

ADDRESS
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"THE COMMUNIST CHALLENGE TO FREE GOVERNMENT"

I feel honored to have this opportunity to address the seventh annual Women's Forum on National Security under the auspices of the American Legion Auxiliary. The general subject of this Forum has been the "Changing Dimensions in National Security." Certainly no audience has a greater interest than you in our national security. For you it has a direct and personal meaning. In helping to preserve it, many of you have made great sacrifices.

You have suggested that in discussing the subject you have assigned me -- "The Communist Challenge to Free Government," -- I describe psychological warfare as it is practiced by the Communist world.

It may be presumptuous on my part to suppose that any man can tell an audience of ladies much about the use of psychological techniques, but I can assure you that the particular type of psychological warfare practiced by the Soviet bears little resemblance to that which you are reputed to employ.

30 January 1959

In fact, the term "psychological warfare" is a misnomer. The threat faced by the Free World from international communism - apart from the military threat with which we are more conversant - is not merely a psychological one. It is an aggressive campaign based on a series of very positive action programs with political, economic and subversive objectives. It involves the radio and all means of mass communication, visual as well as by the written and spoken word; subtle political intrigue based on the control and manipulation of communist parties and communist agents on a worldwide basis. It includes the use of various front organizations which pretend to represent youth, labor, professional groups and veterans, and are agencies for spreading communist doctrine throughout the Free World. In their subversive arsenal, they also have front organizations which use the slogans of "peace", friendship and coexistence.

This challenge is being pressed forward under the growing threat of Soviet industrial, scientific and technical advances.

To meet this threat we must understand it. To penetrate the subtleties of the Soviet political, economic, and psychological drive is harder for us to do than to understand the military menace. Weapons of war are visible, tangible, and comprehensible, even the highly sophisticated weapons

of the present day, such as guided missiles, nuclear bombs and supersonic planes. The impact of an idea, of a subversive political movement, of a disguised economic policy is more subtle.

International communism is a ruthlessly proselytizing force. It seeks to make converts of men and women wherever the opportunity permits; just as it does not hesitate to make "convicts" of them as it has done in Hungary. It has lost none of its faith in its world mission, as outlined by Lenin and Stalin. This mission continues to be the domination of the entire Free World.

The communists, for fear of retaliation, may well be deterred from trying to reach their goals by military action. This does not mean that they will stop their propaganda, infiltration, economic penetration and the use of their front organizations. In fact, the communists are confident that even though they may have no adequate answer to our military retaliatory power, they still have the ability to close off their frontiers, their air space and their rigidly controlled society to retaliation through use of the type of political and economic action they themselves direct against us. They have their Iron Curtains not only on their frontiers but within the country. They even try to draw down this Curtain within the minds of their own people.

A review of the various elements of the communist apparatus, ready for export to the Free World, may help to an understanding of the nature of this threat faced by the Free World.

First, I would list the use of written and spoken propaganda.

Throughout the Free World, to every level of society -- to the intellectual and to the common man, to the young and the old, the professional workers and laborers, the arguments for communism are broadcast from the Soviet Union, their European satellites and Communist China.

These are heard in scores of languages, beamed to the entire Free World from openly acknowledged and from clandestine transmitters.

Literally millions of words are spewed out to the Free World every day. There is no special uniformity in their messages. They are tailored to the particular vulnerabilities of each area and to the particular audience. Communist China, for example, which intervened against the United Nations in Korea, proudly advertised the fact that it was a signatory to the Bandung agreement pledging non-interference in the affairs of other countries. Their radios carried on for months on end a campaign accusing our country of engaging in germ warfare in Korea -- then cut it off abruptly and turned to some other theme.

Naturally in the Free World, these broadcasts are monitored and analyzed.

We find that Moscow is highly selective in the dissemination of its propaganda programs. It selects a particular audience for a particular theme. A broadcast from Moscow may go only to the Western Hemisphere. This has one meaning. If it goes only to Europe, it has another. It may go only to Africa and the Middle East. Or then again it may be broadcast only to the peoples of the Soviet Union, or only to the Soviet Union and the satellites. Or the broadcast may be on a worldwide basis. We draw quite different deductions from each of these maneuvers and they help us to understand whether a general Soviet policy is involved, or merely a particular propaganda ploy for a particular audience.

Wisely, I believe, the Free World takes no steps to jam or interfere with Soviet radio propaganda. This would be a sad admission of weakness.

The Free World must be strong enough and discriminating enough to take anything of this nature they wish to send us, and recognize it for what it is.

Furthermore, it would be tremendously costly to do the jamming. The modest effort which this government and other free governments and free peoples devote to broadcasting to the communist world involves only a small percentage of the cost, which the Soviet Union, Communist China, and their satellites devote to the jamming of the radio messages beamed to their countries from the Free World.

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Another instrument of Soviet political warfare, directed largely to the less developed areas of the world, is the spreading of Soviet propaganda by the printed word. The communists cater to the thirst of these countries for technical and other literature. They supply it in inexpensive and readable form. Of course, much of this literature stresses the growing competence of the Soviet Union in the fields of science and technology, and now in the mysteries of outer space.

There is no intention here to leave this field to the Soviet. After all, in many of the new and emerging countries of the world, English is the language common to the largest portion of these peoples. By and large, English literature appeals more than any other on a worldwide basis. In fact, the Russians themselves recognize this and print a great deal of what they distribute in these countries in the English language.

However, it is not easy on a straight commercial basis, to compete with the subsidized flow of low cost publications, printed and paid for by a communist government to serve communist ends.

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International communism has also made effective use of the communist parties which exist, either legally recognized or under cover, in most of the free countries of the world. These parties vary greatly in strength. Here in the United States the party has had rough going due to

our high living standards, our recognition of the communist danger, and the technical competence of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in penetrating and disclosing party activities. Such is not the case in many countries of the world. Even in some of the highly developed countries of the Free World, the communist party, in terms of popular vote, ranks among the strongest of the political parties.

Today, the 21st Congress of the Communist Party is meeting in Moscow. At this Congress, in addition to the communist leaders of the USSR, China and the Soviet European satellite countries, there are representatives of communist parties from about sixty countries in the Free World. Even the communist party of the United States claims representation.

While all except the Soviet representatives are guests rather than full participants in the Congress, they will undoubtedly be getting together with the leaders of the Soviet communist party to review common policies and programs for undermining our free societies. I suggest that one is entitled to ask whether the Soviet believe this is really the best way of persuading us that the worldwide communist conspiracy and the Cold War is over and that "peaceful coexistence" is the sole purpose of these deliberations.

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To supplement communist party worldwide activities, the international communist movement also has its stable of front organizations, to which I have referred.

One of the most important of these is the World Federation of Trade Unions. While they do not tolerate free trade unions in the Soviet Union, they put a tremendous effort into the attempt to control the trade unions of the Free World. Here they have succeeded in controlling some of the largest of the trade unions, for example in France, Italy, Japan, Indonesia, and several other countries. They claim that the WFTU has 92 million members throughout the world. This is an exaggeration, and the number of their trade union followers fortunately is decreasing, but certainly they still have many millions and they constitute a sinister power in the labor movement.

In the field of student and youth affairs, the Soviet Union exerts its influence through the World Federation of Democratic Youth, a major communist front which has claimed a membership of 86 million in 96 countries. This organization, working closely with another front in this field, the International Union of Students, produces two major publications in eleven languages, together with hundreds of pamphlets, and even a weekly radio broadcast in seven languages from Budapest.

The communists maintain the Women's International Democratic Federation to reach audiences of women throughout the world with the theme that the living conditions of women and children, particularly in underdeveloped areas, are far behind those in Russia. This organization has claimed a membership of over 200 million.

A number of other front organizations, moreover, have been created to disseminate communist themes and influence professional audiences. These include the World Federation of Teachers Unions, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, the International Organization of Journalists, the International Medical Association for the Study of Living Conditions and Health, and the International Federation of Resistance Fighters. Cutting across professional lines, but designed to have a special appeal to intellectuals, the communists have created the World Peace Council, which, through its National Peace Committees in 47 countries, has been the most aggressive of all the communist fronts in reaching non-communists in the Free World, trading on the magic word "peace."

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The disruptive power of the Soviet economic and industrial machine is also overhanging the Free World economy. Never before, except for a brief bout with a Hitlerite Germany in the 1930s, has world trade had to face a great economic power whose trade practices are wholly dominated by an autocratic government and can be used and channeled to meet political rather than economic ends.

In the case of Germany, such economic power was devoted almost exclusively to domestic rearmament purposes. Until recently this has been true of the USSR. But today there have been instances where Soviet trade, its purchases and sales -- as well as its promises to purchase or sell -- have been turned on and off to disrupt a price structure or upset established trade patterns. Tin in Malaya, cotton in Egypt, coffee in Brazil, and copper in Chile are examples of commodities which are vulnerable to such disruptive trade practices.

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This is a brief outline of the mechanism used by international communism. It would not necessarily be a menace to our safety if the communist world did not have dynamic ideas to exploit and vulnerable social and economic conditions to exploit.

We should recognize that although communist doctrine has little appeal to us, it does exercise great influence on the minds of many of the peoples of the Free World, including particularly those of the less developed areas. Economic progress and material development, as described by the Soviet, present an attraction to the less developed areas of the world and seems of more immediate importance there than the realization of the great principles and ideals for which we fought our own revolution.

Our forefathers were not struggling primarily for economic or industrial betterment, for better food and housing and better living conditions. They were fighting for the great ideals of liberty, the right to organize a free and representative government of the people. This was an end in itself, not merely a means to an end.

In fact, the communist threat is receding in most of the countries of Western Europe where such ideals are the guiding force. After Hungary it has become increasingly difficult for the Soviet to export their political wares in Europe, where the Soviet is facing the most sophisticated of revolutionary societies, the society of representative institutions.

And here, too, they see that Eastern Europe today, after more than ten years of enforced indoctrination, can offer the Soviet only the criticism of intellectuals, rebellious youth, dissatisfied wage earners, a despised and resented police force, and almost totally undependable armies.

But if Europe has proved a poor battleground for Soviet psychological warfare, there are vast stretches of the world in which great opportunities do exist for them. Lenin himself recognized as long ago as 1916 that the European workers were not the best target for the communist revolution. In trying to explain the fact that the European socialists supported their national governments during the First World War, Lenin stated that the

workers of Europe had become capitalists to some degree. The true proletariat, and therefore the real target for communism, according to Lenin, were really the peoples of the then colonial areas.

When we look to Asia and Africa we can see that a great revolution, perhaps the greatest of our time, is taking place before our eyes. During the next ten years new governments may be born in a score of countries in Africa.

The leaders of world communism are alert to the opportunity which this great transformation provides them. They realize that the future of communism can be insured only by expansion and that the best hope of such expansion lies in Asia and Africa. Thus, while the weekly total broadcasting hours from communist stations to Europe has remained fairly constant, the number of broadcast hours from communist stations to Africa rose by over 50 per cent and increased substantially in Asia. The same has been true of the other elements of their propaganda effort.

In this psychological offensive, the Soviet Union and Communist China employ two of the most compelling symbols for the newly developed countries -- the image of the machine, which can promise an end to economic want, and the symbol of the revolution, which strikes such a responsive chord in people who have so recently won their own freedom.

Further, these new countries are coming into existence saddled with enormous problems which the communists recklessly promise to cure quickly and easily, while we, in all honesty, must suggest more austere measures.

First of all, there is the problem of poverty -- a crushing poverty which combines with high birth rates and large populations to produce food shortages, disease and low living standards. These areas must strive for enormous economic advances simply to keep abreast of rising populations, not to mention improvement in the standard of living. And they must attempt this in the face of great disadvantages due to the lack of technicians and education.

It is at this point that communism claims to offer a short cut; its leaders say that the Soviet Union also was an underdeveloped country only forty years ago, and through the advantages of communism, has now become a leader of nations.

The fallacies of this claim are obvious to us -- not to them, and it remains one of the weapons communism possesses for the psychological warfare campaign in the less developed areas.

There is also the problem of making democracy work in countries where the political background and standards of education are lacking to

support a truly representative form of government. We tend to forget that real democracy does not spring from a piece of paper, from a constitution, no matter how admirable. It depends upon the existence of a democratic spirit -- the liberality of mind, the ability to compromise when necessary and hold fast when required, the art of living up to a constitution and making it function in the people's interest. This art is not easily or quickly acquired.

Such a situation obviously contains numerous opportunities for communist exploitation. Lenin wrote: "No parliament can in any circumstances be for communists an arena of struggle for reforms for the betterment of the situation of the working class . . . The only question can be that of utilizing bourgeois state institutions for their own destruction."

This they have sought to do. Disciplined communist agitators are working to immobilize the parliamentary institutions of newly independent states, to stifle the ability to make decisions, harass and oppose the government -- not with any intention of offering a substitute policy, but merely to discredit and eventually to destroy a free electoral system. Very often the presence of such communist efforts tends to destroy the possibility of a moderate, constructive position, with the result that the people are forced to choose between military dictatorship and a so-called

"people's front", a way station on the road to all-out communism.

Such are some of the opportunities which international communism attempts to exploit today across vast stretches of the world.

If we are to meet these challenges we must first of all keep ourselves fully informed and understand the nature of the struggle between communist and Free World ideals. We must realize that the choice between communism and freedom is not always as simple and easy a decision for great masses of peoples as it might seem to us.

We cannot, as some suggest, leave them alone and unaided in making this choice. There must be some sharing with them of our heritage, not only of ideals but of the tools which make for a better material existence.

Winning in this contest is not beyond the capabilities of the Free World once it is aroused to the task. There is a growing realization that man cannot live by bread alone and that the communist program with its appeal to the materialistic side is an inadequate answer. We have the resources and the capacity to show that our form of free society is able not only to promote human happiness and individual welfare, but also that it answers the cravings of people for the moral and spiritual values which are lacking in a communist society.