATION OF SOVIET TROOPS FROM THE TERRITORIES OF THE CAPTIVE NATIONS, WE POINT OUT THAT THIS EVACUATION WOULD NOT CHANGE THE REALITIES OF THAL SOVIET IMPERIALISM WHICH ENSLAVES THE CAPTIVE PEOPLES; THAT THE PRESENCE OF SOVIET TROOPS IN THE CAPTIVE COUNTRIES IS JUSTIFIED BY NOTHING BUT A PHONY TREATY AND THE "REQUESTS"/OF

GOVERN-
MENTS WHICH IN FACT ARE SOVIET PUPPETS AND, MOST CLEARLY IN THE FIELD OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, TAKE SOVIET ORDERS; THAT THEIR EVACUATION, THEREFORE, IS LONG OVERDUE AND THUS WELCOME; BUT THAT THE ELIMINATION OF AN
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ILLEGAL AND IMMORAL ACT, NEVER RATIFIED BY THE CAPTIVE PEOPLES THEMSELVES, CANNOT BE BOUGHT BY THE DISSOLUTION OF AN ALLIANCE SYSTEM ON WHICH THE SURVIVAL OF THE FREE WORLD AND OF THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM ITSELF DEPENDS.

II. IDEOLOGICAL VALUES

A. FREE LABOR MOVEMENT AND FREE UNIONISM

1. BACKGROUND:

MAY FIRST IS THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF MAY DAY, THE TRADITIONAL DATE ON WHICH FREE LABOR COMMEMORATES ITS PROGRESS AND REDEDICATES ITSELF TO ITS BASIC PURPOSE. COMMUNISM, WHICH DESTROYED THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE FREE LABOR MOVEMENT WHEREVER IT COULD, HAS PERVERTED THIS DATE TO THE GLORIFICATION OF SOVIET POWER.

ON MAY 30TH THE WFTU, THE COMMUNIST WORLD ORGANIZATION FIGHTING THE FREE LABOR MOVEMENT AND SERVING THE PROPAGANDA PURPOSES OF THE COMMUNIST BLOC, WILL BEGIN ITS GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING IN, OF ALL PLACES, PEIPING-SEAT OF A TOTALITARIAN REGIME ENGAGED IN RESTORING THE VERY PRACTICES WHICH THE FREE LABOR MOVEMENT HAD SUCCEEDED IN ELIMINATING IN THE VAST MAJORITY OF FREE COUNTRIES.

2. GUIDANCE:

R.F., TAKING ADVANTAGE OF BOTH DATES, WILL USE THE MONTH OF MAY TO FAMILIARIZE OR RE-FAMILIARIZE, ITS AUDIENCES AS THE CASE MAY BE, WITH THE HISTORY, THE MEANING, AND THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE FREE LABOR MOVEMENT, AS WELL AS WITH THE HISTORY OF ITS DESTRUCTION BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN.

B. FREE ASSOCIATIONS OF STATES

1. BACKGROUND:

THE PRIME MINISTERS OF THE TEN MEMBER-COUNTRIES OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH WILL MEET IN LONDON BEGINNING ON 3 MAY. THE MEMBER COUNTRIES ARE: THE UNITED KINGDOM, CANADA, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, INDIA, PAKISTAN, CEYLON, GHANA, AND THE FEDERATION OF MALAYA. AS ON FORMER OCCASIONS, THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE FEDERATION /MORE/

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OF RHODESIA AND NYASALAND HAS BEEN INVITED TO ATTEND. THE MEETING WILL BE THE NINTH SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II (THE LAST HAVING BEEN HELD IN JUNE-JULY OF 1957).

THE PRIME MINISTERS' MEETINGS ARE THE HIGHLIGHTS IN THE CONTINUOUS PROCESS OF CONSULTATION WHICH IS THE SOURCE OF THE VITALITY OF THE COMMONWEALTH ASSOCIATION. EACH MEMBER NATION ENJOYS UNKETT

NED ONTROL OF ITS OWN AFFAIRS, INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL. NONE IS OBLIGED TO UNDERWRITE THE RESPONSIBILITIES UNDERTAKEN BY ANY OTHER. COLLABORATION IS WITHOUT COMMITMENT. TO MAKE SUCH A RELATIONSHIP OF FREE COOPERATION EFFECTIVE, THE GREATEST POSSIBLE MEASURE OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AMONG THE ASSOCIATES IS BEING SOUGHT. THUS THERE WILL BE NO FORMAL AGENDA FOR THE PRIME MINISTERS' MEETING, NO PUBLICITY FOR THE DISCUSSIONS, BUT A FRANK AND INFORMAL ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH ISSUES OF WORLD-WIDE IMPORTANCE CAN BE FREELY DEBATED.

THE OBJECTIVE IS THE CROSS-FERTILIZATION OF IDEAS. IF A CRISIS SHOULD ARISE WITHIN THE COMMONWEALTH, THE PRIME MINISTERS ALREADY KNOW EACH OTHER'S PERSONAL VIEWS, THE RIGIDITY OF FLEXIBILITY OF EACH OTHER'S POSITIONS. THUS IN A CONSIDER-

ABLE NUMBER OF CASES, THEY CAN RECONCILE THEIR DIFFERENCES, OR AT LEAST MAKE ALLOWANCES. IT IS BY A PROCESS AT ONCE AS SIMPLE AND COMPLEX AS THIS THAT THE COMMONWEALTH HAS MANAGED TO REMAIN INTACT THROUGH TRANSITIONS AND UPHEAVALS. IF CONFRONTED WITH CRISES SUCH AS THE SOUTH AFRICAN ONE TODAY, THE MEMBERS EXPECT TO SURMOUNT THEM WITHOUT SURRENDERING THEIR OWN PRINCIPLES-THOUGH NONE WILL KNOW IN ADVANCE HOW THIS CAN BE DONE.

BUT, AS THE ECONOMIST PUTS IT "COMMONWEALTH TIES, IN GENERAL, DO NOT SNAP, BECAUSE THEY ARE NEVER TIGHT."

2. GUIDANCE:

R.F.E. WILL GIVE MAXIMUM POSSIBLE COVERAGE TO THE NATURE OF THIS FREE ASSOCIATION OF STATES, AS THE PRIME MINISTERS OF THE COMMONWEALTH ARE

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MEETING. THIS SHOULD ENABLE OUR AUDIENCES TO DRAW THEIR OWN CONCLUSION ON THE NATURE OF THE COMMUNITY OF STATES TO WHICH THEY PRESENTLY BELONG-THE COMMUNIST ORBIT, THE SO-CALLED "SOCIALIST CAMP," THE VERY ANTITHESIS OF THE CONCEPT WITH WHICH WE WILL BE DEALING.

C. FREE PRESS

THE FIFTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF JOURNALISTS, SCHEDULED FOR THE FIRST SEVEN DAYS OF MAY IN BERN, WILL PROVIDE OPPORTUNITIES TO SCHEDULE BROADCASTS ON FREEDOM OF INFORMATION, ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR NATIONS AND PEOPLE, AND ON THE REASONS FOR THE COMMUNIST EFFORT TO PREVENT THE PEOPLE ENSLAVED BY COMMUNISM FROM BEING INFORMED AND FROM LEARNING THE FULL TRUTH.

III.

IMPORTANT DATE

MAY 8TH IS THE FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF VE DAY. BROADCASTS PUTTING INTO CORRECT PERSPECTIVE THE RELATIVE SHARES OF THE WESTERN ALLIES AND OF THE SOVIETS IN VICTORY OVER THE AXIS ARE INDICATED. IN VIEW OF THE IMPENDING SUMMIT MEETING AND THE SUBJECT MATTER THAT WILL BE UNDER DISCUSSION THERE, NAMELY THE KIND OF PEACE MANKIND DESIRES, THESE BROADCASTS SHOULD DEAL AT LENGTH WITH THE KIND OF PEACE WHICH THE WESTERN ALLIES ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE SOVIETS, ON THE OTHER, HAD BEEN FIGHTING FOR.

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