

September 24, 1957

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: Worldwide Information Campaign on the U. S. (Free World) Disarmament Proposals

The No. 1 priority task of the Government's overseas information effort over the next 20 months must be to explain and make clear to peoples abroad the United States' (Free World) disarmament proposals. As a result of the work at London, the West now has for the first time a disarmament package that can be so treated globally.

All other themes must be subordinated to this. A major campaign will be launched by USIA, with the help of other departments and agencies, to give people overseas an awareness and understanding of the content of the proposals.

The Department of State, the OCB, and USIA concur in this priority. The task is necessary and challenging in view of the extreme importance and complexity of the subject, and in view of the need to counter the emotion-charged Communist slogans: "Stop the tests" and "Ban the bomb".

The following are giving assistance to USIA in developing the special campaign: Assistant Secretary Berding and his Public Affairs staff at State, Ambassador Lodge and his staff at the United Nations, Governor Stassen and his Disarmament staff.

State Department review completed

- 2 -

Funds for the long-range effort will be included in the USIA FY '59 budget request. FY '58 funds will be diverted from other USIA projects, to the extent necessary, to begin the program immediately.

Nature and Purpose of Campaign

The program will be one of information and explanation, not argumentation and invective. Its purpose is to explain the substance of the Western proposals, subscribed to by 15 nations: to show that they are workable, reasonable, hopeful, and that they constitute by far the best plan yet devised to avoid the horror of nuclear war.

Through this campaign our aim is to bring people to the point where they will say and feel: "Why on earth won't the Russians move toward a plan as reasonable and hopeful as this one?" If we are successful in this, the leverage of world opinion will eventually help force the Soviets into an historic, limited first-step agreement.

In the "Atoms for Peace" campaign we have already seen what the pressure of world opinion can do to change Soviet policy.

All communications media will be used to concentrate on clarifying and portraying the positive disarmament program of the West as the surest road to durable peace and the prevention of a nuclear WWII. This will include motion picture documentaries, exhibits, special articles, pamphlets, TV shorts, radio programs, lectures, posters, personal contacts, and a definitive book on the

- 3 -

United States' disarmament record. Materials will be pitched on two levels: one to reach opinion leaders, and one to inform the man in the street.

A powerful argument for the Plan, for emphasis abroad, is that it offers the only hope of reducing the enormous burden of arms spending which, in the President's words, hangs today like "a cross of iron" on the world's people.

While the primary character of the campaign must be positive, the negative element of exposing Soviet insincerity may be injected through inference and through the posing of questions, e. g. "Why do the Soviets continue to test nuclear bombs secretly?" "Why do the Kremlin leaders boast of a ICBM 'capable of reaching all countries'?" "Why do the Soviets consistently balk at inspection and safeguards which other nations willingly accept?"

Because of the complexity of the Plan, the campaign must deal with the various elements separately:

1. Conventional weapons reduction and reduction of armed forces.
2. Nuclear weapons control
 - (a) cessation of tests
 - (b) cessation of production of fissionable materials for weapons
 - (c) transfer of fissionable materials from weapons stockpiles to peaceful uses.

- 4 -

3. Compliance safeguards

(a) inspection systems to guarantee items under 2 above.

(b) aerial inspection, to prevent surprise attack

(c) ground inspection, to prevent surprise attack.

4. Outer space for peace. (Outlawing nuclear weapons aboard ICBMs and space satellites).

Implementation

Implementation of the campaign, as presently envisioned, calls for the participation of the President to a degree perhaps greater than any since the "Atoms for Peace" program.

A full-length feature film, in color, with animation, is now in the planning stage. It will be produced by Disney or one of the other Hollywood organizations. The picture opens with a 3 to 5 minute statement by the President. It will take something over a year to produce, at an estimated cost of \$1-1/2 million, will receive maximum worldwide attention, and be shown abroad both commercially in 35 mm and non-commercially in 16 mm, as well as on television.

In addition, scripts are now in preparation for 4 documentary shorts explaining the various aspects of the plan, also for theatrical, non-theatrical, and television use.

A monograph by the President is proposed, of perhaps 3000 words, in which he would express in his own words his personal feelings about disarmament: his tireless quest for progress; his

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 5 -

heartfelt hope that there can and must be agreement before long "to ease the fears of war in the anxious hearts of people everywhere"; some mention of his own work touching on this, e. g. his "Atoms for Peace" proposal at the UN, his "Open Skies" offer at the Summit Conference. Embodied in the content would be a simple exposition of the main features of the Plan as hammered out in London.

The President would send this monograph, printed in a simple and dignified format, to the Heads of State of all other nations, including the Communist countries, together with a personal letter of transmittal. The covering note would state briefly how prayerfully he has been thinking about disarmament, that no subject should command more attention of a nation's chief executive, that for the sake of our children some early first-step agreement must soon be achieved, that he has put his thoughts down in the attached little pamphlet and hopes the recipient will read it and graciously send him any comments or ideas "by which together we may go forward in this effort".

The uniqueness of this action by the President -- its human, personal appeal -- would guarantee publication of the monograph, or extracts from it, in every non-Communist newspaper in the world. It would also be useable by USIA in a multitude of forms, as the basis for special articles, film clips, posters, etc. It would be, in short, a document basic to the whole campaign.

Unquestionably, other Chiefs of State would respond to the

CONFIDENTIAL

- 6 -

President's communication. These letters, or portions of them, with the permission of the writers, might be released from time to time by the White House (with comments or words of appreciation), thus giving a continuing usefulness to this method of explanation.

Our opinion polls show that President Eisenhower has greater leadership acceptance throughout the world than any other living person. The campaign, therefore, will benefit to the extent that it is able to reveal the President in his role of determined protagonist for disarmament. Actually, of course, the real leadership and initiative for disarmament lie with the West. The President is the living symbol of this leadership. The Communists fuzz this over with propaganda and emotional slogans, while their own proposals amount only to paper pledges. The campaign must overcome this, with the President in the forefront serving as advocate and spokesman of the Free World Plan to the extent possible.

The ultimate step in this regard would be for the President himself to carry the message personally overseas, perhaps acting in response to Nehru's letter commenting on the President's disarmament monograph. The President would fly to New Delhi and a number of other capitals to discuss the disarmament proposals personally with the various Heads of State. In this case the world would see the powerful leadership symbol of "the President of the United States on the move" actively, personally forwarding the most pressing cause in the world

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- 7 -

today, seeking the solution to the nuclear dilemma. Conceivably, this might lead to demands that he visit the Kremlin and Peiping or participate in another Summit Conference. This potential disadvantage, and the problems resulting therefrom, would have to be weighed against the great plus factor of the creation of world opinion in support of the Plan. (Clearly, the President should not attend another Summit meeting or again address the United Nations Assembly unless he has some new substantive proposal to present.)

Consideration is being given to an international conference or congress of Free World groups on disarmament -- preferably in Switzerland or another neutral country. From many nations representative members of veterans organizations, legal societies, fraternal orders, women's groups, ~~YAN~~ youth, free labor, et al, would gather to discuss how best the world can disarm and avoid nuclear war. During the course of this conference the Free World Plan would be forcefully and graphically explained and advocated. The President might speak before this conference. Indeed, this might be one of the chief reasons for his overseas trip.

Conservative analysts estimate that the recent World Youth Festival in Moscow cost the Communists somewhere in the neighborhood of \$100 to \$130 million. A Free World international congress on disarmament would not be a mass event of this kind. It would, however, require approximately \$750,000 to mount and carry through in an effective and dramatic manner.

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- 8 -

The present General Assembly affords a good opportunity for explanation of the Plan to UN delegates. Informational approaches are being developed in conjunction with Ambassador Lodge and his staff. In preparation is an exhibit on the nuclear weapons control aspects of the Plan. If completed on a crash basis, this exhibit could be personally shown and explained to key delegates by Ambassador Lodge at a reception, in the same manner in which he so effectively utilized the "Open Skies" exhibit previously. If the exhibit can be completed in time, this might be done just prior to the voting in the G. A. on the overall disarmament resolution. If not, it might be used later when the subject comes up for discussion on the regular agenda.

Similar exhibits, of different sizes and on different phases of the Plan, are also being readied for display abroad.

Explanatory pamphlets are currently in preparation by USIA which should likewise prove helpful in contacts with UN delegates. One is a 4000 word "pictograph" presentation similar to ^{that of} U. S. News and World Report. The other is a simpler question-and-answer explanation of the Plan. A third pamphlet contains significant expressions on America's peace aims and disarmament by President Eisenhower, Secretary Dulles and other U. S. leaders.

The possibilities of a flying disarmament exhibit are being explored. This would be an around-the-world flight by an aerial reconnaissance plane, or a group of planes, demonstrating the

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feasibility of "Open Skies" aerial inspection and carrying graphic material and literature on the Plan. It would be under the command of a figure of the prestige of General Jimmy Doolittle or Eddie Rickenbacker, designated by the President. It would photograph a continuous film strip around the world except over ocean areas. The flight would be combined with disarmament exhibits in various capitals. It would carry messages expressing the disarmament hopes of "people-to-people" groups in the United States to their counterparts overseas.

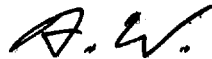
In 1953, digests of the President's UN speech, in translation, were inserted in the overseas mail of a number of American firms doing business abroad. Some 300,000 pieces were distributed by this direct-mail device, contributing significantly to the overall impact of the "Atoms for Peace" program. Since that time, some 80 American international companies have formed the Business Council for International Understanding (one of the President's People-to-People groups). The BCIU, during its forthcoming meeting at Arden House, October 14-16, will be asked to carry out a similar type of direct-mail campaign, this time designed to help explain the Free World Disarmament Plan. They, in turn, will draw other industrial firms and groups into the project.

Many of the other forty-one People-to-People Committees, e.g. the Travelers' Committee, can make valuable contributions by helping to spread the message.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 10 -

A slogan is needed that will describe the Plan as succinctly as "Open Skies" describes aerial inspection and "Atoms for Peace" describes the peaceful uses. It ought, preferably, to convey our tireless "peace-waging" effort to prevent the catastrophe of atomic war -- our constant readiness to come to any reasonable agreement -- for, as the President has said, "In the nuclear age there is no alternative to peace".



Abbott Washburn
Deputy Director
U. S. Information Agency

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cc: General Cabell, CIA

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C/Ch...

September 26, 1957

Dear Allen:

The attached paper outlines the scope, purpose, character, priority, and general approach of the projected global information campaign on disarmament.

This subject was discussed last week at the OCE luncheon while you were out on the West Coast, and met with quite generally favorable reaction from the members.

Arthur Larson and I would appreciate your thoughts, suggestions and criticisms -- and particularly your reaction to the suggestion on page 7 calling for "an international conference or congress of Free World groups on disarmament". If it is generally agreed that this is a good idea,



After you have had an opportunity to review the attached, Arthur and I would appreciate discussing certain other aspects with you as well.

Sincerely,

Abbott Washburn
Deputy Director

P.S. A copy is also going over to General Cabell.

The Honorable
Allen W. Dulles
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D. C.

General Cabell
7
I would appreciate your thoughts
A.W.

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