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SMITH, MILLER
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FOLLOWING IS DRAFT OF SECTION I., SUBSECTIONS A, B AND C, OF MONTHLY DIRECTIVE FOR APRIL 1961. IT FAILS TO CONSIDER YOUR SUGGESTIONS IN ONLY ONE POINT: WE DID NOT INCLUDE A SUBSECTION ON LAOS. AS FAR AS BACKGROUND ON THE LAOTIAN SITUATION IS CONCERNED, WE HAVE BEEN DEALING WITH IT FOR MANY MONTHS; THE PRESS, FOR INSTANCE LAST SUNDAY'S TIMES AND TODAY'S C.S.M., HAS, FURTHERMORE, BEEN REVIEWING THE HISTORY OF LAOS AND OF THE LAOTIAN CRISIS REGULARLY. AS FAR AS POLICY GUIDANCE ON THE LAOTIAN SITUATION IS CONCERNED, WE CANNOT POSSIBLY GO BEYOND DAY-BY-DAY DIRECTIVES, ALL OF THEM LEANING HEAVILY ON OFFICIAL STATEMENTS. THERE HAVE BEEN SUCH FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN U.S. AND SEATO POLICY TOWARDS LAOS OVER THE LAST FEW WEEKS THAT WE CANNOT EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF NEW ONES -- WHICH SUGGESTS BY ITSELF THE NECESSITY OF AVOIDING GUIDANCE COMMITMENTS FOR ANY LENGTH OF TIME. SUBSECTION D OF SECTION I (EICHMANN TRIAL) FOLLOWS SHORTLY.

SECTION II ON BEHIND IRON CURTAIN AFFAIRS WILL FOLLOW
AS SOON AS WE HAVE YOUR PROPOSALS ON THE HANDLING OF THE
POLISH ELECTIONS. OUR OWN CONTRIBUTION SHOULD BE READY
BY TOMORROW.
REGARDS.

NYC 101/2--

1. R.F.E.'S PERSPECTIVE ON THE WORLD SITUATION
A. THE IMAGE OF THE KENNEDY ADMINISTRATION
1. PERSPECTIVE AND CONSIDERATIONS

IN THE LESS THAN THREE MONTHS SINCE PRESIDENT KENNEDY TOOK
OFFICE, HE AND HIS ADMINISTRATION HAVE REGISTERED A
REMARKABLE IMPACT UPON THE WORLD-AT-LARGE. THIS IS BY
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NO MEANS ACCIDENTAL. IT IS THE RESULT OF A DELIBERATE EFFORT TO CREATE AND PROJECT AN IMAGE OF A NEW FREE WORLD LEADERSHIP THAT IS FIRM ON PRINCIPLES, HAS A SENSE OF URGENT PURPOSE, INTENDS TO MOVE DYNAMICALLY IN ORDER TO FORGE A BETTER WORLD BUT IS INTELLIGENTLY REASONABLE IN ITS RELATIONS WITH BOTH ITS ALLIES AND ADVERSARIES.

THE CREATION OF THIS IMAGE IS OF THE UTMOST SIGNIFICANCE. TO EVALUATE ITS SIGNIFICANCE CORRECTLY, IT MUST BE RECALLED THAT PEOPLE IN MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD HAD BEEN ATTRACTED BY THE IMAGE OF AN INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM CAST IN THE MOLD OF AN IRRESISTIBLE WAVE OF THE FUTURE - THE DOWNTRODDEN RISING AGAINST THEIR EXPLOITERS, PULLING THEMSELVES UP BY THEIR OWN BOOTSTRAPS AND EXPANDING INTO THE VACUUM LEFT BY THE GRADUAL WITHDRAWAL OF THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES. TO A NOT INCONSIDERABLE EXTENT COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA HAD SUCCEEDED IN PUTTING THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES ON THE DEFENSIVE.

THE DYNAMISM OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S ADMINISTRATION HAS BEGUN TO LAY THE FOUNDATION FOR A COMPLETE CHANGE IN THIS SITUATION. SINCE THE UNITED STATES IS UNQUESTIONABLY THE LEADING FORCE IN THE FREE WORLD, THIS CHANGE MUST NOT BE VIEWED AS A PHENOMENON RESTRICTED TO THE UNITED STATES. IT INVOLVES THE POSTURE OF THE ENTIRE FREE WORLD. IT AFFECTS THE GLOBAL SITUATION AS A WHOLE.

ACTUALLY, THE CHANGE IN IMAGE AND POSTURE HAS NOT AS YET BROUGHT ABOUT MAJOR DEPARTURES IN FOREIGN POLICY. IT IS STILL LARGELY A MATTER OF FORM AND STYLE. BUT THE DYNAMICS OF THIS STYLE PROVIDES THE FOUNDATION

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FOR MOVING SOLIDLY AND DYNAMICALLY AHEAD. ITS COMBINATION OF FIRMNESS AND CIVILITY HAS ALREADY EVOKED AN ATMOSPHERE OF TOLERANCE FOR AMERICAN IDEAS WHERE IT HAD NOT EXISTED BEFORE, OF ACCEPTANCE OF BASIC AMERICAN PRINCIPLES AND OF CONFIDENCE IN AMERICAN CONSISTENCY. EVEN THOUGH THERE HAS NOT AS YET BEEN SUFFICIENT TIME TO TRANSLATE POSTURE AND IMAGE INTO ACTION AND FACTS ALL ALONG THE FRONTS OF THE COLD WAR, GREAT CHANGES IN THE MOOD AND EVEN IN THE POLICIES OF THE NEWLY INDEPENDENT, THE NEUTRAL, THE UNDERDEVELOPED NATIONS OF THE WORLD APPEAR TO BE IN THE MAKING. THESE CHANGES FAVOR THE FREE WORLD. DEVELOPMENTS IN THE UNITED NATIONS, DEVELOPMENTS REVOLVING AROUND THE CONGO AND LAOS SUGGEST THAT THE SOVIETS CAN FIND THEMSELVES IN AN INCREASINGLY ISOLATED POSITION AND IN MANY WAYS ON THE DEFENSIVE.

ONE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL REASONS FOR THIS TRANSFORMATION IS THE FACT THAT PRESIDENT KENNEDY AND HIS ADMINISTRATION ARE IMBUED WITH A SENSE OF MISSION EXTENDING FAR BEYOND THE CONFINES OF THE AMERICAN BORDERS AND THAT THEY BASE THIS SENSE OF MISSION ON THE PRINCIPLES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. THEY SEE THE FREE WORLD AS THE CARRIER OF THAT PERMANENT REVOLUTION OF MANKIND WHICH STRIVES FOR EVER-INCREASING SCOPE FOR HUMAN LIBERTY AND DIGNITY - A REVOLUTION WHICH ACCENTUATES THE CONTRAST WITH A TOTALITARIAN COMMUNIST WORLD IN WHICH THE STATE HAS PRECEDENCE OVER MAN AND WHICH THUS REPRESENTS REACTION AND A THROWBACK INTO THE DARK AGES WHICH THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION HELPED TO OVERCOME.

HOW BASIC THIS THINKING IS TO PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S ADMINISTRATION EVOLVES FROM THE FACT THAT IT WAS POSTULATED AND STIPULATED BEFORE THIS ADMINISTRATION ROSE TO POWER AND BEGAN FORGING ACTUAL POLICY. (SEE ANNEX 1: EXCERPTS FROM "THE UNITED STATES IN THE WORLD ARENA" BY WALT D. ROSTOW, 1960.) IT FOUND ITS DEFINITE EXPRESSION IN PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS ON 20 JANUARY 1961 (SEE ANNEX 2 FOR APPLICABLE

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EXCERPTS - INCLUDING SPECIFIC STATEMENTS ON U. S. POLICY TOWARD LAOS, CUBA AND THE COMMUNIST ORBIT. NOTE THAT THE STATEMENT ON POLICY TOWARD THE COMMUNIST ORBIT INCLUDES PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S FIRST REFERENCE TO FREE WORLD PROPAGANDA: "OPEN AND PEACEFUL COMPETITION --...EVEN FOR MEN'S MINDS -- IS SOMETHING ELSE AGAIN. FOR IF FREEDOM AND COMMUNISM WERE TO COMPETE FOR MAN'S INCREASING CONFIDENCE...").

ON 3 MARCH 1960, IN AN INTERVIEW WITH ROBERT KEE OF THE BBC, SECRETARY OF STATE RUSK ADDED THESE SIGNIFICANT WORDS:

"A GOVERNMENT, PARTICULARLY A GOVERNMENT IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY SUCH AS YOURS OR OURS, IS TO A VERY CONSIDERABLE DEGREE RESPONSIBLE TO

THE ATTITUDE AND GENERAL ORIENTATION OF ITS OWN PEOPLE. FOR EXAMPLE, THERE IS A VERY SIMPLE NOTION THAT MOST AMERICANS, ALMOST ALL AMERICANS, REALLY BELIEVE. THIS IS THE NOTION THAT GOVERNMENTS DERIVE THEIR JUST POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED. THAT HELPS TO EXPLAIN OUR COLONIALISM. THAT HELPS TO EXPLAIN OUR CONCERN ABOUT THE SITUATION OF THE COUNTRIES IN EASTERN EUROPE...."

PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S ADDRESS OF 13 MARCH 1961 ON A PROGRAM FOR LATIN AMERICA (SEE ANNEX 3 FOR APPLICABLE EXCERPTS) IS IMPORTANT FAR BEYOND ITS IMMEDIATE SUBJECT: AID TO LATIN AMERICA. IT WELCOMES THE SPREAD OF THE AMERICAN RE

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BELIEVE. THIS IS THE NOTION THAT GOVERNMENTS DERIVE THEIR JUST POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED. THAT HELPS TO EXPLAIN OUR INSTINCTIVE REACTION TOWARD COLONIALISM. THAT HELPS TO EXPLAIN OUR CONCERN ABOUT THE SITUATION OF THE COUNTRIES IN EASTERN EUROPE...."

PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S ADDRESS OF 13 MARCH 1961 ON A PROGRAM FOR LATIN AMERICA (SEE ANNEX 3 FOR APPLICABLE EXCERPTS) IS IMPORTANT FAR BEYOND ITS IMMEDIATE SUBJECT: AID TO LATIN AMERICA. IT WELCOMES THE SPREAD OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION TO OTHER LANDS, AND IT QUOTES THE MEXICAN PATRIOT BENITO JUAREZ: "DEMOCRACY IS THE DESTINY OF FUTURE HUMANITY." IT PROPOSES UNPRECEDENTED POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ACTION: AN ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS, THE ELIMINATION OF TYRANNY FROM THE AMERICAN HEMISPHERE, THE DEMAND THAT POLITICAL FREEDOM BE ACCOMPANIED BY SOCIAL CHANGE. "BUT WE CALL FOR SOCIAL CHANGE BY FREE MEN -- CHANGE IN THE SPIRIT OF WASHINGTON AND JEFFERSON, OF BOLIVAR AND SAN MARTIN AND MARTI -- NOT CHANGE WHICH SEEKS TO IMPOSE ON MEN TYRANNIES WHICH WE CAST OUT A CENTURY AND A HALF AGO.." AND AGAIN IT PROJECTS THE STRUGGLE AGAINST TYRANNY AND FOR SOCIAL PROGRESS INTO THE WORLD-AT-LARGE: "LET US ONCE AGAIN AWAKEN OUR AMERICAN REVOLUTION UNTIL IT GUIDES THE STRUGGLES OF PEOPLE

ON THE 15TH OF MARCH AMBASSADOR STEVENSON, SPEAKING IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE U.N., QUOTED THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND CALLED IT A REFLECTION OF "THE BASIC PRINCIPLES WHICH ALL GOVERNMENTS WOULD DO WELL TO OBSERVE AND TO IMPLEMENT WITH ALL OF THE ENERGY AT THEIR COMMAND." AND ONLY ONE DAY LATER PRESIDENT KENNEDY ADDRESSED ITSELF TO THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ITALIAN RISORGIMENTO, ADDED THE NAMES OF CAVOUR, OF MAZZINI AND OF GARIBALDI TO THOSE OF WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON, LINCOLN, BOLIVAR, JUAREZ, SAN MARTIN AND MARTI AS EXAMPLES FOR THE WORLD AND SAID:

"THIS IS THE TASK OF THE NEW RISORGIMENTO: A NEW REAWAKENING OF MAN'S ANCIENT ASPIRATIONS FOR FREEDOM AND PROGRESS UNTIL THE TORCH LIT IN ANCIENT TURIN ONE CENTURY AGO GUIDES THE STRUGGLE OF MEN EVERYWHERE -- IN ITALY, IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD AROUND US..."

FINALLY, ON 20 MARCH 1961, SECRETARY OF STATE DEAN RUSK, AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA'S CHARTER DAY EXERCISES, SPOKE AS FOLLOWS:

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"BUT THE UNDERLYING FORCES PRODUCING CHANGE ARE FAMILIAR. TO STATE THEM SIMPLY, THEY ARE A QUEST FOR FREEDOM (NATIONAL AND INDIVIDUAL), A GROPING FOR A RULE OF LAW, AND A YEARNING FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL IMPROVEMENT. SO IDENTIFIED, OUR RELATION TO THEM BECOMES CLEAR. THEY ARE CONGENIAL FORCES, ROOTED IN IDEAS UPON WHICH WE HAVE BUILT OUR OWN NATION, A STRIVING WHICH HAS BEEN A PART OF OUR OWN STRUGGLE, ASPIRATIONS WHICH WE SHARE WITH HUMAN BEINGS IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD.

"OUR OWN ROLE CANNOT BE PASSIVE; NOR CAN WE AFFORD MERELY AN ACTIVE DEFENSE OF THE STATUS QUO. THE UNITED STATES, INDEED WESTERN DEMOCRACY, MUST TAKE THE LEAD IN BUILDING A WORLD IN WHICH MEN CAN BE FREE UNDER LAW AND IN WHICH THE HUMAN SPIRIT WILL NOT BE SUBDUED BY HUNGER, DISEASE, AND DESPAIR. WE CANNOT STAND ASIDE FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES WHICH WE OURSELVES HELPED TO NOURISH IF WE WISH OUR OWN GREAT EXPERIMENT IN FREEDOM TO THRIVE...."

"THE ISSUES CALLED THE 'COLD WAR' ARE REAL AND CANNOT BE MERELY WISHED AWAY. THEY MUST BE FACED AND MET. BUT HOW WE MEET THEM MAKES A DIFFERENCE. THEY WILL NOT BE SCOLDED AWAY BY INVECTIVE NOR FRIGHTENED AWAY BY BLUSTER. THEY MUST BE MET WITH DETERMINATION, CONFIDENCE AND SOPHISTICATION....

"IF DEFENDING FREEDOM IS TO BE CAGED WAGING THE 'COLD WAR', THEN WAGE IT WE MUST BUT WE WOULD PREFER TO BRING IT TO AN END. FOR WE LOOK FORWARD TO A TIME WHEN CONTEST WILL BE UNNECESSARY BECAUSE THE FREEDOM OF MAN WILL BE FIRMLY ESTABLISHED...."
(MORE)

IT IS CLEAR FROM THE NUMBER AND THE CONSISTENCY OF SUCH STATEMENTS BY PRESIDENT KENNEDY, SECRETARY OF STATE RUSK, AMBASSADOR STEVENSON THAT WE ARE NOT DEALING WITH POLITICAL ORATORY BUT WITH A POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY WHICH IS MEANT TO BE TRANSFORMED INTO POLITICAL ACTION. SOME OF IT IS ALREADY REFLECTED IN AMERICAN VOTES IN THE U.N. AND IN PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGES TO THE CONGRESS (MOST CLEARLY IN THE MESSAGE ON FOREIGN AID). BUT EVEN WHILE POLITICAL ACTION PROGRAMS ARE STILL IN THE PROCESS OF BEING WORKED OUT OR AWAIT THE APPROVAL OF THE CONGRESS, IT IS QUITE EVIDENT THAT THE UNITED STATES DESIRES TO CONFRONT THE WORLD WITH A NEW AND VERY SPECIFIC IMAGE -- THE IMAGE OF A NATION AND OF A PEOPLE WHICH, STANDING FOURSQUARE ON THE PRINCIPLES AND IDEAS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, ALLIES ITSELF WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES OF OUR TIME AND MOVES AHEAD, URGENTLY, PURPOSEFULLY, DYNAMICALLY, TO ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM, OF HUMAN DIGNITY AND OF SOCIAL PROGRESS.

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DIRECTIVE

A) MONTHLY DIRECTIVE NO. 30 FOR MARCH 1961 (I.C) IS SPECIFICALLY REAFFIRMED.

B) RADIO FREE EUROPE WILL CONTINUE, CONSISTENTLY AND EMPHATICALLY, TO PROJECT TO ITS AUDIENCES THE IMAGE OF THE KENNEDY ADMINISTRATION WHICH EMERGES FROM THE STATEMENTS QUOTED UNDER PERSPECTIVE AND CONSIDERATIONS.

C) IT WILL IMPRESS UPON ITS LISTENERS -- ALWAYS PREFERABLY BY QUOTATION, BY INDIRECTION AND WITHOUT ORATORY OF ITS OWN -- THAT THE DYNAMIC REVIVAL OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND THEIR APPLICATION TO THE WORLD-AT-LARGE IS BY ITSELF A POLITICAL FACT OF MAJOR SIGNIFICANCE -- A FACT CAPABLE OF AFFECTING THE POLICIES OF NATIONS (ESPECIALLY IN AFRICA AND ASIA) AND OF PUTTING THE COMMUNIST "MESSAGE" ON THE DEFENSIVE.
(MORE)

ANNEX NR 1

EXCERPTS FROM "THE UNITED STATES IN THE WORLD ARENA",
BY WALT W. ROSTOW, 1960

"NOR DID THE NATION'S CREED EVER OFFER EITHER AN END TO STRIVING OR THE VISION OF DEMOCRACY AS A UNIQUE NATIONAL BLESSING. FROM ITS ORIGINS THE UNITED STATES, HAVING CREATED OUT OF ITS EUROPEAN HERITAGE A CONCEPT OF WORKING DEMOCRACY, FELT WITHIN ITSELF -- AND WAS FELT BY THE WORLD TO HAVE -- A LARGER MISSION. ADD THIS FACT GAVE TO THE NATION'S TASKS AND CHALLENGES A POWERFUL CONSTRUCTIVE CAST. IN ASIA, THE MIDDLE EAST, AFRICA, AND LATIN AMERICA ARE NEW NATIONS PASSING THROUGH DECISIVE TRANSITIONS WHICH, IN THEIR ESSENCE, RAISE THE QUESTION OF WHETHER SOCIETIES BASED ON THE DIFFUSION OF POWER AND THE CONCEPT OF THE RESPONSIBLE INDIVIDUAL CAN SOLVE THEIR PROBLEMS. FROM ONE END OF THE COMMUNIST BLOC TO THE OTHER, BENEATH THE SURFACE OF CONFIDENCE AND CONFORMITY, THERE ARE THE STIRRINGS OF THOUGHTS AND PRESSURES WHICH MAKE NOT UNTHINKABLE A TRANSITION TOWARD THE NORMS OF DEMOCRATIC PRACTICE. IN WESTERN EUROPE AND JAPAN, OLDER ADVANCED SOCIETIES, HAVING FOUND THEIR FEET AFTER A TERRIBLE WAR (AND FOR EUROPE, AFTER FOUR DECADES OF SHOCK AND STRAIN AND THE DESTRUCTION OF OLD IMAGES), ARE STILL CAUGHT UP IN PROBLEMS AND

"THE AMERICAN INTEREST REQUIRES THAT THE NATION SEEK ACTIVELY TO INFLUENCE THE OUTCOME OF THESE HISTORICAL SEQUENCES. IT LIES OUTSIDE THE POWER OF THE UNITED STATES TO IMPOSE SOLUTIONS; BUT AT EVERY POINT, WHAT THE NATION DOES OR FAILS TO DO WILL AFFECT THE OUTCOME, IN SOME CASES PROFOUNDLY, IN OTHERS, ONLY AT THE MARGIN.

"HERE ONE CAN CONCLUDE THAT THE EFFORT TO PROTECT THE NATION'S EXTERNAL INTEREST - AND THE SEARCHING TEST OF THE MEANING AND CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE OF THE DEMOCRATIC FAITH IT INVOLVES -- COULD REINFORCE THE HISTORIC DOMESTIC VALUES OF THE SOCIETY...." (PP. 531 - 2)

ETEMONDRENTALEXYANDEMISSION, THE NATION IS CAUGHT UP IN A WORLD WHERE ITS MILITARY POWER, DIPLOMATIC INFLUENCE, AND IDEOLOGICAL CONFORMATION ARE EXPLICITLY, RELENTLESSLY UNDER CHALLENGE FROM THE SOVIET UNION; A WORLD WHOSE MILITARY AND COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGY, WHOSE ECONOMICS AND POLITICS, LEAVE THE UNITED STATES NO PROTECTION CUSHION; A WORLD WHICH DAY BY DAY IS GIVING

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XX"NOW, BRUTALLY AND DIRECTLY AND IN EVERY DIMENSION, THE NATION IS CAUGHT UP IN A WORLD WHERE ITS MILITARY POWER, DIPLOMATIC INFLUENCE, AND IDEOLOGICAL CONFORMATION ARE EXPLICITLY, RELENTLESSLY UNDER CHALLENGE FROM THE SOVIET UNION; A WORLD WHOSE MILITARY AND COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGY, WHOSE ECONOMICS AND POLITICS, LEAVE THE UNITED STATES NO PROTECTION CUSHION; A WORLD WHICH DAY BY DAY IS GIVING BIRTH TO SUBSTANTIAL NEW POWERS WHOSE TIME OF TECHNOLOGICAL MATURITY IS MEASURABLE AND WITH WHOSE FATE THE DESTINY OF AMERICAN SOCIETY IS INEXTRICABLY BOUND UP.

"WHILE THE UNITED STATES MUST FREE ITSELF OF MUCH IN ITS STYLE AND PERFORMANCE WHICH CHARACTERIZED THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, THERE IS AT LEAST ONE STRAND FROM THAT ERA IT SHOULD CHERISH AND CONTINUE TO DEVELOP -- NAMELY, THE CAPACITY TO THROW ITSELF INTO THE SOLUTION OF PROBLEMS WITH ENERGY, ZEST, AND CONFIDENCE. THE PROBLEMS OF THE PRESENT AND FUTURE ARE MORE COMPLEX THAN THOSE OF THE PAST. THEIR DEFINITION AND THE ISOLATION OF USEFUL AREAS FOR ACTION ARE MORE DIFFICULT TASKS. BUT IN THE END, NEITHER THE NATION NOR THE WORLD AS A WHOLE CAN AFFORD TO SEE LOST THE OPERATIONAL VIGOR WHICH HAS DISTINGUISHED THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OVER THE PAST CENTURY AND A HALF....

"AND THERE IS ONE STRAND FROM THE PAST TO WHICH, ABOVE ALL, THE NATION MUST LOOK IN FACING BOTH THE IMMEDIATE CHALLENGE OF COMMUNISM AND THE LONGER TASKS WHICH LIE BEYOND IN THE WORLD OF DIFFUSED POWER -- A STRAND ALSO ROOTED IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: THE SENSE OF DEMOCRATIC MISSION.

"THE TRANSCENDENT QUALITY WHICH HAS LONG SUFFUSED AMERICAN LIFE AND WHICH STILL GIVES IT A SPECIAL WORTH IS NOT THE OPULENCE OF ITS RESOURCES OR ANY OTHER LOCAL DIMENSION OF THE SOCIETY, ITS STRUCTURE, OR ITS INSTITUTIONS. THAT
(MORE)

SPECIAL QUALITY IS THE CONVICTION THAT THE ADVENTURE OF AMERICA HAS A MEANING AND RELEVANCE FOR THE WORLD AS A WHOLE. HAVING BEEN BLESSED WITH A RICH AND HANDSOME PHYSICAL ENDOWMENT, PROTECTED FOR A CENTURY FROM THE PRESSURES AND STRAINS OF THE WORLD ARENA, PERMITTED BY ITS ALLIES THE LUXURY OF A FURTHER HALF-CENTURY IN THE ROLE OF STRATEGIC RESERVE WITH LIMITED RESPONSIBILITIES, NOW THE NATION FACES THE TEST OF ITS WORTH AND ON THE MEANING OF ITS HISTORY.

"WILL THE UNITED STATES MOBILIZE THE STRENGTH, WILL, AND IMAGINATION TO BRING ABOUT THE PROCESS OF PERSUASION IN THE COMMUNIST BLOC WHICH, BY DENYING ALL OTHER ALTERNATIVES, WOULD PERMIT WITHOUT MAJOR WAR THE GRADUAL EVOLUTION AND RELEASE OF THE FORCES FOR GOOD WITHIN IT? WILL THE UNITED STATES MOBILIZE THE STRENGTH, WILL, AND IMAGINATION TO BRING ABOUT THE EMERGENCY OF THE NEW NATIONS IN ASIA, THE MIDDLE EAST, AFRICA, AND LATIN AMERICA AS CONGENIAL OPEN SOCIETIES IN A WORLD STRUCTURED FOR ORDER RATHER THAN FOR RACIAL AND IDEOLOGICAL HOSTILITY AND NUCLEAR ANARCHY? WILL THE UNITED STATES MOBILIZE THE STRENGTH, WILL, AND IMAGINATION TO HOLD FIRM, WITH A NEW COMMON UNDERSTANDING AND NEW LINES OF COMMON ACTION, THE WESTERN COALITION AND THE LINKS TO JAPAN ON WHICH BOTH HISTORICAL TRANSITIONS DEPEND?"

"THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES IN DETERMINING THE OUTCOME OF THE WORLD'S HISTORY OVER COMING DECADES WILL, OF COURSE, BE MARGINAL; AND SUCCESS CANNOT BE ASSURED. MOREOVER NATIONS, LIKE PEOPLE, ARE COMPLEX UNITS, SEEKING MANY OBJECTIVES SIMULTANEOUSLY; AND THE ROUND OF AMERICAN LIFE WILL BE TAKEN UP WITH MANY MATTERS OTHER THAN THESE. NEVERTHELESS, AN OUTCOME CONSONANT WITH THE HOPES OF THE WORLD'S PEOPLES CANNOT BE BROUGHT ABOUT UNLESS AMERICAN PUBLIC POLICY PERCEIVES ITS MISSION IN SUCH TERMS, DEDICATES ITSELF TO THAT MISSION, AND ACTS UPON THAT DEDICATION WITH A SUBSTANTIAL PROPORTION OF ITS ENERGIES, TALENTS, AND RESOURCES. IT IS EQUALLY CLEAR THAT A UNITED STATES WHICH FAILED TO UNDERTAKE THE MISSION IN HIGH SERIOUSNESS WOULD BE IN DEFAULT TO THE BEST WITHIN IT AND TO THE GENERATIONS OF STRIVING MEN AND WOMEN WHO, WHILE BRINGING AMERICA TO ITS PRESENT MATERIAL AND MILITARY EMINENCE, NEVER LOST FAITH IN ITS LARGER MEANING AND PURPOSE....."

(PP. 537 - 9)

(MORE)

ANNEX NR 2

PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS, JANUARY 20, 1961

"WE OBSERVE TODAY NOT A VICTORY OF PARTY BUT A CELEBRATION OF FREEDOM -- SYMBOLIZING AN END AS WELL AS A BEGINNING -- SIGNIFYING RENEWAL AS WELL AS CHANGE. FOR I HAVE SOWN BEFORE YOU AND ALMIGHTY GOD THE SAME SOLEMN OATH OUR FOREBEARS PRESCRIBED NEARLY A CENTURY AND THREE QUARTERS AGO.

"THE WORLD IS VERY DIFFERENT NOW. FOR MAN HOLDS IN HIS MORTAL HANDS THE POWER TO ABOLISH ALL FORMS OF HUMAN POVERTY AND ALL FORMS OF HUMAN LIFE. AND YET THE SAME REVOLUTIONARY BELIEFS FOR WHICH OUR FOREBEARS FOUGHT ARE STILL AT ISSUE AROUND THE GLOBE -- THE BELIEF THAT THE RIGHTS OF MAN COME NOT FROM THE GENEROSITY OF THE STATE BUT FROM THE HAND OF GOD.

"WE DATE NOT FORGET TODAY THAT WE ARE THE HEIRS OF THAT FIRST REVOLUTION. LET THE WORD GO FORTH FROM THIS TIME AND PLACE, TO FRIEND AND FOE ALIKE, THAT THE TORCH HAS BEEN PASSED TO A NEW GENERATION OF AMERICANS -- BORN IN THIS CENTURY, TEMPERED BY WAR, DISCIPLINED BY A HARD AND BITTER PEACE, PROUD OF OUR ANCIENT HERITAGE -- AND UNWILLING TO WITNESS OR PERMIT THE SLOW UNDOING OF THOSE HUMAN RIGHTS TO WHICH THIS NATION HAS ALWAYS BEEN COMMITTED, AND TO WHICH WE ARE COMMITTED TODAY AT HOME AND AROUND THE WORLD.

"LET EVERY NATION KNOW, WHETHER IT WISHES US WELL OR ILL, THAT WE SHALL PAY ANY PRICE, BEAR ANY BURDEN, MEET ANY HARDSHIP, SUPPORT ANY FRIEND, OPPOSE ANY FOE TO ASSURE THE SURVIVAL AND SUCCESS OF LIBERTY...."
(MORE)

"SINCE THIS COUNTRY WAS FOUNDED, EACH GENERATION OF AMERICANS HAS BEEN SUMMONED TO GIVE TESTIMONY TO ITS NATIONAL LOYALTY.

THE GRAVES OF YOUNG AMERICANS WHO ANSWERED THE CALL TO SERVICE SURROUND THE GLOBE.

"NOW THE TRUMPET SUMMONS US AGAIN -- NOT AS A CALL TO BEAR ARMS, THOUGH ARMS WE NEED - NOT AS A CALL TO BATTLE, THOUGH EMBATTLED WE ARE -- BUT A CALL TO BEAR THE BURDEN OF A LONG TWILIGHT STRUGGLE, YEAR IN AND YEAR OUT, 'REJOICING IN HOPE, PATIENT IN TRIBULATION' -- A STRUGGLE AGAINST THE COMMON ENEMIES OF MAN: TYRANNY, POVERTY, DISEASE, AND WAR ITSELF.

"CAN WE FORGE AGAINST THESE ENEMIES A GRAND AND GLOBAL ALLIANCE, NORTH AND SOUTH, EAST AND WEST, THAT CAN ASSURE A MORE FRUITFUL LIFE FOR ALL MANKIND? WILL YOU JOIN IN THAT HISTORIC EFFORT?

"IN THE LONG HISTORY OF THE WORLD, ONLY A FEW GENERATIONS HAVE BEEN GRANTED THE ROLE OF DEFENDING FREEDOM IN ITS HOUR OF MAXIMUM DANGER. I DO NOT SHRINK FOR THIS RESPONSIBILITY -- I WELCOME IT. I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT ANY OF US WOULD EXCHANGE PLACES WITH ANY OTHER PEOPLE OR ANY OTHER GENERATION. THE ENERGY, THE FAITH, THE DEVOTION WHICH WE BRING TO THIS ENDEAVOR WILL LIGHT OUR COUNTRY AND ALL WHO SERVE IT -- AND THE GLOW FROM THAT FIRE CAN TRULY LIGHT THE WORLD.

"AND SO, MY FELLOW AMERICANS: ASK NOT WHAT YOUR COUNTRY CAN DO FOR YOU -- ASK WHAT YOU CAN DO FOR YOUR COUNTRY.

"MY FELLOW CITIZENS OF THE WORLD: ASK NOT WHAT AMERICA WILL DO FOR YOU, BUT WHAT TOGETHER WE CAN DO FOR THE FREEDOM OF MAN...."
(MORE)

"... WE SEEK IN LAOS WHAT WE SEEK IN ALL ASIA, AND, INDEED, IN ALL OF THE WORLD -- FREEDOM FOR THE PEOPLE AND INDEPENDENCE FOR THEIR GOVERNMENT AND THIS NATION SHALL PERSEVERE IN OUR PURSUIT OF THESE OBJECTIVES....."

".... OUR OBJECTION WITH CUBA IS NOT OVER THE PEOPLE'S DRIVE FOR A BETTER LIFE. OUR OBJECTION IS TO THEIR DOMINATION BY FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC TYRANNIES. CUBAN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC REFORM SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED. QUESTIONS OF ECONOMICS AND TRADE CAN ALWAYS BE NEGOTIATED. BUT COMMUNIST DOMINATION IN THIS HEMISPHERE CAN NEVER BE NEGOTIATED.

"WE ARE PLEDGED TO WORK WITHOUT SISTER REPUBLICS TO FREE THE AMERICAS OF ALL SUCH FOREIGN DOMINATION AND ALL TYRANNY, WORKING TOWARD THE GOAL OF A FREE HEMISPHERE OF FREE GOVERNMENTS, EXTENDING FROM CAPE HORN TO THE ARCTIC CIRCLE...."
(MORE)

PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE, JANUARY 30, 1961

"OUR GREATEST CHALLENGE IS STILL THE WORLD THAT LIES BEYOND THE 'COLD WAR' -- BUT THE FIRST GREAT OBSTACLE IS STILL OUR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND COMMUNIST CHINA. WE MUST NEVER BE LULLED INTO BELIEVING THAT EITHER POWER HAS YIELDED ITS AMBITIONS FOR WORLD DOMINATION -- AMBITIONS WHICH THEY FORCEFULLY RESTATED ONLY A SHORT TIME AGO.

"ON THE CONTRARY, OUR TASK IS TO CONVINCE THEM THAT AGGRESSION AND SUBVERSION WILL NOT BE PROFITABLE ROUTES TO PURSUE THESE ENDS. OPEN AND PEACEFUL COMPETITION - FOR PRESTIGE, FOR MARKETS, FOR SCIENTIFIC ACHIEVEMENT, EVEN FOR MEN'S MINDS - IS SOMETHING ELSE AGAIN. FOR IF FREEDOM AND COMMUNISM WERE TO COMPETE FOR MAN'S ALLEGIANCE IN A WORLD AT PEACE, I WOULD LOOK TO THE FUTURE WITH EVER INCREASING CONFIDENCE....."

(MORE)

PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S ADDRESS ON A PROGRAM FOR LATIN AMERICA, MARCH 13, 1961

"ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-NINE YEARS AGO THIS WEEK THE UNITED STATES -- STIRRED BY THE HEROIC STRUGGLES OF ITS FELLOW-AMERICANS -- URGED THE RECOGNITION OF THE NEWLY INDEPENDENT LATIN AMERICAN REPUBLICS. IT WAS THEN, AT THE DAWN OF FREEDOM THROUGHOUT THE HEMISPHERE, THAT BOLIVAR SPOKE OF HIS DESIRE TO SEE THE AMERICAS FASHIONED INTO THE GREATEST REGION IN THE WORLD, 'GREATEST NOT SO MUCH BY VIRTUE OF HER AREA AND WEALTH, AS BY HER FREEDOM AND GLORY.'...."

"...OUR CONTINENTS ARE BOUND TOGETHER BY A COMMON HISTORY -- THE ENDLESS EXPLORATION OF NEW FRONTIERS. OUR NATIONS ARE THE PRODUCT OF A COMMON STRUGGLE -- THE REVOLT FROM COLONIAL RULE. AND OUR PEOPLE SHARE A COMMON HERITAGE -- THE QUEST FOR THE DIGNITY AND THE FREEDOM OF MAN.

"THE REVOLUTIONS WHICH GAVE US BIRTH IGNITED, IN THE WORDS OF THOMAS PAINE, 'A SPARK NEVER TO BE EXTINGUISHED.' AND ACROSS VAST, TURBULENT CONTINENTS THESE AMERICAN IDEALS STILL STIR MAN'S STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM.

"BUT AS WE WELCOME THE SPREAD OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION TO OTHER LANDS, WE MUST ALSO REMEMBER THAT OUR OWN STRUGGLE -- THE REVOLUTION WHICH BEGAN IN PHILADELPHIA IN 1776, AND IN CARACAS IN 1811 -- IS NOT YET FINISHED. OUR HEMISPHERE'S MISSION IS NOT YET COMPLETE. FOR OUR UNFILLED TASK IS TO DEMONSTRATE TO THE ENTIRE WORLD THAT MAN'S UNSATISFIED ASPIRATION FOR ECONOMIC PROGRESS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE CAN BEST BE ACHIEVED BY FREE MEN WORKING WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS.

"IF WE CAN DO THIS IN OUR OWN HEMISPHERE, AND FOR OUR OWN PEOPLE, WE MAY YET REALIZE THE PROPHECY OF THE GREAT MEXICAN PATRIOT, BENITO JUAREZ, THAT 'DEMOCRACY IS THE DESTINY OF FUTURE HUMANITY.'"

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PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S ADDRESS ON A PROGRAM FOR LATIN AMERICA, MARCH 13, 1961

"...IN THE WORDS OF JOSE FIGUERES, 'ONCE DORMANT PEOPLES ARE STRUGGLING UPWARD TOWARD THE SUN, TOWARD A BETTER LIFE.'

"ON THE SUCCESS OF THEIR STRUGGLE -- ON OUR ABILITY TO BRING A BETTER LIFE TO OUR PEOPLE -- HINGES THE FUTURE OF FREEDOM IN THE AMERICAS AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. TO FAIL TO ACT -- TO FAIL TO DEVOTE OUR ENERGIES TO ECONOMIC PROGRESS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE -- WOULD BE A REPROACH TO THE SPIRIT OF OUR CIVILIZATION, AND A MONUMENTAL FAILURE FOR OUR FREE SOCIETY.

"BUT IF WE ARE TO MEET A PROBLEM SO STAGGERING IN ITS DIMENSIONS, OUR APPROACH MUST ITSELF BE BOLD -- AN APPROACH CONSISTENT WITH THE MAJESTIC CONCEPT OF OPERATION PAN AMERICA. THEREFORE I HAVE CALLED ON ALL THE PEOPLE OF THE HEMISPHERE TO JOIN IN A NEW ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS -- 'ALLIANZA PARA PROGRESO' -- A VAST EFFORT, UNPARALLELED IN MAGNITUDE AND NOBILITY OF PURPOSE, TO SATISFY THE BASIC NEEDS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FOR HOMES, WORK AND LAND, HEALTH AND SCHOOLS -- 'TECHO, TRABAJO Y TIERRA, SALUD Y ESCUELA.'"

"AND IF WE ARE SUCCESSFUL -- IF OUR EFFORT IS BOLD ENOUGH AND DETERMINED ENOUGH -- THEN THE CLOSE OF THIS DECADE WILL MARK THE BEGINNING OF A NEW ERA IN THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE. THE LIVING STANDARDS OF EVERY AMERICAN FAMILY WILL BE ON THE RISE -- BASIC EDUCATION WILL BE AVAILABLE TO ALL -- HUNGER WILL BE A FORGOTTEN EXPERIENCE -- THE NEED FOR MASSIVE OUTSIDE HELP WILL HAVE PASSED -- MOST NATIONS WILL HAVE ENTERED A PERIOD OF SELF-SUSTAINING GROWTH -- AND -- ALTHOUGH THERE WILL STILL BE MUCH TO DO -- EVERY AMERICAN REPUBLIC WILL BE THE MASTER OF ITS OWN REVOLUTION OF HOPE AND PROGRESS."

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PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S ADDRESS ON A PROGRAM FOR LATIN AMERICA, MARCH 13, 1961

"WITH STEPS SUCH AS THESE WE PROPOSE TO COMPLETE THE REVOLUTION OF THE AMERICAS -- TO BUILD A HEMISPHERE WHERE ALL MEN CAN HOPE FOR THE SAME HIGH STANDARDS OF LIVING -- AND ALL CAN LIVE OUT THEIR LIVES IN DIGNITY AND IN FREEDOM."

"TO ACHIEVE THIS GOAL POLITICAL FREEDOM MUST ACCOMPANY MATERIAL PROGRESS. OUR ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS IS AN ALLIANCE OF FREE GOVERNMENTS -- AND IT MUST WORK TO ELIMINATE TYRANNY FROM A HEMISPHERE IN WHICH IT HAS NO RIGHTFUL PLACE....THIS POLITICAL FREEDOM MUST BE ACCOMPANIED BY SOCIAL CHANGE. FOR UNLESS NECESSARY SOCIAL REFORMS, INCLUDING LAND AND TAX REFORMS, ARE FREELY MADE -- UNLESS WE BROADEN THE OPPORTUNITY OF ALL OUR PEOPLE -- UNLESS THE GREAT MASS OF AMERICANS SHARE IN INCREASING PROSPERITY -- THEN OUR ALLIANCE, OUR REVOLUTION AND OUR DREAM WILL HAVE FAILED.

"BUT WE CALL FOR SOCIAL CHANGE BY FREE MEN -- CHANGE IN THE SPIRIT OF WASHINGTON AND JEFFERSON, OF BOLIVAR AND SAN MARTIN AND MARTI -- NOT CHANGE WHICH SEEKS TO IMPOSE ON MEN TYRANNIES WHICH WE CAST OUT A CENTURY AND A HALF AGO. OUR MOTTO IS WHAT IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN -- 'PROGRESS, YES! TYRANNY, NO!' -- 'PROGRESSO, SI! TIRANIA, NO!'"

"LET US ONCE AGAIN TRANSFORM THE AMERICAN CONTINENTS INTO A VAST CRUCIBLE OF REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS AND EFFORTS -- A TRIBUTE TO THE POWER OF THE CREATIVE ENERGIES OF FREE MEN -- AN EXAMPLE TO ALL THE WORLD THAT LIBERTY AND PROGRESS WALK HAND IN HAND. LET US ONCE AGAIN AWAKEN OUR AMERICAN REVOLUTION UNTIL IT GUIDES THE STRUGGLES OF PEOPLE EVERYWHERE -- NOT WITH AN IMPERIALISM OF FORCE OR FEAR -- BUT THE RULE OF COURAGE AND CREEDOM AND HOPE FOR THE FUTURE OF MAN."

WVC 101-17--

L. R.F.E.'S PERSPECTIVE ON THE WORLD SITUATION

B. SCHEDULED WASHINGTON VISITS BY EUROPEAN LEADERS

1. PERSPECTIVE AND CONSIDERATIONS

THE MONTH OF APRIL 1961 WILL WITNESS A NUMBER OF VISITS BY LEADING EUROPEAN STATESMEN IN WASHINGTON. PRIME MINISTER MACMILLAN IS SCHEDULED TO CONFER WITH PRESIDENT KENNEDY FROM APRIL 4 TO 6; CHANCELLOR ADENAUER IS EXPECTED ON APRIL 12; PREMIER KARAMANLIS WILL BE IN WASHINGTON ON APRIL 17.

THESE VISITS HAVE SIGNIFICANCE IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT U.S. EMPHASIS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICA, LATIN AMERICA AND SOUTH EAST ASIA HAS RAISED A QUESTION IN THE MINDS OF SOME WHETHER THE UNDER-DEVELOPED AREAS OF THE WORLD HAVE, IN THE THINKING OF WASHINGTON, TAKEN PRIORITY OVER THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AND, MORE SPECIFICALLY, WESTERN EUROPE. THE TRUTH IS THAT U.S. CONCERN WITH THE UNDER-DEVELOPED AREAS AND WITH EUROPE IS NOT COMPETITIVE BUT COMPLEMENTARY. IN FACT, THE U.S. PROPOSAL THAT ALL INDUSTRIALIZED WESTERN POWERS CONTRIBUTE ONE PERCENT OF THEIR GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT TO ADVANCE ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN THE UNDER-DEVELOPED WORLD SUGGESTS BY ITSELF THAT U.S. INTEREST IN A FLOURISHING EUROPEAN COMMUNITY OF NATIONS CONTINUES TO BE PARAMOUNT.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY RESOLVED ALL POSSIBLE QUESTIONS ALONG THESE LINES BY SAYING OVER BRITISH TV ON MARCH 26 THAT "OUR BASIC ALLIANCE, OF COURSE, IS OUR ALLIANCE WITH WESTERN EUROPE. THAT'S OUR ANCHOR, BUT THAT SHIP CAN ONLY HOLD ITS POSITION IF THE WINDS FROM THE SOUTH ARE NOT TOO UNFAVORABLE. SO THAT I THINK THAT IN STRENGTHENING OUR TIES WITH LATIN AMERICA, AFRICA AND ASIA WE ARE STRENGTHENING THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY."

2.

DIRECTIVE

COMMENT ON PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S CONFERENCES WITH PRIME MINISTER MACMILLAN, CHANCELLOR ADENAUER AND PREMIER KARAMANLIS WILL STRESS THE FACT THAT THE POLITICAL, MILITARY AND ECONOMIC LINKS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND WESTERN EUROPE CONTINUE TO BE THE FOUNDATION OF U.S. POLICY.

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I. R.F.E.'S PERSPECTIVE ON THE WORLD SITUATION

C. INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

1. PERSPECTIVE AND CONSIDERATIONS

FOR MANY YEARS FOLLOWING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF INDIAN INDEPENDENCE, INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY - AND ESPECIALLY INDIAN POSITIONS TAKEN IN THE U.N. - HAD GIVEN RISE TO CONCERN THAT INDIAN "NEUTRALITY" WAS IN EFFECT NEUTRALITY IN FAVOR OF THE COMMUNIST ORBIT. AN EXPLANATION OFTEN SUGGESTED WAS NEW DELHI FELT THE NEED OF EXTREME CAUTION TOWARD THE COMMUNIST POWERS WHICH WOULD NOT HESITATE TO THREATEN INDIA'S SECURITY IF AND WHEN INDIAN POLICIES DISPLEASED THEM, WHILE NO INDIAN FELT THREATENED BY ANY OR ALL OF THE WESTERN NATIONS. WHATEVER THE EXPLANATION, INDIA'S IMPORTANCE IN ASIA AND IN THE WORLD IS SUCH THAT INDIAN INCLINATIONS TO SIDE AGAINST THE WEST WERE VIEWED AS A CONSIDERABLE ASSET TO THE COMMUNIST ORBIT AND A FACTOR UNFAVORABLE TO THE WEST ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE.

THIS SITUATION BEGAN TO CHANGE IN THE WAKE OF THE INDIAN PUBLIC'S INDIGNATION OVER COMMUNIST SUPPRESSION OF THE HUNGARIAN AND ESPECIALLY THE TIBETAN RISINGS. IT WAS FURTHER INFLUENCED BY RED CHINESE INCURSIONS ACROSS INDIA'S NORTHERN FRONTIERS AND BY PEIPING'S UNWILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE IN RESOLVING THE ENSUING DISAGREEMENT.

MORE RECENTLY INDIAN POLICY HAS BEGUN TO SHIFT EVEN MORE SIGNIFICANTLY FROM PREVIOUSLY ESTABLISHED CONCEPTS OF NEUTRALITY. PRIME MINISTER NEHRU HAS MADE VERY STRONG STATEMENTS ON THE NEED TO MAINTAIN THE ORGANIZATION OF THE U.N. AS IT IS AT PRESENT, AT LEAST FOR THE PRESENT ("TO RAISE THIS QUESTION IN A BIG WAY NOW WOULD DIVERT ATTENTION FROM SUCH PRESSING PROBLEMS AS THOSE OF THE CONGO AND DISARMAMENT"), AND IN SO DOING HAS TAKEN A POSITION DIAMETRICALLY OPPOSED TO THAT OF MOSCOW AND SIMILAR TO THAT OF THE U.S.. HE HAS ADVOCATED STRONG U.N. ACTION IN

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THE CONGO AND ASSIGNED SEVERAL THOUSAND INDIAN COMBAT TROOPS TO THE U.N. COMMAND IN THE CONGO -- AT THE VERY TIME WHEN THE SOVIETS DEMANDED AN END TO U.N. MILITARY ACTION IN THAT COUNTRY. HE HAS ALIGNED HIMSELF WITH THE U.S./BRITISH PROPOSALS TO PACIFY AND NEUTRALIZE LAOS AND HAS SO ADVISED PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV.

TO EVALUATE THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FACT THAT INDIA TODAY HAS BEEN ASSOCIATING HERSELF INCREASINGLY WITH WESTERN POSITIONS ON ISSUES OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE, ONE NEED DO NO MORE THAN LOOK BACK THREE OR FOUR YEARS WHEN NO INSTANCES OF SUCH ASSOCIATION HAD EVER OCCURRED.

2.

DIRECTIVE

A) R.F.E. WILL MAKE NO ATTEMPT TO ANTICIPATE FURTHER INDICATIONS OF SHIFTS IN INDIAN POLICY FAVORING WESTERN POSITIONS OR TO EXAGGERATE THE IMPORTANCE OF CURRENT INSTANCES IN WHICH INDIA IS ASSOCIATING ITSELF WITH WESTERN POLICIES ON MAJOR ISSUES.

B) R.F.E. WILL, HOWEVER, CALL THE ATTENTION OF ITS LISTENERS TO ANY AND ALL OF THESE INSTANCES, PRESENT AND FUTURE AS THEY MAY OCCUR, AND CONTRAST THEM WITH THE PAST WHEN INDIAN NEUTRALITY SEEMED TO FAVOR THE COMMUNIST ORBIT.

C) IN SO DOING, R.F.E. WILL STRESS THE GEOPOLITICAL, PHYSICAL AND MORAL IMPORTANCE OF INDIA IN WORLD AFFAIRS.

END MSG.

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GARBLED PART SHUD READ -

THAT HELPS TO EXPLAIN OUR INSTINCTIVE REACTION TOWARD COLONIALISM...

RPTG

THAT HELPS TO EXPLAIN OUR INSTINCTIVE REACTION TOWARD COLONIALISM...