

NYC108 26 MAY 1960
TO HAZELHOFF PENN MILLER
FM BROWN DUNNING NATHAN COPY ALEXANDER YARROW

303PM

FOLLOWING IS DRAFT OF MONTHLY DIRECTIVE NO. 21 FOR JUNE.
YOUR EARLY REACTION WILL BE APPRECIATED. REGARDS.

MONTHLY DIRECTIVE NO. WQ FOR JUNE 1960

1. RFE AND THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

1. BACKGROUND:

PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV'S SABOTAGE OF THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE THROWS NEW LIGHT ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY AND PROPAGANDA HAD FOR YEARS BEEN ADVOCATING SUMMIT CONFERENCES AS THE KEY TO A RELAXATION OF TENSIONS BETWEEN THE COMMUNIST ORBIT AND THE FREE WORLD. KHRUSHCHEV'S ACTION WITH REGARD TO THE PARTICULAR SUMMIT CONFERENCE SCHEDULED FOR PARIS IN MAY 1960 ESTABLISHES PERSPECTIVES WHICH RFE COMMENT ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION WILL CONTINUE TO REFLECT, WITH CONSISTENCY, THROUGHOUT THE MONTH OF JUNE.

2. DIRECTIVE:

(A) R. F. E. NOT ONLY WILL NOT DISMISS, BUT WILL MAKE A POINT OF REPORT ON ALL REASONABLY ARGUED SPECULATIONS ABOUT KHRUSHCHEV'S MOTIVES FOR SABOTAGING THE CONFERENCE. STATEMENTS BY FREE WORLD STATESMEN AND ATTEMPTS AT ANALYSIS CARRIED BY THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS WILL PROVIDE R.F.E. WITH THE MEANS TO DO SO. PROMINENT AMONG THESE EFFORTS TO EXPLAIN KHRUSHCHEV'S REVERSAL ARE REFERENCES TO

AA. THE FAILURE OF HIS TACTICS TO DISGUISE COMMUNIST OBJECTIVES BY "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" PROPAGANDA AND TO ACHIEVE THEM BY DECEIVING, SOFTENING-UP, AND SPLITTING THE WESTERN ALLIES. WE EMPHASIZE THAT KHRUSHCHEV'S TACTICS FAILED TO DIVIDE THE FREE WORLD ALLIES, TO OBTAIN AGREEMENT TO A CHANGE IN THE STATUS OF WEST BERLIN AND THEREBY TO ADVANCE THE SOVIET AIM OF OBTAINING IMPLIED RECOGNITION OF THE STATUS QUO IN EASTERN EUROPE, OR TO WIN THE SUPPORT OF THE "NEUTRAL" WORLD. THIS FAILURE NEGATED WHATEVER ADVANTAGES KHRUSHCHEV HAD EXPECTED TO ACCURE FROM SUMMIT NEGOTIATIONS WHILE
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HE WAS PRESSING FOR THEM.

BB. THE PRESSURES TO WHICH KHRUSHCHEV HAD APPARENTLY BEEN INCREASINGLY SUBJECTED SINCE THE FAILURE OF HIS TACTICS HAD BECOME CLEAR. THERE APPEARS TO BE A CONSENSUS OF OPINION THAT THESE PRESSURES CAME NOT ONLY FROM PEIPING (WHICH HAD BEEN OBJECTING TO KHRUSHCHEV'S TACTICS FOR YEARS AND STEPPED UP ITS CAMPAIGN AGAINST THEM IN THE SPRING OF 1960) AND FROM THE SOVIET UNION'S MOST OUT-SPOKEN STALINIST SATELLITES (EAST GERMANY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, ETC.), BUT ALSO-AND POSSIBLY SIGNIFICANTLY SO-FROM DOMEISTIC SOVIET CIRCLES DISSATISFIED WITH KHRUSHCHEV'S UNPRECEDENTED REMARK, FIRST REMARKED ON BY AMBASSADOR BOHLEN, ON THE INTERNAL POLITICS OF THE SOVIET UNION HAVING A BEARING ON THE POSITION HE TOOK. THE PROBABILITY IS THAT INTERNAL CONDITIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION PLUS FEAR THAT PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S RECEPTION BY THE PEOPLE OF THE U.S.S.R. WOULD BE TOO CORDIAL AND THAT THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULED RADIO-TV ADDRESSES OVER SOVIET NETWORKS WOULD MAKE TOO MUCH AN IMPRESSION, MOTIVATED ALSO THE BRUSQUE CANCELLATION OF KHRUSHCHEV'S INVITATION TO PRESIDENT EISENHOWER TO VISIT THE SOVIET UNION.

(WHEN DISCUSSING REFERENCES TO STALINIST/ CHINESE PRESSURES ON KHRUSHCHEV WE CLARIFY, TO PREVENT ANY POSSIBLE MISUNDERSTANDINGS ON THIS SCORE, THAT THE CHARACTER OF HIS OPPONENTS MUST NOT BE MISINTERPRETED AS REFLECTING FAVORABLY ON KHRUSHCHEV. THERE IS NO INDICATION WHATSOEVER THAT THE CONFLICT INVOLVES COMMUNIST OBJECTIVES. IT DOES INVOLVE THE TACTICS BY WHICH TO ACHIEVE THESE OBJECTIVES. THE OPPOSITION OBVIOUSLY VIEWS KHRUSHCHEV'S TACTICS AS INEFFECTUAL AND BELIEVES CRUDER APPROACHES ARE MORE PROMISING.)

(B) ALTHOUGH MOSCOW CLEARLY INTENDS TO MILK THE U-2 INCIDENT FURTHER (FOR INSTANCE BY MEANS OF A SHOW TRIAL OF THE PILOT),
WE
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CONTINUE TO STRESS THAT THE CRASH OF THE AIRPLANE SERVED MERELY AS A WELCOME PRETEXT TO TORPEDO THE SUMMIT MEETING AND USE THE ARGUMENTS STATED BY FREE WORLD STATESMEN IN THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL SESSION TO DO SO. (K. HIMSELF ADMITTED THAT HE HAD BEEN AWARE OF U-2 FLIGHTS WHEN HE AND PRESIDENT EISENHOWER DISCUSSED THE SUMMIT MEETING AT CAMP DAVID LAST SEPTEMBER.)

IF THE SOVIETS WERE TRULY CONCERNED ABOUT RECONNAISSANCE TO PREVENT SURPRISE ATTACKS, THEY WOULD BE MOST INTERESTED IN U.S. PROPOSALS TO BEGIN DISCUSSING FUNDAMENTAL WAYS AND MEANS TO OBTAIN THE NECESSITY OF RECONNAISSANCE.

(FURTHERMORE, THE MIDAS/SAMOS OBSERVATION SATELLITE PROJECTS OF THE UNITED STATES, FURTHERMORE, COUPLED WITH THE SUSPENSION OF AIRPLANE FLIGHTS OVER THE SOVIET UNION, DRASTICALLY CHANGE THE SITUATION WHICH THE U-2 INCIDENT HIGHLIGHTED.)

(C) R.F.E. SUGGESTS THAT, WITH THE EXCEPTIONS STATED BELOW, KHRUSHCHEV'S SABOTAGE OF THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE YIELDS NO PRESENT INDICATIONS OF ANY FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN THE STATE OF INTERNATIONAL ISSUES OF SUBSTANCE. AS FAR AS SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY IS CONCERNED, KHRUSHCHEV'S SPEECHES IN EAST BERLIN APPEAR TO IMPLY THAT MOSCOW DOES NOT CONSIDER NEW APPROACHES TO THESE ISSUES FOR A MINIMUM PERIOD OF 6 MONTHS. (IF KHRUSHCHEV MEANT BY THAT A PERIOD LONG ENOUGH FOR THE NEXT PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. TO DECIDE ON PARTICIPATION IN ANOTHER SUMMIT MEETING, HE WAS TECHNICALLY INCORRECT: PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S TERM OF OFFICE DOES NOT EXPIRE UNTIL NEXT JANUARY, MOREOVER ANY NEW PRESIDENT WOULD PROBABLY REQUIRE SEVERAL MONTHS BEFORE HE COULD MAKE HIMSELF AVAILABLE FOR INTERNATIONAL TALKS, IF INDEED HE WERE WILLING TO DO SO AT ALL.)

ALLIED POST-PARIS POLICY WAS DETERMINED IN PARIS AFTER KHRUSHCHEV HAD FINISHED HIS PERFORMANCE AND EMERGES FROM THE ALLIED COMMUNIQUE OF 17 MAY: "FOR THEIR PART, THEY (THE THREE MAJOR WESTERN ALLIES) REMAIN UNSHAKEN IN THEIR CONVICTION THAT ALL OUTSTANDING INTERNATIONAL
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QUESTION SHOULD BE SETTLED NOT BY USE OR THREAT OF FORCE BUT BY PEACEFUL MEANS THROUGH NEGOTIATION. THEY THEMSELVES REMAIN READY TO TAKE PART IN SUCH NEGOTIATIONS AT ANY SUITABLE TIME IN THE FUTURE."

THE EXCEPTIONS TO THE PICTURE OF NO APPARENT FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE ARE THESE: KHRUSHCHEV'S PERFORMANCE AT PARIS (AND THE SOVIET PERFORMANCE IN THE UNITED NATIONS) DISPELLED THE SMOKE-SCREEN THAT KHRUSHCHEV HAD SO CAREFULLY AND SO DELIBERATELY LAID TO DISGUISE SOVIET POLICY OBJECTIVES.

THE MASK IS OFF; THE EMPEROR STANDS WITHOUT CLOTHES. HIS ACTIONS DISPEL MUCH OF THE ILLUSION THE SOVIET "PEACE CAMPAIGN" MIGHT HAVE CREATED ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD, AND ACCOUNTS FOR A PERCEPTIBLE CHANGE IN THE CLIMATE OF WORLD PUBLIC OPINION. SINCE WORLD PUBLIC OPINION IS A MAJOR FACTOR IN EVALUATING THE FUTURE EXPECTATIONS OF THE CAPTIVE PEOPLE, WE CAN AND SHOULD POINT TO THE FACT THAT THIS CHANGE ADDS TO THE ASSETS OF THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM.

FURTHERMORE, AND CONNECTED WITH THIS, KHRUSHCHEV, IN THE SPACE OF A FEW DAYS, WASTED THE INVESTMENT HE HAD MADE IN PEACE PROPAGANDA EVER SINCE STALIN'S DEATH. HIS PERFORMANCE IN PARIS CONTRASTED DRAMATICALLY WITH THE DIGNITY AND THE CALM DETERMINATION SHOWN BY THE ALLIED LEADERS. THE NET LOSS THUS SUSTAINED BY MOSCOW CONSTITUTED TO A NET GAIN FOR THE FREE WORLD.

(D) R.F.E. WILL CONTINUE TO EMPHASIZE THAT KHRUSHCHEV AT PARIS CONFESSED TO VULNERABILITIES CAPABLE OF SIGNIFICANTLY DIMINISHING HIS STATURE AND THE POWER IMAGE OF THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF.

REFERENCE IS, OF COURSE, TO:

AA. HIS ADMISSION THAT HE MUST CONTEND WITH INTERNAL POLITICS IN THE SOVIET UNION--AN ADMISSION WHICH WOULD BE QUITE NATURAL AND NORMAL FOR A DEMOCRATIC STATESMAN BUT WHICH IS RATHER CURIOUS, SIGNIFICANT, UNPRECEDENTED, AND PREGNANT WITH POSSIBILITIES

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WHEN MADE BY A COMMUNIST DICTATOR, THE TOP MAN IN A TOTALITARIAN SYSTEM. THIS ADMISSION IS, OR SHOULD BE OF PARTICULAR SIGNIFICANCE TO COMMUNIST LEADERS EVERYWHERE; IT SHOULD GIVE THEM PAUSE TO THINK ABOUT THE POSSIBLE FUTURE IMPLICATIONS OF THEIR PRESENT COMMITMENTS AND SHAKE THEIR CONFIDENCE WHEN FACED WITH FUTURE DECISIONS (ON ALMOST ANY CONCEIVABLE SUBJECT).

BB. HIS ADMISSION THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD BEEN OPEN TO OVER-FLIGHTS BY U.S. AIRCRAFT FOR FOUR YEARS. WE WILL NOT USE THIS ADMISSION TO BOAST OF U.S. POWER OR TO SPECULATE ON THE FUTURE OF U.S. RECONNAISSANCE EFFORTS (WHICH ARE ANYWAY LIKELY TO ACCENTUATE ORBITAL SENTRIES INCREASINGLY FROM NOW ON); ITS REAL SIGNIFICANCE RESIDES IN THE UN-DENIABLE FACT THAT KHRUSHCHEV'S BOASTS OF IMPREGNABLE SOVIET POWER AND TECHNICAL PROFICIENCY HAVE BEEN EXPOSED AS LIES ABOUT ONE CRITICALLY IMPORTANT MATTER: THE SOVIET ABILITY TO PROTECT ITS AIR FRONTIERS. KHRUSHCHEV'S CONFESSIONS THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD BEEN UNABLE TO COPE WITH U.S. RECONNAISSANCE FLIGHTS FOR FOUR YEARS PUTS IN QUESTION THE WHOLE MYTH WHICH MIGHT HAVE AFFECTED THE PSYCHOLOGICAL POSTURE OF R.F.E.'S LISTENERS AS LONG AS KHRUSHCHEV TRUMPETED IT FOR ALL TO HEAR. IT HAS CUT THE SOVIETS' VAUNTED PHYSICAL POWER DOWN TO SIZE.

(E) R.F.E. WILL CONTINUE TO STRESS THE CLEAR AND SIMPLE TRUTH THAT THE WESTERN ALLIES HAVE STOOD FIRM IN THE FACE OF SOVIET THREATS. THEIR SOLIDARITY AND THEIR DETERMINATION NOT TO YIELD ON ISSUES OF SUBSTANCE CAUSED KHRUSHCHEV TO DISPAIR OF HIS HOPES TO SPLIT THE ALLIANCE AND TO RETURN FROM THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE WITH WESTERN CONCESSIONS THAT COULD HAVE BEEN USED TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THE WEST HAD IN FACT RECOGNIZED THE STATUS QUO IN EASTERN EUROPE.

WESTERN AND INTERNAL AMERICAN CRITICISM OF CERTAIN ASPECTS OF U.S. TACTICS IN HANDLING THE U-2 STORY DOES NOT DETRACT FROM
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THIS TRUTH. THIS CRITICISM HAS ADDRESSED ITSELF TO WHAT THE CRITICS CONSIDER AMERICAN FUMBLING OF TACTICAL DETAILS; NONE OF IT HAS AIMED AT BASIC U.S. POLICY VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIET UNION. SOME OF THE CRITICISM MUST BE VIEWED WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF AN AMERICAN ELECTION CAMPAIGN (SEE SPECIAL DIRECTIVE ON THE CAMPAIGN); SOME REFLECTS CONCERN ABOUT LACK OF COORDINATION IN STATEMENTS ON THE PLANE INCIDENT. WE MAY IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES TRUTHFULLY INSIST ON THE FACT THAT ALLIED AND AMERICAN SOLIDARITY IN THE FACE OF THE PARIS EVENTS STANDS FIRM.

(F) THE CAPTIVE PEOPLES' CONCERN ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A "RETURN TO STALINISM" IN THE CAPTIVE COUNTRIES SHOULD BE TEMPERED BY THE FOLLOWING CONSIDERATIONS:

AA. THE KREMLIN'S PRESSURE TO IMPLEMENT COMMUNIST DOGMA HAS AT ALL TIMES GONE AS FAR AS IT POSSIBLY COULD IN CONSIDERATION OF LOCAL CONDITIONS--PRIMARY AMONG THEM THE MOOD OF THE CAPTIVE PEOPLES AND THEIR RESISTANCE TO THE KREMLIN'S AIMS.

BB. THE OVERALL DRIVE TO ACHIEVE "SOCIALISM" HAS, PARTICULARLY SINCE THE 21ST CPSU CONGRESS, HAD THE PRACTICAL EFFECT OF GENERALLY TIGHTENING INTERNAL CONTROLS IN THE SOVIET ORBIT AND OF SPURRING GREATER EFFORTS AT INTEGRATION OF THE SOVIET BLOC.

CC. ALTHOUGH SOME SOVIET PUPPET REGIMES TEND TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF INCREASES OF TENSION IN THE INTERNATIONAL ATMOSPHERE TO STEP UP PRESSURE ON THE PEOPLE FOR GREATER PRODUCTION ACHIEVEMENTS, PAST HISTORY DOES NOT SUGGEST COMPELLING CONNECTIONS BETWEEN INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENTS IN THE CAPTIVE COUNTRIES (1956, THE YEAR FOLLOWING DISENCHANTMENT WITH THE GENEVA MEETING OF 1955, WAS NO ERA OF SWEETNESS AND LIGHT YET SAW

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TENDENCIES TOWARD "LIBERALIZATION" IN SOME CAPTIVE COUNTRIES, DUE, OF COURSE, TO LOCAL CONDITIONS PREVAILING THEN; 1958 MAY BE VIEWED AS A HIGH-WATER MARK IN "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" TACTICS YET WITNESSED CONSIDERABLE "RETROGRESSION" IN CAPTIVE AREAS.

DD. IF THIS TIME THE CHILL IN THE INTERNATIONAL ATMOSPHERE (WHICH, AS POINTED OUT ABOVE, SHOWS LITTLE INDICATION OF BEING FOLLOWED UP BY THE CONDUCT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS) SHOULD COINCIDE WITH A PULLING-IN OF THE REINS IN SOME CAPTIVE COUNTRIES, WE MIGHT BE BEST ADVISED TO LOOK FOR THE REASONS IN THE SAME INFLUENCES WHICH COMPELLED KHRUSHCHEV'S REVERSAL ON THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE. IN OTHER WORDS, IT WOULD NOT BE THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION THAT WOULD PRODUCE DOMESTIC CONSEQUENCES; INTERNAL PRESSURES IN THE SOVIET UNION WHICH PRODUCED THE CHILL IN THE INTERNATIONAL ATMOSPHERE MIGHT SEEK TO COMPEL FURTHER RETROGRESSION IN THE CAPTIVE COUNTRIES AS WELL--IF IT SEEMED SAFE TO DO SO.

II. JUNE DATES PERMITTING R.F.E. TO COMMENT ON THE FUNDAMENTAL CONSISTENCY OF SOVIET IMPERIALISM AND TOTALITARIANISM

(SEE 1. W. (A) (BB) BRACKETED PARAGRAPH 2 AND 1.2.C):

16 JUNE-20TH ANNIVERSARY OF SOVIET OCCUPATION OF LITHUANIA;

17 JUNE-20TH ANNIVERSARY OF SOVIET OCCUPATION OF LATVIA AND ESTHONIA;

17 JUNE-7TH ANNIVERSARY OF EAST GERMAN RISING AGAINST COMMUNIST RULE;

25 JUNE-10TH ANNIVERSARY OF COMMUNIST AGGRESSION AGAINST THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA, BACKED BY RED CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION;

28 JUNE-4TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UPRISING IN POZNAN.

III. FREE WORLD VALUES:

15 JUNE (1215) IS THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE MAGNA CHARTA. SINCE THE MAGNA CHARTA REPRESENTS THE BEGINNING OF THAT CONTINUING PROCESS WE CORRECTLY CALL "THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION OF MANKIND"--THE REVOLUTION PROCEEDING IN THE FREE WORLD AND TEMPORARILY HALTED
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BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN-R.F.E. WILL TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE ANNIVERSARY TO REVIEW THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THAT REVOLUTION--FROM THE RULE OF LAW AND THE RIGHTS OF MAN TO THE PRACTICAL VICTORIES OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT, ETC.--IN ORDER TO REMIND ITS LISTENERS OF FREEDOM'S DYNAMIC PROGRESS INTO THE FUTURE AND, BY CLEAR IMPLICATION, OF THE REACTIONARY NATURE OF COMMUNISM.
END MSG