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# CIA Thinks Italy, France, Indonesia

## Chief Red Targets for Conquest

The following resume of a report to the Committee on Un-American Activities by Allen W. Dulles, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, the U. S. agency for ferreting out information about world dangers, is presented in more detail than the spot news report because of its interest and importance. Where the dangers of Communist penetration are great, and why, is the subject.

Allen W. Dulles, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, listed Italy, France and Indonesia as principal targets of the Kremlin's new strategy of "parliamentary" conquest. He cited these areas as ones which present "fresh opportunities where the clearly announced program of Messrs. Khrushchev and Bulganin might now be put into operation."

Dulles' warning is contained in an analysis of current Communist tactics which he submitted to the Committee on Un-American Activities. Dulles, together with more than 120 other prominent U. S. government officials, military leaders, educators, journalists, labor officials, business executives, and political scientists are contributing statements for a symposium on the techniques of Soviet cold-warfare which the Committee on Un-American

Activities is now preparing for publication.

Among the contributors are: Edgar Hoover, director Federal Bureau of Investigation; Val Peterson, Federal Civil Defense administrator; the Chiefs of Staff, Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, Adm. Arleigh A. Burke, Gen. Randolph McC. Pate, Gen. Nathan F. Twining; Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther, Supreme Commander, Allied Forces Europe; George Meany, president, AFL-CIO; David Sarnoff, chairman, RCA; Prof. James D. Atkinson, chairman, Psychological Warfare Committee, Georgetown University; Prof. Robert Strausz-Hupe, director, Foreign Policy Research Institute, University of Pennsylvania; Prof. Rodger Swearingen, coordinator, School of International Relations, UCLA.

As another part of its study of international communism the Committee is also planning to obtain public testimony from experts on communism from Europe, the Far East and Africa.

"A few years ago," Dulles said, "I would have thought that Communist Parties in Europe would have great difficulty in ever again obtaining allies among any non-Communist parties. . . . Today, however, the danger of parliamentary compromises with the Communists, even in Europe, is not to be ignored.



Dulles is brother of Secretary of State.

"In Asia this threat is even greater because it is generally less well understood.

"A recent Indonesian government permitted Communist influence to reach far into the Ministry of Defense. More than in Europe the Communist Parties have managed in many countries to acquire a dangerous degree of 'respectability' and of acceptance as just another political party."

"The Communists," Dulles said, "see their greatest opportunities where they now have the strongest penetration into the parliamentary machinery of free govern-

ments. In several countries these penetrations are serious.

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"In the Italian parliament of 590 members, there are now 143 Communist members. To these must be added 75 Nenni fellow-travelling left-wing socialists or a total of 218 who consistently vote and act with the Communists. Together, in the last elections in 1953, their total popular vote was 9.5 millions or 35.5 per cent of the total.

"The French Chamber of Deputies presents another situation which the Kremlin may be studying. There are today about 150 Communist members in the Chamber out of a present total of about 600.

"In Indonesia, the Communist Party received 6 million votes, or 17 per cent of the total electorate in the elections of September, 1955, and they have a representation of 39 members or 15 per cent of the total of the Indonesian Assembly."

Referring to the recent pronouncements of the Soviet leadership, Dulles declared: "Translated into a little less flamboyant language this means that the Communists propose to infiltrate our free legislative systems, to take over our parliamentary governments, and to use the freedom which our system of government gives to destroy all vestiges of that system.

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"Though they did not quote

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Jacques DuClos heads the French Communist apparatus.

it specifically, we can be sure that the Soviet leaders still accept the view announced most vividly in Lenin's own heyday—in the Statutes of the Third Communist International in 1920—that 'the Communist Party enters such institutions (as Parliaments) not for the purpose of organization work but in order to blow up the whole bourgeois machinery and the parliament itself from within'."

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"In some 35 countries of the world," Dulles noted, "the Communist Party is illegal. Here their rank and file, though seriously large in several cases, must work through

underground channels and the more obvious fellow-traveller front organizations without direct political representation in parliamentary bodies. However, in such areas as Singapore, Communist-influenced parties have an important position and are effective vehicles for Communist activity."

While there is "no instance where the Communists have taken over a country by free elections or have obtained a parliamentary majority by free elections, unfortunately it is also true that the Communists have moved in without having a majority status."

"Past Communist takeovers of free countries have generally featured most, if not all, of these four elements," Mr. Dulles said:

"1. The use of force from outside, or the overhanging threat of force.

"2. The obtaining by the Communists through popular vote of at least an effective minority position.

"3. The willingness of other parties, most often the parties to the left, but in some cases even parties to the extreme right, to join in political alliances and to admit Communists to key positions in the government.

"4. Communist manipulation of key ministries so that non-Communist elements were driven out of positions of influence.

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"The best example of this process is of course that of



Anastase Mikoyan is a veteran Soviet foreign affairs official.

Czechoslovakia. Mikoyan pointedly and ominously boasted of this Soviet 'feat.' Additional variants are found in the cases of Hungary and Poland, Rumania and Bulgaria.

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"In all of these cases, except for Czechoslovakia, the actual presence of Soviet forces on the spot played a decisive role. In Czechoslovakia some of the same effect was obtained by the presence, just across the border, of strong Soviet forces and by the fact that the Soviets had previously occupied Prague and many other important Czech

centers and had been able, by their terrorist and infiltration methods, to gain a position of strength which far exceeded the numerical representation in the population at large. In fact, they prepared the way for the coup before they evacuated their troops in 1945."

The CIA director declared, however, that the free world has at least two advantages in this situation:

"First of all (the Communists) have alerted us to their program. While people worldwide sometimes seem dangerously complacent and even skeptical, it may yet be possible to rouse them to their dangers.

"Secondly, the Communists do not have any acknowledged party members in high government positions, of cabinet rank for example, in any of the free countries, even there where they have large parliamentary representation. In both France and Italy in the immediate postwar period they did have such representation but were thrown out in the early years following the war.

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"The Kremlin leaders have told us what they propose to do. It is up to the leaders of the free world, working together as allies and friends, to help to uncover and to frustrate this Communist design which otherwise could threaten to wreck the free institutions of many countries and even endanger our own."