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Project For a Radio Program

Journalism 221

A

very good

well conceived, realistic.

Purpose of propagating correct opinion - (P. 8-9)
Free choice (pp. 11-12) - Does it sound as our belief that
the correct one should have the same type of government? Or
are you committing it to use the "liberation" of the correct people?
The discussion p. 15 ff - excellent. It would also be good that
the discussion be in a discussion in which all points of
view would be stimulating & provocative in the extreme. But
imagine Russell being invited to see the VOA as a person!
Does the reaction mean that you think the
effect is helpful?

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THE LEADING IDEAS

Clear & definite presentation

This radio program is intended to promote better relations between the two blocs. After fifteen years of cold war, the moment has come for us to admit that Russia's aim is no more violent aggression. Khrushchev ~~xxxxx~~ claims that he believes in peaceful coexistence, and there is no clue of the contrary. His handling of the Cuban affair proves beyond doubt that war is not his objective.

On the other side Kennedy admitted that the present situation is " 'a bet' between two forces ... about the direction in which History is moving⁽¹⁾". This is a quite new definition of the causes of the Cold War, which is no longer a war of defence fought by the West against the Soviet threat, but the struggle between two ideologies.

In other days, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ such a struggle would easily and almost inevitably lead to a war, as the quickest and sole method to solve it. In our age, however, a war would be the end of the whole civilization. The two ideologies must therefore acknowledge the existence of the other: they must coexist.

But coexistence can be really peaceful and ever-lasting only if it is un-armed. Any disarmament is ~~no~~ impossible until the two blocs are suspicious of each other's intentions.

To day much of these suspicions should be vanished- at least in our field. Khrushchev ~~xxx~~ displayed his good will; this is the moment to display our own.

The Cuban crisis lifted high the prestige of the U.S. It has been said that we are winning the Cold War⁽²⁾. Politi-

tically and strategically, we are in a position of superiority. This is the most favourable moment for negotiation and compromise(3).

To be sure, there is an evident clash between what this program will say and propose, and the actual policies of the U.S. today: military build-up is continuing restlessly. But these policies are heritage of the old-fashioned view of the Cold War, whereas this broadcast is starting anew, from President's Kennedy last definition of the ~~xxxx~~ present ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ struggle, and will draw it to the extremes consequences,

In particular, the aims of this radio program is to persuade the Soviets that:

- A -- we trust in their good will and their desire for peace;
- B -- we fully accept the theory of coexistence, with all its implications;
- C -- we are ready to compromise in the solution of every problem .

These statements are so strongly in contrast with our present policies, that they will probably regarded as mere propaganda.

The carrot will seem too sweet ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~. They will ~~xxx~~ suspect it is poisoned. And they will sneer at it as a sign of weakness. To persuade them to eat it, luckily we have got also a good stick: we shall ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ show them our ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ strength, stressing the following points:

- D -- in the missile field, our retaliatory power is overwhelming;
- C -- in the field of conventional armaments, our

- forces are smaller than Russia's, but efficient ;
- F -- politically, the area of democracy is constantly expanding, all over the world;
- G -- economically, our position is one of absolute superiority. The gap between Russia and the West is narrowing much slower than it was expected.

Outside this peculiar game of the stick and the carrot, another point will be touched: the problem of Red China:

H -- it is in the interest of the U.R.S.S. as well as of the peace of the world to tame ~~xxxxxxx~~ Chinese imperialism.

The split between Moscow and Peiping is likely to become an "area of agreement" of paramount importance.

Transcribed
30 - 35 : What If Mao Had The Bomb ? Second editorial,
dealing with the problems of Chinese imperialism
and warmongering. Pages 13, 14 .

35 - 55 : Nineteen Sixty Three, and Beyond. Twenty minutes
of panel discussion, with the participation, real
or simulated, of Bertrand Russel, Isaac Deutscher,
a moderate U.S. politician, and a high officer from
the Pentagon. This is the hot dish of the program;
but its importance is merely one of psychological
preparation to the next, and last piece. Pages
15, 16, 17, 18, 19.

55 - 60 : New Policies for a Better Era. Compromise in the
solution of the hottest problem, from Berlin to Cuba
to Vieth Nam to the U.S. bases are the concrete
proposals of this message. Pages 20, 21, 22.

THE NEWS

- A -- Situation in Congo. U. S. active policies to secure unity and peace in this countries ~~won~~ should be underlined. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ The advice to Tshombe to "promptly end the secession... disband the mercenaries... prevent sabotage...and cooperate in maintaining law and order" issued by the Department of State should be reported.
- B-- India. Nehru reports that Chinese are massing troops in Tibet . "Under their present leadership...they are most arrogant and will utilize every opportunity to demonstrate their military might and expose our weakness".
- C -- Telsat. As the Russians seem to be very interested in scientific achievements(4)we can dedicate a few words to the electronic~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ " recapturing"of the Satellite, which has been damaged by ~~xxx~~ radiations.
- In the same time, we can also acknowledge the Russian exploit of bouncing radar signals on Mercury.
- D --~~xxxxx~~ Poland. In order to proof the impartiality of this bulletin, we can report the friction between U.S.A. and the Polish government over the payments ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ for American properties nationalized in the Communist Take-over. The tone of this piece of news should be quite normal and business-like.
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WHERE WE STAND (5)

The following piece is intended to be a comprehensive ~~outline~~ outlook of the position of the West at the beginning of the new year.

It is composed of several items. As the importance of this essay does not consist in ~~depth~~ depth of analysis or newness of statements, it can be made more "audible" by the adoption of feminine voice, & who alternate the masculine in the lecture of the different paragraphs.

As the New year opens, the position of the West is as favourable as never has hitherto been. The prestige of the U.S. is very high abroad. The Mississippi questions showed ~~the~~ the firmness of this Government in ~~fighting~~ the fight against the surviving racism. As a consequence, most of the African nations more and more are leaning to the West. The Cuban crisis demonstrated that the U.S.A. are strong, and ready to use their strength. The Minuteman program is giving us a definite missile superiority.

Western Europe is economically strong, and growing stronger every day. The "decaying Capitalism, in spite of all Marxist dogmas and prophecies, is a fully vital system, on both sides of the Atlantic. With the probable ~~access~~ access of Great Britain, the Common Market will be ~~the~~ the biggest market in the world, with 250 million customers, a gross national product ~~more than~~ ^{nearly} double than U.R.S.S.'s, and the fastest rate of growth (6)

In Africa, communist infiltration is failing almost everywhere; in the Middle East, the ~~feudal~~ feudal government of Yemen has been overthrown; the Arab nations are working to their progress; Algeria is a free and independent nation. In Asia, China's naked imperialism helped to relieve the friction between India and Pakistan, , weakened the ~~the~~ Indian Communist party, and drove ~~the~~ the whole Indian nation towards

DIALOGUE OF THE TWO FARMERS

The following sketch deals with the ever present Russian headache: agriculture.

The scene is the New York Fair in ~~1964~~ 1964. Two old farmers seat resting on a bench. One is chewing peanuts and popcorn , the other sun-flowers brought from Russia. Both are simple people, but full of common sense, as two old peasants are supposed to be. In form of dialogue, by short sentences and simple words, this scene should draw an history of the average Russian farmer: the semi-feudal conditions anterior to 1917 , the faith in the bolshevik revoulution, the famine of the early days, the New Economic Policy, of which Russians have an happy memory; the forced collectivization of the land in 1928-30, accompanied by the massacre of innumerable kulaks; the harsh years of ~~xxxxxx~~ industrialization; the war, and the Germans welcome as liberators; the hatred arisen by their behavior; the wave of patriotism; the enormous loss of lifes suffered by the peasant class; Stalinist terror. Finally, Khrushchef and the de-Stalinization; the social improvements ~~xxxxxx~~ started in the middle fifties; the economic progress, the Sputniks, and the pride of being Russian.

These and other points should be be touched . But they are only the background ~~which should be felt through the Russian farmer's words.~~ which should be felt through the Russian farmer's words. The real issue is agriculture. The wide spread opposition to the huge collective farms; their troubles and difficulties; the politicization and ~~ineffectiveness~~ ineffectiveness of their management; The lack of fertilizer, roads, machines. The weather and the soil; the virgin lands; the private plots and their amazingly important share in the total output of ~~certain~~ certain products(8).

All these problems should be exposed x as a plain peasant sees them. He is the more important of the two interlocutors. His portrait, as resulting from his words, should be of a wise old man, fond of his little piece of land, disgusted with many aspects of Soviet cultural policy, yet good Communist and, specially, good Russian.

The American farmer is of less importance. He puts the questions and occasionally points out the differences and the advantages of the american agricultural system.

After having casually chatted for a while, the two old men continue the visit to the Fair - the one joining his numerous family of sons and nephews, ~~xxxxxxxx~~ while the other takes again his place in the group of Russian farmers, whose guided and escorted visit to the Fair is the prize for a long and faithful service performed as ~~xxxx~~ Russian, as farmers and as Communists.

Freedom And the Right of Free Choice

(This is an editorial. It is somewhat emphatic and even oratorical.
It should be read by a male voice)

"Two great forces -- the world of communism and the world of free choice -- have... made a 'bet' about ~~which~~ the direction in which History is moving"

This statement(9) is of paramount importance for the clarification of the relationship between the U.S.A. and all the other nations.

It spells "Free Choic**e**" , not Freedom. The latter is one of those worn out words which assume completely different meaning , depending on the speaker~~x~~ as well as on the listener . When we say "freedom", Communists think to "Capitalist exploitation". When a Communist boasts ~~h~~ his freedom, we think to Stalin's dictatorship.

But "Free choice " is a new one, and one which points out what we exactly mean for Freedom: each man's right to choose what is best -- -- or what he think it is ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ best -- for himself. We stand with Voltaire: " I do not agree with what you say, but I will fight to my death for your right of saying it."

* * *

This definition , of course, will be regarded as mere propaganda. But we have some sound proofs that our line has always been consistent ~~xx~~ with it.

We have our own ideas, way of life, religious and philosophical theories, social and economic system, political organization. What Communists reject as mere "Capitalistic exploitation" is a system which has ~~xx~~ made America great and all Americans proud of themselves and of their

Good

~~The next piece is concerned with Red China. Its title could be~~

WHAT IF MAC HAD THE BOMB?

This piece is

~~It is intended~~ intended to underline the perils of Chinese nationalism and imperialism, and to suggest that something should be made in order to quench it, before China gets too strong. Her nationalism roots in the pride of an ancient civilization, and in the monstrous size of her population. Chinese history displays periods of power alternated with periods of ~~xxx~~ weakness (10). The last century and a half has been a period of recession. It was "Napoleon" who observed, however: "Let China sleep. She will eat us all when she wakes (11). Now, Communist ideology woke her up. Will she eat us? This depends on the way we deal with her, as long as we (we ~~xxx~~ all, not Chinese men) are still stronger.

Her imperialism depends largely on her internal problems, of ~~xxxx~~ which the most important are the pressure of ~~xxx~~ her enormous population and the ever present shortage of food. Weak India, in the ^{first} South, has felt the ~~xxx~~ taste of Chinese imperialism. But Russia should be also aware of the appeal exercised on overcrowded China by the Siberian lonely spaces. New China accepted Russian leadership as long as it needed it, but now it is likely to proceed on her own way, in pursuit of her own interests, which do not coincide with Russia's.

We are not asking Russia to join us in an anti-Chinese crusade; we are simply asking her, for the sake of peace, to use her surviving ideological authority in order to quench Chinese warmongering. Moscow ~~preaches~~ preaches peace and co-existence; Peiping says that no compromise is possible, and war is inevitable. Such extremism should be destroyed in the heart of any man. In a sense, today's China is similar to yesterday's Russia, but no Trotsky can attempt an invasion of a new Poland without meeting the

"nuclear teeth" of the U.S. . China should be urged to ~~xxxx~~ outgrow her ideological childhood , and ~~join~~ ^{means} Russia in her wise maturity. By what ~~xxxxxxx~~ could possibly Russia exercise her influence? Economic threats are ~~xxxxxxx~~ possible to her because of China's dependence on Soviet technology; ~~xxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ furthermore, without Soviet grains, Chinese food shortage would be very heavy. But such a politics of economic sanctions would possibly drive Mao to dangerous exasperation. The ~~xxxx~~ immediate policy towards China ~~xxx~~ should be to prevent the build up of an independent nuclear power. What would happen if an A-bomb were in such irresponsible hands? This is an issue of paramount importance.

Perhaps the most realistic attitude towards China, once it has quit her openly aggressive attitude, ^{will be} ~~is~~ a benevolent one. A first step could be her admission to the U.N., which is long overdue : a nation of more than six hundred millions people, and most ancient civilization, can not be denied a seat there any longer. The Formosa problem could be crystallized in its present terms. Economic and technological exchanges should be encouraged. Her main problem - the population explosion-- ~~xxxxx should be~~ should be studied and handled as Japan is doing, i. e. birth control. Thus, with her aggressiveness quenched, her backwardness relieved, her ~~xxxx~~ hunger satisfied, and China will be able to take her place among the great Nations of the World.

1963 , AND BEYOND

The following is a panel discussion held by four men , each of whom ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ represents a different attitude towards Soviet Russia and the Cold War, but each of whom moves on a common platform of desire for peace and good will.

These men are a philosopher, a political writer expert in Soviet history and affairs, an American politician, and a high officer of the Pentagon.

The philosopher is Bertrand Russel. His ideas are well ~~xx~~ known (12). He is an active, irriducible pacifist. He has been a bitter critic of American policy, and of many aspects of the American system (he has been a Labourite). A terror, very close to hysteria, of the nuclear war is one of his characteristics. He is one of the outstanding advocates of compromise. The slogan "better red than dead" is attributed to him. This, of course, does not mean that he particularly likes the Communist system; but, as a rationalist and an agnostic, he is free from religious prejudices against it. His criticism to Communism is based on rational arguments: can this system work better than ~~xxx~~ Capitalism? can it secure a sufficient amount of personal freedom? can it grant happiness to mankind? At the moment, the answers to these questions are negative. But the difference between the two systems are only relative; it is a matter of degrees. There is no reason why they should slaughter each other. The nightmare of a nuclear war must persuade the two enemies that they must coexist, seek better relations, understand each other and ~~disxx~~ disarm. Also, in the words of the aged philosopher, a vision of the future should be sketched: National governments, source of constant trouble , swept away and sucked in a

supra-national ^{world} government. Nationalism and provincialism conquered by a standardization of the cultures and civilizations; ~~diffusion~~ diffusion of learning all over the world; the ~~xxx~~ wealthy and industrialized zones of the world busy in building up the economy of the poor ones; the economic activity conducted mostly by private enterprise, but checked by the government, in the fashion of the Scandinavian countries; finally, intermixing of the several races through marriage, encouraged by the government and made easy by traveling facilities.

The political writer is Isaac Deutscher. He is more realistic than Russell; he has a deeper experience of soviet Russia, and is somewhat less inclined to compromise. His views are restricted to the ~~past~~ past history, the present and the ~~xxxxxx~~ immediate future; he dares not to draw an outline of the utopic ~~xxxxxxx~~ world of the unforeseeable future. He ~~xxxxxx~~ acknowledges that Khrushchev's Russia is not so threatening as Stalin's. The Russian people are almost solidly Communist, though sources of grave dissatisfaction still exist. But they intend to eliminate it gradually, within the framework of the Soviet system. Deutscher also acknowledges the amazing progress achieved in forty five years of Communism, specially in the field of industrialization and education. He trusts in Khrushchev's good will, in peaceful coexistence and sees the cold war as a "Great Contest", which is presently fought, and more and more will be in the future, in the economic camp. He believes that someday in the future Soviet standard of living will approach America's, in which case Communist appeal ~~unto~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ the still undeveloped nations will be very strong. But he also thinks that the economic issue is not the only one involved in this struggle. The question of freedom ~~xxx~~ will retain its great importance. In this field, the

West enjoys an ^{great} ~~unmatched~~ superiority, which Russia can not ignore. She can not match it unless she loosens the rigidity of his system. In his opinion, freedom will progress along with economic prosperity. If the great contest will not accidentally precipitate in a war, if the ^{military} ~~xxxxxxx~~ expenditures will not ruin the economies, he foresees the gradual elimination of the main differences between the two systems, and the ~~xxxxxx~~ consequent fading of the Great Contest.

The politician could have the name, the voice and the ideas of any U.S. congressman, provided that he is not an extremist.

He will point out the basic, irriducible contrast between the two systems, as way ~~xxxxxxx~~ of living and thinking. He can freely appeal to God and Freedom. He notices no appreciable progress, in the Soviet Union, towards ~~xxxxxxx~~ a liberalization of life and politics. Things are better than in Stalin's times, of course: the secret police lost his power, and the slaves have been freed from the labor camps. But arts and culture are still strictly checked (13); the political system is still oligarchic; the vaunted "classless society" created a new privileged aristocracy. In the economic field, the perspectives are not so bright as Deutscher thinks. Soviet economy is still struggling in the tight shirt of Marxist dogmas, which prevent it from ~~xxx~~ developing as fast as Western economies. Unless it adopts a free market system for an efficient determination of prices and costs, the system will continue to be clumsy and wasteful, and fail to secure to Russian people a standard of living comparable to the Western. Deutscher's economic contest is still far in the future. (14).

The present situation does not allow much credit to Russia. The attempt to install offensive missile bases next door to U.S. coast ~~xxx~~ certainly was not a peaceful action. Khrushchev displayed

prudent statesmanship in withdrawing the~~x~~ bases, but the atmosphere of suspicion will not easily dissolve. Though Russia's ~~xxx~~ words of peace and coexistence are not always consistent with her policies, the U.S. are ready to take the initiative for a betterment of the international relations, issuing some conciliatory proposals (15). We warmly invite ~~xxxxxxx~~ the Kremlinto take them in serious consideration~~x~~, and open the proper negotiations.

The name of the military man is not important, but he should ~~be~~ be an high officer. His position is a little more intransigent ~~xx~~ than the politician's. He does not see any important change in soviet policies and aims, so no liberalization of American attitude is authorized, in his view. He points out that the ~~xxxxxxx~~ Reds broke the nuclear truce; he sees a restless military build up going on behind the Curtain; we must not ~~xxxxxx~~ open our guard. He agrees that the present situation is extremely dangerous, but sees no exit, unless the Reds actually begin to throw their weapons in the depth of the ocean.

As an expert in strategy, he is perfectly aware ~~xxxx~~ of the jeopardy of an indefinite military tension. The mechanism of our defense is so incredibly ~~xxxxxxx~~ complex and articulated, that the nightmare of a ~~xxxxxxx~~ "mistaken war", caused by a breakdown of communications, is real and present (16). The chances will be even more numerous in the future, when more and more machines will take over, and the exploitation of space for military purposes will lead to such things as A-bombs orbiting like satellites around the earth, ready to be dropped on the target~~x~~ in every moment. But ~~xx~~ we need not to go so far; the present situation is frightening enough, though new system are continually devised to reduce the possibilities of a fatal mistake.

Continuing, the Officier could outline the present balance of ~~xxxxpower~~ power, specially stressing the american superiority in the field of missiles, and the apocalyptic retaliatory power, which could allow the U.S. ^{even if attacked by surprise} to destroy any aggressor, ~~even if~~ ~~attacked by surprise~~ with nuclear weapons. A vision of terror and destruction, detailed by technical and military ~~xxxx~~ data, should be ^{evoked} ~~evoked~~ by the words of the Officer, so that everybody can understand that he himself is frightened by the nightmare of a war; his whole attitude should carefully be one of an honest and total refusal of it. On the other hand, he does not see a way to ~~xxx~~ wake up from this nightmare; he sees no ~~xxxx~~ solution.

In the course of the discussion, the solution should be implicit in the words of the politician, so far as the immediate future is concerned; in Deutscher's, for the foreseeable future~~x~~, whereas Russell's ~~xxxx~~ opinions should lead to the vision of a new "golden age. Each of the participants to this discussion ~~xx~~ brings his contribute to the building of a better future. But they do not work in a pre planned harmony. Each starts on different bases, and struggle with the other until a point of agreement is found; hence, the struggle begins with the next debater~~x~~, trough questions and answers, exposition and criticism. But also a clear, logical succession of ideas should be avoided. The discussion should be as warm and volcanic as possible. Its aim is not to persuade through cold reason, but to give a quantity of ideas, ~~xxxxxxx~~ and make the listener~~s~~ fear and hope, pray and think~~x~~. In the good Socratic tradition, this panel discussion shall not give the final answer to all the questions, but ~~xxxxxx~~, but only suggest them implicitly: it is the lister's business to pull them out. I think this is a good way to make him forget that this is a propaganda~~x~~ broadcast.

NEW POLICIES FOR A BETTER ERA

This piece is one of the most important. Many of its points are very controversial. Many ~~x~~ (particularly those regarding Cuba , Germany and the admission of Red China to the U.N.) are plainly contrary to present U. S. policies. But these are long range proposals, and I have ~~the~~ faith that the future will move along these tracks.

This broadcast should begin noticing that, after ~~xxx~~ Cuba, the position both of the U.S.A. and the U.R.S.S. has been much clarified. Our tough standing demonstrated, beyond every doubt, that we are ready to fight, if our vital interests are threatened. But Russia's behavior in the crisis is also very important, because it pointed out that she ~~x~~ will not risk a nuclear war--unless, of course, her vital interests are menaced. There fore, the image of a Russia ready to launch an all out war as soon as the right occasion is at hand should ~~xxxx~~ have vanished from the minds of responsible Americans. On ~~xxxx~~ these basis, reciprocal trust can and must be established. The chances for a softening of the cold war(which is mainly result of reciprocal ^{ter}ror, suspect and misunderstanding) have never been brighter than to day ~~x~~ afetr we all stood an the wedge of the abyss, in the late October. This, for both sides, is the best moment to display all their good will. This is the moment to appear benevolent and ready to compro mise. And these are our proposals.

A -- We will not oppose the re-admission of Cuba to the O.A.S. To be sure , we do not like Castro's dictatorship, nor the Communist system he has imposed to the Cuban people. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Billions of dollars of private American properties have been ap-

appropriated by Castro. Still, we think that international peace is more important, and are ~~are~~ ready to lift the economic blockade ~~xxxxxx~~. Every form of coercion will be avoided - as long as our security is not threatened.

B -- We shall try to persuade West Germany to accept the solution of the Berlin problem on these ~~xxxx~~ terms: disarmament, neutralization and unification of the two Germanies, with Berlin as the capital, and the present Oder-Neisse boundary. The withdrawal from the Nato shall not, however, influence the position of Germany in the Common Market.

C -- We shall not oppose the admission of Red China to the U.N. But the Formosa problem should be frozen in its present ~~xxxxx~~ situation, with the promise of both Chinas to give up every claim on the other.

D --- South Viet-Nam should be neutralized; a U.N. force should protect it from any ~~xxx~~ further infiltration from the North.

E -- An extensive program of economic and cultural exchanges with Russia and all other nations of the Soviet Bloc should be undertaken. Both countries should liberalize as much as possible the formalities of access, in order to encourage the movement of visitors. A very large program of student exchange, comprising the hundred of thousands in both directions, should be ~~sta~~ ^{pre-}

pared. Free circulation of all kind printed matter,
and other means of expression should be allowed.

F - The gradual ~~with~~ withdrawal of the U. S
military bases abroad should be negotiated

THE REACTION

I guess that normal propaganda broadcast are quite different in ~~xxx~~ tone and contents than this one. Thus, Russia's reaction will probably be surprise and incredulity. They will label it as a new kind of ~~propag~~ propaganda approach, aimed to opiate them; make them loosen their defensive system and be treacherously attacked. They do not know the story of the wooden Horse, but, unlike the naive ~~Trojan~~ Trojans, they will not pull it inside the walls. Which is too bad, because this horse is not a ~~xxx~~ trick. It really is a sign of reconciliation and peace.

I really mean what I say in this program, but they will not ~~xxxx~~ believe. And to keep their citizens from falling in the trap, they will probably say that my proposals are just plain talk. It should not be difficult for them to stress the inconsistency of ~~xxxxxx~~ these proposed policies with what is really going on. Quotations and misquotation from the writings of all kinds of American journalists and politicians will be a good and cheap device to demonstrate this inconsistency.

Not all the message, however, will sound so dangerously sweet to the ears of Russian listeners. Some of its tenets are ~~xx~~ anything but conciliatory and benevolent. Our opposite numbers will underline our talks of war and missile superiority, as vermongering and threatening. They could sneer at our claims of military superiority, but I do not think they will stress too much this point, because it seems that we are really superior, under many aspects, and the Pentagon Officer could bring out facts and figures to proof it.

Some of the more conciliatory proposals will be rejected as mere propaganda; others, ~~like~~ as the controlled disarmament, will be rejected ~~as~~ on the old grounds that they are only a trick to spy in the Soviet territory.

Finally, I do not exactly know what would the Soviets think of a neutral disarmed and unified Germany, but I rather think they will oppose it, or , at least, require West Germany's quitting of her membership in the M.E.C. (which condition, of course, is ~~i~~ un -acceptable by us).

NOTES AND REFERENCES

~~xxxxxxxx~~

- (1). "Look" magazine January 15, pag. 18
- (2) "Look" magazine, Jan. 15, cover title.
- (3) This is not a paradox. In every war, he who enjoys a momentaneous superiority, and fears it will not last, usually tries to stop the fight and retain his gains.
- (4) Some ~~elements~~ ^{circumstances} indicate the existence of a real worship~~xxx~~ for science, especially after the Sputnik I.
- (5) Headline, and many of the ideas, are derived from John Hunter's article in "Look" magazine, ~~xx~~ Jan 15, 1963
- (6) "Newsweek", Jan 7, 1963.
- (7) I am not quite sure of that, the situation seems pretty confused, Anyway, this is a propaganda program.
- (8) The pattern for dealing with this problem is the article in "U.S. News and World Report", Sept 3, 1962, pag. 70-73
- (9) "Look" magazine, Jan. 15, 1963, pag. 18.
- (10) "Khrushchev and the Russian Challenge, pag. 157.
- (11) The same.
- (12) His name is ~~xx~~ often mentioned in the press, specially in times of crisis.
- (13) ~~xxxxxxxx~~ See "The Washington Post" Jan. 5 1963, for recent ~~xxxxxxxx~~ querrels and complains ~~xxx~~ among Soviet artists.
- (14) Ideas for these statements have been borrowed from 2 "U.S. News and World Report", Dec ~~xx~~ 17, 1962.
- (15) these proposals, briefly outlined here, are repeated and developed in the next ~~xxxxxxxx~~ part of the program.

(16) He shold^u outline a situation similar to tha described^d in the
book " Fail Safe".

Bibliography

The textbooks for this course, and especially some of the collateral readings, have been of great importance in affecting my whole attitude towards ~~xxx~~ the Communist bloc and the problem of the cold war. Deutscher's "The great Contest" had the effect of a real revelation. But, in general, the textbooks ~~xxxxxxxx~~ are not directly ~~xxxxx~~ involved in the layout of this program.

Other books read or checked:

1. How the Soviet System Works by Bauer, Inkeles, Kluckhohn, Random House, New York, 1956.
2. "Khrushchev and the Russian Challenge" ~~xxxx~~ by Hearst, Considine, Conniff, Avon Books, 1960.
3. "Russia in Transition" by Isaac Deutscher, Grove Press, 1960.
4. "New Hopes For² the Changing World" by Bertrand Russell, Simon and ~~xx~~Scuster, 1951, 1952.
5. "Marx and the Marxists" by Sidney Hook, Van Nostrand, 1955.

Though all these books have been instrumental in providing the framework and the general attitude, most of the actual contents of the program are drawn from newspapers, as "The Washington Post & Time Herald" and magazines ~~xxxxxx~~ as "Life" "Time" "U.S. ~~xxx~~ news & World Report" "Newsweek" and ~~xxx~~ "Look".