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BEHIND THE NEWS

WITH

HOWARD K. SMITH

AIR: Sunday, September 6, 1959  
6:00-6:30 PM

VTR: Saturday, September 5, 1959  
9:00-9:30 PM

Produced by William Weston  
Directed by Michael Zeamer

Studio 41

SMITH:

The Department of State is the oldest and next to the smallest executive department in the United States Government. Only the Department of Labor is smaller, in terms of money spent and personnel.

The State Department's first home was a cluster of three small houses at Thirteen South Sixth Street in Philadelphia.

Today, it sprawls over Washington and nearby Virginia in twenty-one buildings.

But by Spring, 1960, if all goes well, the Department's offices in these twenty-one locations will be brought under one roof.

Workmen are rushing to completion a fifty-four million dollar addition to the main State Department building. It will make the building five times as big as it is now. It will then be second in size only to the Pentagon, which is the world's biggest office building.

SMITH:

Thomas Jefferson was the first Secretary of State. When he took office in ~~1789~~ 1790 he had a staff of eight. His Foreign Service consisted of three diplomatic missions... .. to Paris, London and The Hague ... and sixteen consulates.

Today, Secretary of State Christian Herter is the boss of twenty-two and a half thousand men and women and his foreign service reaches to every corner of the world.

The tradition of America's Foreign Service goes back to the founding of the republic. But the American suspicion of diplomats and diplomacy reaches beyond that, to colonial days. Diplomacy then was associated with kings and courts, the diplomat with pomp and ceremony unseemly in the eyess of homespun America.

SMITH: (CONT'D)

Some of the old colonial distrust is still with us. You can still hear the classically cynical description of a diplomat: "an honest man sent abroad to lie for his country." And many Americans still think of a diplomat as a pantywaist in striped pants, crooking his little finger and pushing cookies at an endless round of cocktail parties.

Not so long ago, the State Department was accused of harboring a number of Communists.

More recently, a book called "The Ugly American" pictured the American diplomat as generally unimaginative, inflexible and stymied by bureaucratic red tape.

All of these images fail to project the average American diplomat as he really is: an ordinary, thinking American in an extraordinary job. He usually has a family that he shepherds around on his semi-nomadic career from country to country.

SMITH: (CONT'D)

They also fail to take into account the long, daily grind--the endless negotiations on highly technical points, the gladhanding at boring receptions, the thankless task of getting some cantankerous American tourist out of trouble abroad. Nor does it stop there. He and his family often face personal hardship and even danger.

Today, some ambassadors are named because they contributed handsomely to political party campaign funds. Some of them do well. Others get into trouble. They fail because they can't do the job, can't speak the language of the country to which they are sent, or can't adjust to its ways, or maybe can't even pronounce the name of the prime minister there.

But presidents more and more are turning to the professional diplomats when naming ambassadors.

SMITH: (CONT'D)

The American Chief of Mission is the voice of America abroad. He speaks and acts for America on a variety of economic, military and policy matters. But perhaps more importantly he is America's eyes and ears. What he sees and hears he reports to his boss, the Secretary of State.

These trained observations by our diplomats in the field are the raw materials from which foreign policy is made. From the Department in Washington to the overseas posts go the instructions which guide our Foreign Service in carrying out this foreign policy.

This is an enormous physical task. It means an average exchange of four thousand messages each workday between the Department and its posts. The Cable Code Room never closes.

SMITH: (CONT'D)

Diplomatic couriers travel more than eight and one half million miles a year, a distance equal to eighteen round trips to the moon. Here a courier is picking up his sealed pouch.

The Secretary of State sits atop a vast pyramid of administrative organization.

His hierarchy includes two Under Secretaries and a number of assistants at the policy level.

As the pyramid broadens, we come to the specialized units. These carry on the work of the Department.

They include:

The Bureau of Economic Affairs. It deals with matters of international finance and trade.

The Bureau of Congressional Relations. It does the State Department's lobbying on Capitol Hill.

SMITH: (CONT'D)

The Bureau of Intelligence and Research.  
It analyzes and appraises the flow of  
information reaching the Department.

The Bureau of Public Affairs. It handles  
the Department's public relations.

The Bureau of Administration. It is  
responsible for the budgetary, management  
and housekeeping tasks involved in running  
the department.

The Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs.  
The Department's police force. It handles  
all security matters. It is also in charge  
of passports and visas and the welfare and  
protection of Americans abroad.

There also are five geographic bureaus, one  
for each region of the world:

The Bureau of African Affairs.

The Bureau of Inter-American Affairs.

The Bureau of European Affairs.

The Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs.

The Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs.



SMITH: (CONT'D)

Each geographic bureau has its "country desks" -- an Italy Desk, a Japan Desk, and so on. "Desk Officers" are specialists in affairs of the country to which their desks are assigned.

Finally, there is the Bureau of International Organization Affairs. It is responsible for relations with the United Nations and other international organizations.

Spreading out around the globe at the base of this pyramid are 287 offices -- seventy-eight embassies; three legations; five special missions; sixty-eight consulates general; 106 consulates; twenty-five consular agencies, and two special offices.

That's the setup. How does it operate? It functions chiefly through that bane and boon of bureaucracy--the conference.

Let's suppose that one of our ambassadors somewhere has a long talk with a foreign minister. The foreign minister indicates his country is thinking about accepting economic and military help from the Soviet Union. Our ambassador confers with his aides. They put together all the information they can gather.

SMITH: (CONT'D)

It comes from a variety of sources--the local newspaperers, official statements and reports, under-the-table data picked up by the Central Intelligence agents, cocktail party chatter, and so on. In the end, the ambassador must make an analysis, judgment and recommendation. He files a report to the Secretary of State.

At the State Department, the message is routed to the geographic area bureau. The Assistant Secretary in charge confers with his staff. If he is unwilling to act on his own, he takes it up with the Secretary, one of the Under Secretaries or one of the Deputy Under Secretaries.

If the matter is important enough, it will be brought up at one of the daily conferences with which the Secretary of State starts each weekday. They are held about nine in the morning. Two each week are called "big meetings." Two dozen or more officials attend these, including representatives of two agencies which take policy

SMITH: (CONT'D)

direction from the State Department: the International Cooperation Administration and the U. S. Information Agency. Three conferences each week are called "little meetings." Only a handful of the men closest to the secretary attend these.

The question may be so urgent -- like Khrushchev's threat to Berlin -- that the Secretary decides to take it to the President. In that case, it might go to the National Security Council. It would then be considered by the Cabinet and other members of the Security Council like Vice President Nixon and Allen W. Dulles, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. Whether a decision is reached at the State Department or in the National Security Council, in most cases America's allies are consulted.

Eventually the long, laborious process of analysis, judgment and action is completed. Instructions are sent back to the ambassador who started the ball rolling. He tells the Foreign Minister what the United States thinks of his country's accepting Soviet aid.

SMITH: (CONT'D)

Perhaps he would talk him out of it, offering American aid instead. Perhaps he would simply say the united States did not care one way or the other. Or perhaps the American reaction took so long in coming that the issue was moot -- Soviet aid was already on its way, or events had changed the Foreign Minister's mind.

Ultimately, how well America's foreign policy machinery functions depends upon the personalities and abilities of the men who run it.

The State Department, as it is today, is largely a product of the late John Foster Dulles.

John Foster Dulles was the fifty-third Secretary of State. He served from January, 1953, until, mortally ill with cancer, he resigned last April. He brought to the job an almost boundless self-confidence and an international reputation as a tough, tireless negotiator.

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SMITH: (CONT'D)

The climate he entered at the State Department was not a happy one.

Morale was low.

The hunt for communists, the new loyalty rules, and the bitter political campaign of 1952 had cast a cloud of suspicion on all who helped fashion past policies.

Mr. Dulles set out to rebuild the State Department.

He was a lone wolf. In furtherance of his belief in personal diplomacy, he globetrotted more than a half million miles.

SMITH: (CONT'D)

Sometimes when he was away from his desk the work of the State Department seemed to stagnate. But as soon as he came back, a few eighteen hour workdays and things were rolling again. In his globetrotting Mr. Dulles visited such leaders as:

De Gaulle in France...

Adenauer in Germany...

MacMillan in London...

Franco in Spain...

Nehru in India...

Chiang Kai Shek in Formosa.

He sometimes appeared to argue as hard with the Allies as with the Communists. He coined phrases like massive retaliation... agonizing reappraisal...and most famous of all, brink of war.

(SOF)

SMITH: (CONF'D)

President Eisenhower left foreign policy almost entirely in the hands of the man he called "the best Secretary of State I have ever seen." Except for the President and a few close confidants, Mr. Dulles kept his own counsel. No more than four or five men around him had his ear. The others, as someone has said, were "just a bunch of guys named Joe."

Mr. Dulles was always his own favorite idea man. He lived his job, seven days a week, morning, noon and night. He reversed the State Department's usual process of having ideas bubble up from lower echelons to be accepted or rejected by the Secretary. Mr. Dulles would throw out an idea, then sit back and let his top aides argue about it. Sometimes he would accept the changes they proposed. And he was, above all, a first-rate negotiator-- imaginative, resourceful, patient, tireless, courageous.

SMITH: (CONT'D)

This, then, is the legacy left by Mr. Dulles to his handpicked successor, Christian A.

Herter: A lone wolf State Department attuned to policies developed or extended by Mr. Dulles. But Mr. Herter is no lone wolf. And he already is finding that, in the seventeen months of tenure ahead for him, he must chart new policies as he faces new problems. He must do it, too, without the unquestioning Presidential confidence which strengthened Mr. Dulles' hand.

Christian Herter is not a professional diplomat, although he served in the Foreign Service during World War One and for a few years thereafter. At sixty-four, he has spent most of his adult life in politics. He was governor of Massachusetts and a member of the House of Representatives from Massachusetts. He is a Harvard graduate and a Republican.

So far, Mr. Herter has acted like an organization man. He believes in staff work. He is anxious to get all the help he can from the professionals in the State Department. He wants to go back to the pre-Dulles days when ideas bubbled up from the desk officers and others in the rear ranks.



SMITH: (CONT'D)

He is still trying his wings at the art of negotiation.

At his right hand, in the roles of Under Secretaries of State, are two highly skilled diplomats. One of them is Robert D. Murphy. The other is C. Douglas Dillon. Both enjoyed the confidence of Secretary Dulles.

Mr. Murphy is sixty-four. He is approaching the end of an outstanding career as a professional diplomat for nearly thirty-nine years. He has a special knack for troubleshooting, a kind of diplomatic fireman sent rushing off to some hot spot on a moment's notice to cool it off.

Mr. Dillon is forty-nine. He was a New York investment banker before becoming our ambassador to France in 1953. Since 1957, he has been the State Department's Number One expert on economic affairs.

Working directly under these men, as Deputy Under Secretaries, are two distinguished career diplomats--Loy W. Henderson and Livingston T. Merchant.

SMITH: (CONT'D)

Mr. Henderson, who is sixty-seven, is in charge of Administration. In effect, he is the Department's personnel director. He oversees the Foreign Service. Mr. Merchant, fifty-five, deals with policy. He was Mr. Dulles' chief braintruster on European problems.

A few other men were close to Mr. Dulles and are as close to Mr. Herter. Among them:

Gerard S. Smith, head of the Policy Planning Staff.

G. Frederick Reinhardt, the Department Counselor.

Loftus E. Becker, the Department Legal Adviser.

Andrew H. Berding, the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs.

Mr. Herter's task continues as it was for his predecessor. He must do all in his power to safeguard the United States and promote the welfare and security of the American people. To accomplish this, he must continue to "wage peace" through diplomatic channels, the United Nations, meetings with the Russians, and the never-never land of propaganda and counterpropaganda.

(SOF)

SMITH:

In many ways, his task will be harder. There are persistent signs of discord among the Allies. At home, a presidential campaign is brewing, and that always jars the nation's unity on foreign policy questions. New nations are emerging, each with its special demands. Soviet military and technological power is growing, and Premier Khrushchev is an unrelenting adversary. Red China is a constant threat. Demands will grow for an American initiative, even though in the nature of the Cold War it is we who are defending, the Communists who are assailing, the world order of things.

Because he is a different kind of man than Mr. Dulles, Mr. Herter will look outside himself for solutions. More specialists on Soviet and Chinese affairs may be brought into the Department. Ideas may rise again from the lowly desk officers. Staff work will become more intensive, more meaningful. The State Department will be less of a one-man show, more of a team operation.

SMITH: (CONT'D)

Ranged against Mr. Herter is the Soviet Foreign Minister, Andrei Gromyko.

There is one major difference between them. The State Department formulates foreign policy for the President and also carries it out. The Soviet Foreign Minister only carries out Soviet foreign policy. For Soviet foreign policy is made by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union through its ruling body, the Presidium. This means it is made by Nikita Khrushchev. Gromyko is only his messenger boy.

BEHIND THE NEWS

WITH

HOWARD K. SMITH

"Profile of Khrushchev"

Sunday, September 13, 1959

6:00-6:30 P.M.

Produced by William Weston  
Directed by Michael Zeamer

HICKS:

FILM

This is how you write Khrushchev in Russian. The next half hour is a profile of the man, his rise to power, and his record of achievement.

ANNOUNCER:

FILM

The CBS Television Network presents  
BEHIND THE NEWS WITH HOWARD K. SMITH.

SMITH:

Good evening.

Day after tomorrow, in the morning, a blacksmith's son from Kalinovka is coming to this country to visit a mechanic's son from Abilene. You will be able to watch on television that confrontation of what are undoubtedly the two most expressive faces in world politics.

We have been warned repeatedly to build no great expectations on the meeting. None the less, a talk between the two most powerful men in the world is bound to excite me.

SMITH: (CONT'D)

Interest was pointed up last week when the President made a talk on television. A paragraph in the advance text saying he would not be negotiating with Khrushchev was carefully omitted when the President delivered the talk. The President specifically invited Khrushchev to bring constructive ideas.

For his part, Khrushchev issued in the form of a press agency statement an appeal which has had the effect of inducing Red China and other Asian communists to refrain from actions against India and Laos that threatened to poison the atmosphere.

Clearly, both Eisenhower and Khrushchev mean their meeting to be a ~~major~~ major diplomatic event.

Today, in this program we want to bring you a portrait of our visitor -- Nikita Sergeyevitch Khrushchev ... a study of the man himself... the story of his extraordinary rise to power...the changes he has brought to the land of our chief adversary, Russia.

SMITH: (CONT'D)

First then, Nikita Khrushchev, the man.

He's a bear of a man ... short  
and stocky. Stalin could never  
endure to have men about him who  
were taller than himself.

He has a bald, shiny head, protruding  
ears, a thick neck, a round face,  
a belligerent lower lip that  
thrusts out when he wishes to emphasize  
a point, two prominent warts on each  
side of a flat, fleshy nose; shrewd  
eyes that blaze readily in anger.  
When he smiles ... which is often  
... the light flashed on three gold  
teeth.



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SMITH: (CONT'D)

His wife, Nina, has been married to him since 1920. She is his second wife. She speaks English and has been known to give her husband an occasional word of advice. There are four children.

One boy, died in the last war.

This is Sergei, an engineer in his late twenties. He is married.

He has <sup>3</sup> ~~two~~ sisters -- Nadia and Julia. <sup>J. Pena -</sup> Julia's husband is director of the Kiev Opera.

Nadia's husband is Alexei Adzhubei.

He was recently named editor of Izvestia.

*Inna is a student at Moscow University.*

SMITH:

The Khrushchevs have several residences ... each furnished in Victorian opulence. A downtown Moscow apartment, a house on the outskirts of the city, which you see here, and a summer hideaway.

When at home Khrushchev follows three hobbies. He raises rabbits, grows fruit trees, and shoots ducks.

He is a good dresser ... has his suits made by a tailor in Rome. His taste runs to conservative, single-breasted suits, light silk ties, and jewelled cuff links. His label is nearly always adorned with a medal...the Order of Lenin.

Like the good politician he is ... Khrushchev chooses his hat to fit the occasion.

Depending on his audience, he may wear:

- ... a natty fedora
- ... a turban
- ... a steel helmet
- ... a fur astrakan
- ... a Panama

SMITH: (CONT'D)

Khrushchev holds his liquor well. At diplomatic receptions he is often seen with a glass in his hand. But reports that he is an excessive drinker are false. Recently, since his rise to power, his drinking has been limited. Khrushchev worries about possible kidney trouble and putting on weight.

Boisterous of character, he is the picture of animation when he talks.

(SCF)

He likes to talk off the cuff. And he is clever at putting words together. For instance,

On life: "Life is short. Live it up. See all you can, hear all you can, go all you can."

On communism: "If they expect us to abandon our communism, they will have to wait until the shrimp learns to whistle."

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SMITH:( CONT'D)

On purges: "We had a black sheep in a good flock. We took the sheep by its tail and threw it out."

On the West: "Whether you Western diplomats like it or not, history is on our side." We will bury you."

On himself: "You may call me a pot ... but don't put me in the stove."

SMITH:

Khrushchev has an enormous capacity for work. Early each morning his limousine rushes him through the streets of Moscow to the Kremlin. He is on the job sharply at 8:00 A.M. ... works well into the night. His desk is cluttered with gadgets. He is especially fond of these model Soviet planes. He uses the phone often... barks commands at a rapid pace. He does not shirk from rousing subordinates out of bed in the middle of the night.

SMITH:

Khrushchev is 65 years old. He was born in a mud hut in Kalinovka ... a Russian town in the province of Kursk. His grandfather was a serf ... his father a peasant and blacksmith. After only a few years of formal schooling, the young Khrushchev was apprenticed as a locksmith and pipefitter in the Donbas coal mines.

Under the Czar, a blacksmith's son could never hope to rise above his origins.

But in 1917 the old order in Russia gave way to the new. In the upheaval of the revolution ... Khrushchev found his destiny.

His rise to power was not attended by fanfare and publicity. But his rise was steady. He moved ahead like a tank ... slowly, forcefully.

At age 24 ... he joined the communist party. That was in 1918 .. The communists had seized power...but were fighting a civil war to keep it. Khrushchev spent a year as a soldier in that war. Soldiering was the first step in the ladder.

SMITH: (CONT'D)

Afterwards, Khrushchev became involved in Party work. He held minor party jobs in Kiev. Even at this early period he was clearly destined to be an "apparatchik" ... the communist party's version of the organization man.

When he was 27 ... the party decided Khrushchev should have some education. It sent him to an adult training school for workers.

There Khrushchev received political and propaganda training. The courses on Marxism hit his mind with the power of revelation. He became a devoted believer in communism.

While at this school Khrushchev caught the eye of Lazar Kaganovich ... a crony of Stalin's and a power in the party. Kaganovich yanked Khrushchev out of school and made him his special assistant. This was the biggest boost in his career.

SMITH: (CONT'D)

For a time Khrushchev worked with Kaganovich in the Ukraine. Then in 1928 Kaganovich took him to Moscow. The days of apprenticeship were over ... In Moscow, Khrushchev became a party supervisor.

His assignments were varied ... everything from supervising the construction of the Moscow subway to lending a hand with economic planning. Khrushchev was able to mingle with the communist brass. He met and worked with members of the Politburo ... with Josef Stalin himself.

Khrushchev did each of his jobs well...and he was rewarded. In 1931 he was made Party Boss of two Moscow districts. A few years later he became top man in the entire Moscow area.

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SMITH: (CONT'D)

Now he was ready for a really big job.

In the late 30's on the orders of Stalin

himself ... Khrushchev was sent to the

Ukraine. He was made head man there ...

Secretary of the Central Committee of

the Ukrainian communist party. His assignment

... to break the back of Ukrainian nationalism

... and to make the Ukrainian party loyal to

Stalin.

This was an immense assignment. The Ukraine

is about the size of France. It has forty

million people. It was their bread basket

of Russia...fed two thirds of the nation's

population. Stalin was depending on

Ukrainian wheat to help him build a mighty

Russia.

But the Ukrainian peasant is a stubborn individualist.

He resisted collectivization with all his strength

... slaughtered his cattle, burned his fields.



SMITH: (CONT'D)

Khrushchev moved swiftly. His method of dealing with the Ukrainian nationalists was direct; "We will root them out," he said. And he did. By the time he was finished ... more than 3,000 Party members had been rooted out. No one knows how many hundreds of thousands of peasants were killed.

Khrushchev himself almost perished.

In 1939 a bomb was thrown into his railroad car. Two of his fellow passengers were killed. To this day, Khrushchev bears a small scar under his nose as a reminder of the incident.

But in the end ... the Ukraine was whipped into line. During the second World War ... he returned to the Ukraine. At the outbreak of hostilities Khrushchev was made a lieutenant general in charge of resistance activities in the Ukraine. He dealt with Ukrainians who sought to surrender as harshly as he dealt with the Nazis.

SMITH: (CONT'D)

In 1943 the Red Army liberated Kiev, the capital city of the Ukraine. The retreating Nazis made the Russians pay heavily for the city. General Khrushchev saw the suffering for himself. Here Khrushchev greets the people of Kiev.

After the war, Khrushchev was given a high party post, secretary of the elite central committee. As all who worked for Stalin had to do, Khrushchev was careful to give effusive thanks. In a birthday eulogy to the red dictator, Khrushchev celebrated Stalin as:

- ... genius
- ... wise leader
- ... teacher
- ... father of the peoples
- ... great industrializer
- ... great collectivizer
- ... creator of Soviet culture
- ... careful gardener tenderly rearing the human beings in his charge

SMITH: (CONT'D)

Soon after Khrushchev was ready for the final phase in his rise to the top. He was ready for the stride to ultimate power itself. It took him five years to make it. The struggle for power crystalized on March 6, 1953. It began with an announcement to the Soviet people -- "The heart of the comrade and inspired continuer of Lenin's will -- Josef Stalin -- has stopped beating."

These were Stalin's pallbearers. With Stalin's death, it looked to the outside world as if the leadership of the Soviet Union would go to the triumvirate of Malenkov, Molotov, and Beria. [The dead dictator, lying in state.]

Malenkov acquired both of Stalin's jobs ... Premier and first Secretary of the Party.

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SMITH: (CONT'D)

Molotov was made foreign minister. Beria was in charge of the secret police. The three spoke at the funeral ... to the outside world an indication that this triumvirate was the new leadership of the Soviet Union. A fourth man was not noticed at the funeral. His function had simply been to introduce the others ... his name was Nikita Khrushchev.

Khrushchev did not for long play a minor role. Under the Soviet system, power tends to gravitate toward one man. Khrushchev worked to consolidate his strength. His rivals were eliminated one by one.

The first to go was Beria. In June of 1953 Khrushchev combined with Malenkov and army units headed by Marshal Zhukov to purge the hated chief of the secret police. Beria and twenty-nine of his underlings were shot.

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SMITH: (CONT'D)

Four years later Malenkov, Molotov and Kaganovich made the mistake of bucking Khrushchev. Each was removed from office, and exiled to an obscure post: ... Molotov was made an ambassador to Outer Mongolia ... ... Malenkov was put in charge of a hydro-electric station in Siberia. ... Kaganovich was made director of a cement factory in Soviet Central Asia.

That left only Bulganin and Zhukov as possible rivals. Zhukov was removed from power two years ago. Bulganin was ousted as Premier just last year.

Now Khrushchev stood alone at the pinnacle of communist power. He was undisputed ruler of the Soviet Union and of world communism. It is an empire that rules one third of the world's population.

SMITH: (CONT'D)

Now ...the domestic record of the  
Khrushchev regime.

Since coming to power, Khrushchev has  
altered the shape and tempo of Soviet  
life. Among his policies three stand out  
in importance.

First de-Stalinization.

When a despot dies, there is a general  
expectation of change for the better.  
Khrushchev has yielded to this expectation.  
The basic structure of Stalinism remains  
intact, but modifications have been made.  
Among the changes, a downgrading of Stalin  
himself.

In 1956 the world was stunned to hear that  
Khrushchev ... a man who rose to power as a  
loyal follower of Stalin ... had attacked  
the dead dictator in a secret speech. The  
speech was given at a secret session of  
the twentieth congress of the party.  
It revealed the yoke Stalin imposed on  
all who worked for him.  
It revealed anger, hatred, bitterness.

SMITH: (CONT'D)

Khrushchev called Stalin

- ... a despot
- ... insufferable
- ... brutal
- ... stubborn
- ... cowardly
- ... a self-glorifier
- ... a torturer
- ... a murderer

Never before had the head of a government so bitterly attacked his predecessor. Stalinism was dealt a blow...and since that speech Khrushchev has been following a policy of loosening Stalinist controls.

Under Khrushchev these things have been done.

... The Soviet legal code has been reformed. The reforms have reduced the population of the concentration camps and lifted ~~the~~ the fear of Soviet life.

SMITH: (CONT'D)

... The production of consumer goods has been stepped up. The drabness of Soviet life has been somewhat relieved.

... Wages and pensions have been raised.

... Some prices have been reduced

... The iron curtain has been lifted. Where Stalin's Russia was tightly closed, Khrushchev allowed the Russians to see how Americans live.

Even a fashion show from France was made welcome.

Generally, life in the Soviet Union has been liberalized. Unlike Stalin, Khrushchev has executed none of his political opponents since coming to power. Writers have been allowed a degree more scope. So profound a critic as Boris Pasternak has been verbally criticized, but has suffered no other disability.



SMITH: (CONT'D)

Naturally, this could all be changed at any time. The Soviet Union is still a dictatorship...But for the present, Khrushchev is following a more liberal policy...and this has made him popular.

The second important policy fostered by Khrushchev was economic reform. Agriculture has always been a problem to the Soviets. Ever since the revolution the production of food has lagged. Khrushchev has promised to change this. He has openly boasted that within a few years the Soviet Union will be out-producing the United States in food. To make good on his boasts...he has taken two far reaching steps.

First, he has given the peasants greater incentive to produce. He has reduced the amount of grain they must deliver to the State ... and allowed them to sell more on the open market. He has also lowered taxes.

SMITH: (CONT'D)

Second, he has pushed through an ambitious project to cultivate virgin soil in Soviet Central Asia. Involved are millions of acres of previously fallow land. Khrushchev has engineered a mass migration to these lands...

He has made corn one of the major crops of the Soviet Union, providing livestock feed which has greatly multiplied the country's production of meat and milk.

In industry Khrushchev has initiated an audacious program of decentralization. The program was launched in 1957. Previously, Soviet industry was run by the managers of forty industrial ministries located in Moscow. This meant bottlenecks ... delay ... confusion. Khrushchev has attempted to change this. With one stroke he did away with the ministries. He divided the Soviet Union into 105 economic regions. Each was given control over its own local industrial activity. On paper, at least, the plan promises greater efficiency.

SMITH: (CONT'D)

The third important policy change in Khrushchev's Russia has been the conduct of foreign affairs.

The basic goal of Soviet foreign policy is communist supremacy. This was the goal of Lenin and Stalin. It is the goal of Nikita Khrushchev. That much remains the same.

But Khrushchev approaches that goal in his own way. Since he assumed power there has been a subtle shift in tempo, in direction, in emphasis.

Stalin, for instance, was afraid to leave the Soviet Union. He never set foot on non-conformist soil. But Khrushchev is a traveling salesman-type. He will go anywhere...anytime. He has been to:

China to confer with Mao Tse Tung.

In India ... he threshed wheat...

In East Germany ...he was a good will salesman

In Yugoslavia ... he tried to mend fences with Tito.

In Afghanistan ... he ate pilau the spicy national dish...

SMITH: (CONT'D)

In England ... he visited 10 Downing Street.

In Albania ... he kissed the party bosses

In Hungary ... he was serenaded by gypsy violins

These trips have paid off handsomely.

They have broken the isolation of the Soviet leadership that marked the Stalin era.

They have enhanced Khrushchev's personal prestige.

They have made excellent propaganda for communism.

Khrushchev's globetrotting has brought him to 15 foreign countries. Now he is about to visit his 16th...the United States. Tuesday ... his sleek Soviet jet will land on American soil.

SMITH:

Mr. Khrushchev will find America--if the nation's capital is a measure of it-- in a curious mood.

Most people think the trip is a good idea. The Cold War has been stagnant so long, the monster weapons have grown so deadly, that ~~some~~ something new must be tried to break the log-jam and ease tension.

It is distinctly a minority who oppose the visit and will wear black armbands and demonstrate in ~~an~~ protest.

But even the majority who favor it admitto massive misgivings. There is a lingering fear that the visitor may get false impressions of weakness or complacency from what is in fact, courtesy. He may interpret hospitality to mean enthusiasm for what he represents.

Our diplomatic leaders, oddly, are delighted at both moods. They are glad that most favor the visit, and equally satisfied that there is a restraint of doubt.

A newspaper has suggested the mood should be one of courteous skepticism. A senator has said we should in meeting the guest be civil

SMITH: (CONF'D)

but silent. In one form and another spokesmen have proposed a judicious combination of firmness and readiness to conciliate.

In that spirit we look forward to what will undoubtedly be about the most interesting two weeks in the Cold War.

Good evening.

OVER CREDITS

HICKS: (V.O.)

Next week on BEHIND THE NEWS -- a day in the life of an average worker in Russia. This is George Hicks.