

MUN. 30 8 FEB 60
BROWN ALEXANDER DUNNING NATHAN
FM PENN COPY HAZELHOFF MILLER

1809

HAD ASKED FOR CLARIFICATION YOUR THESIS (GUIDANCE NOTES NO 2211 FOR 4 FEB) THAT A WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET TROOPS FROM CAPTIVE COUNTRIES WOULD BE "SUBSTANTIALLY MEANINGLESS" IN HOPE THIS WAS AN OVERSIMPLIFICATION AND THAT A LONGER FORMULATION WOULD BRING LINE INTO BETTER PERSPECTIVE. WAS THEREFORE PUZZLED TO SEE THIS LINE REAFFIRMED AND DRAWN EVEN TIGHTER IN FOLLOWING DAY'S GUIDANCE (PARA. D-2 OF NO 2212).

TAKING FULLY INTO CONSIDERATION "NEW ERA OF NUCLEAR AND MISSILE WARFARE" FEEL YOUR THESIS PULLS RUG FROM UNDER ONE OF RFE'S AND WEST'S MAJOR PLATFORMS (BOTH OFFICIAL AND PROPAGANDISTIC). IF WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET TROOPS WOULD BE "ESSENTIALLY MEANINGLESS" THEN THEIR PRESENCE IN THE CAPTIVE COUNTRIES MUST BE JUDGED AS EQUALLY MEANINGLESS, AND OFFICIAL U.S.

AND RFE STATEMENTS TO THE CONTRARY OVER THE YEARS ARE REVEALED AS SHALLOW CYNICISMS. FEEL THERE ARE FEW POLES OR HUNGARIANS OR EAST GERMANS WHO LOOK ON PRESENCE OF SOVIET TROOPS WITH THE KIND OF INDIFFERENCE GUIDANCE IMPLIES. TO SPEAK OF OUR PROFFESSED GOALS OF ECOLUTION TOWARD INTERNAL FREEDOM AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE FOR THE SATELLITES AND BY IMPLICATION TO DISDAIN THE IMPORTANCE OF AN ARMED ALIEN OCCUPATION IN THEIR MIDST POSES AN IMPOSSIBLE FORMULATION IN OUR JUDGEMENT. THE GUIDANCE SUGGESTS THAT IT DOESN'T MAKE MUCH DIFFERENCE IF THE TROOPS ARE THERE OR NOT, BECUASE "IT WOULD NOT TKE THE RED ARMY LONG TO RETURN IN AN EMERGENCY", AND THEN IT CITES HUNGARY - 1956 TO SUPPORT THE ARGUMENT, WHEN THE FACT IS THAT THE FARTHEST SOVIET TROOPS EVER WITHDREW FROM HUNGARY WAS TO THE OUTSKIRTS OF BUDAPEST. WHAT IS MORE DISTURBING IS THAT INHERENT IN THE ARGUMENT IS THE STARK SUGGESTION THAT THE ACTION OF THE SOVIET TROOPS IN RETURNING SPEEDILY (TO THE CENTER OF BUDAPEST?) MADE OF THE HUNGARIAN OCTOBER SOMETHING "ESSENTIALLY MEANINGLESS TO THE PEOPLE", WHEN WE KNOW THAT THE PEOPLE AND THE REGIME (IN THEIR SEPARATE WAYS, AND WELL OVER THREE YEARS AFTER THE FACT) STILL HAVE TO CONJURE WITH IT DAILY.

WE SEEM INCREASINGLY IN OUR GUIDANCES AND DIRECTIVES TO BE TAKING A DANGEROUSLY EASY WAY OUT. WHILE SOVIET TROOPS REMAIN IN OUR COUNTRIES WE FIND IT MONSTROUS; WHEN (IF) THEY DEPART WE FIND IT "ESSENTIALLY" MEANINGLESS". WHEN EISENHOWER RECEIVES STUPENDOUS OVATION IN INDIA IT IS A SINCERE EXPRESSION OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE; WHEN (IF) KHRUSHCHEV RECEIVES A SIMILAR OVATION WE ARE TO SUGGEST THAT THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT (ORDINARILY CONSIDERED BY US RESPONSIBLE AND FRIENDLY) HAS RIGGED IT. A U.S.- JAPANESE TREATY IS OF THE HIGHEST SUGNIFICANCE (WHICH IT IS); A RED CHINA-BURMA TREATY IS MEANINGLESS. REGARDS.

END MSG