

SUMMARY OF REMARKS
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TO
ALL-AMERICAN CONFERENCE TO COMBAT COMMUNISM
AND
KANSAS CITY ASSOCIATION FOR
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Veterans Day, which we celebrate on November 11 of each year, is dedicated to those who in war fought to preserve our own freedoms and to bring freedom to others.

The fighting in World War I ended with an Armistice forty-two years ago. Ever since then we have been struggling to achieve peace and make it secure against the forces which that war let loose in the world, foremost of these forces is International Communism.

The treaty which ended World War I was deeply influenced by Woodrow Wilson's fourteen points, and the doctrine of the self-determination of peoples. The map of the world was altered and the principles set forth in that treaty eventually helped to bring freedom to many millions formerly under colonial rule.

In the light of this history it seems strange that we, the United States, should now be falsely accused as an imperialist and colonialist power by the Soviet Union. It is they who have

enslaved many millions of peoples, while the principles of our Declaration of Independence, of our Revolution and of President Wilson's call for self-determination have made the United States the foremost protagonist of the principles of human freedom.

On Veterans Day we also pay tribute to those who in World War II contributed so largely to bringing an end to Nazi and Fascist tyranny in Europe and to Japanese imperialist designs in the Far East.

And lastly today, we pay tribute to those who in the Korean War maintained the barrier against the aggressive advance of Communism in the Far East.

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Thus we have learned over the four decades since November 1918, during the lifetime of many of us, that our freedoms can be menaced not alone here at home, but by events in other and often distant parts of the world -- on the Rhine, in Korea, and today in Berlin, in the Congo, and in far-away Laos and nearby Cuba.

The advance of Communism anywhere in the world can affect the United States. To permit this would be a betrayal of the veterans to whose sacrifices we pay tribute here today.

Anyone speaking here in this city, on these subjects, would be derelict if he failed to pay tribute to the role of President Truman in the defense of our freedoms. He initiated the Truman Doctrine in 1947 to protect Greece and Turkey from Communist aggression

and subversion. He took a firm stand in the days of the Berlin blockade, and in the defense of freedom's frontiers in Korea.

During the last eight years under President Eisenhower these frontiers of freedom have been defended. The military and economic strength of the Free World have been steadily built up to face what today and tomorrow may be ever bolder and more powerful Communist threats.

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It was during the years of tension following World War II that the Central Intelligence Agency was organized as a special element in our Government to help meet the new dimensions of the crisis which the Free World faced in dealing with the aggressive plans of International Communism.

One of the essential reasons for the creation of the Agency was the need to obtain better information on a world-wide basis as to what the Communists in Moscow, their allies and satellites, were planning and plotting through their far-flung subversive apparatus.

And when in 1947 and 1948, shortly after the organization of the CIA, the Communists took over in Czechoslovakia, threatened in Greece, in France and Italy, and then in Berlin and later in China and Korea, the Central Intelligence Agency was strengthened both in authority and resources to become one of the instruments of our government in dealing with the International Communist

subversive threat.

In the CIA we do not deal with policy -- we attempt to get at the facts without which no adequate policy can be formulated.

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The threat of Communism dates back to 1917 when the Bolsheviks, declaring the dictatorship of the proletariat, took control of the machinery of government in Russia.

The period of just over forty years since then falls roughly into four periods.

The first decade, up to the early 1930's, I would call the decade of indifference and misunderstanding by the Free World of what was really happening in Russia as a result of the Communist-Bolshevik take-over.

During the early years of this period it was hoped that if we left the Communist movement alone, like a bad dream it would go away.

I was a member of the American delegation to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. At this time it was felt that the problems of the world could be settled without much regard for events in the Soviet Union. The United States did, however, take the lead in terminating intervention in what was coming to be viewed as an internal Russian affair. At the same time we held aloof from diplomatic recognition as we began to appreciate the basic incompatibility of the Soviet system and all its works with a

society devoted to free enterprise and the freedom of the individual.

The second decade, prior to the outbreak of World War II, was marked by the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. By and large during this decade the United States and countries of Western Europe, through restored contact, endeavored to do business with Russia. In the field of trade and commercial relations, initially some progress was made. Soon, however, the incompatibility of the two systems in this field also became apparent. The Soviet Union had little to sell which we wished to buy and neither the desire nor the financial means to acquire from us those goods and services which they could not pay for by their own trade or by the export of capital.

This was also a period of very restricted social and cultural relations. During this decade of the Thirties we continued to be disillusioned by the Soviet system, with its deportations and purges. In particular we were disturbed by their activities, through the Comintern, in interfering in the internal political affairs of other countries. We found that Communism was their principal commodity of export.

Then came the decade of the Forties, which opened and closed with periods of great disenchantment. Following the

Molotov-Ribbentrop cynical agreement of August 1939, Poland was invaded by the Soviet and partitioned with Nazi Germany. Finland was attacked, and the Baltic States lost their freedom in June of 1940. With Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union there followed a period of alliance in war. Then came the post-war disillusionment as Stalin abused the agreement signed in Yalta and after probing the strength of the West from Iran to Berlin, aided in the Communist take-over of mainland China and prepared to collaborate in the Communist attack in Korea.

Thus it was natural that the decade of the Fifties was the decade of the awakening -- an awakening not only to the basic purposes and policies of the Soviet Union and their ally Communist China, but also an awakening to the growing economic and military strength of the Soviet Union which emerged as a nuclear power with growing ability to deliver nuclear weapons to any part of the globe.

It was also an awakening to Soviet strength in the field of science, to their development of a sophisticated educational system, particularly in scientific and technical fields, and to the emergence of the Soviet Union as a power which could make its weight felt not only militarily but economically and technologically all over the world.

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The decade of the Sixties will be a decade of great decisions.

During this period we will probably see a rough balance of military strength in the nuclear and delivery fields, where both sides will recognize that all-out nuclear war is mutual destruction.

Then the methods used in the struggle will tend to shift, as it is beginning to do today. The balance of power in the uncommitted areas of the world may well be determined in fields other than the military.

It is on the nature of this struggle that I wish to speak tonight.

While I shall be dealing mainly with the non-military phases of our global confrontation with Communism, the maintenance of our military strength remains of vital importance. During this decade of the Sixties we must do all in our power to assure ourselves that the Soviets at no time gain superiority in the arms race. What is more, it is vital that their own intelligence appraisal of the respective military situations should not give them any assurance that they could attack us without receiving unacceptable damage and destruction in return.

There must be no ground for misinterpretation either of our military strength or of our willingness, if our own interests or those of our allies are attacked, to respond with overwhelming strength.

Too often in the past, wars have come through the misjudging of the strength and tenacity of an opponent or of the fortitude with which the opponent would meet any aggression. To cite only very recent history, Japan so miscalculated, and twice Germany did likewise.

In many of his statements Khrushchev has indicated that he sees evolving the likelihood of something in the nature of a nuclear stalemate. While he still rattles his missiles, and threatens to use them even in situations as close at hand as Cuba, at the same time he is professing that he does not intend to initiate a nuclear war. He considers this a risky adventure, quite unnecessary to the accomplishment of his aim for a peaceful conquest of the non-Communist world. Hence, today he is trying to sell to us the idea of co-existence, but his co-existence is largely a figure of speech to cover his program of conquest without war.

Our own intelligence analysis of the situation leads us to believe that in order to accomplish its objectives under the guise of co-existence, the Kremlin will put chief emphasis on the following lines of action: -- internal subversion, economic penetration and massive propaganda, directed against the countries of the Free World. Chief attention will be given to the weak and newly freed nations, and to those nations which are vulnerable to attack because of economic disparities, poverty and ignorance.

Every weakness in the Free World, every division among and within our free societies will be exploited. They will try to divide us and thus to win us over.

Divided countries fit handily into the Communist program. We have as examples Germany, the city of Berlin, Korea and Vietnam. In each and every one of these cases the Communists have helped to create and then exploited divisions in the Free World.

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What does intelligence tell us of Khrushchev's weapons in the war of subversion?

He uses the technique of maintaining and directing Communist parties, subservient to Moscow, in almost every part of the Free World. We even have one of his servile Communist parties here in the United States.

Fortunately, our own high standard of living, effective counter-measures spear-headed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the repugnance we share of everything that Communism means, tend to keep the party small and politically ineffective.

Unfortunately, such is not the case in all other countries of the Free World. In many countries Communist parties have positions of relative respectability. In some they have large representation in the legislatures where they sabotage parliamentary government and often render parliaments impotent to take the decisions necessary for the country's security and well being.

In the earlier days of the Communist movement, Moscow openly maintained well publicized organizations to give direction to these Communist parties. First came the Comintern -- dissolved largely to satisfy the apprehensions of the United States Government during the war days. Then came the Cominform which likewise disappeared after a few years of existence. Neither of these actions altered the basic Soviet policy of directing these Communist parties from Moscow. They merely arranged other methods, more covert and less advertised, to accomplish the same objective.

For some years the Communists, at regular intervals, have been holding large party Congresses in Moscow. Here they gather together the hard core Communist leaders from all of the major countries of the Free World and from many of the smaller countries. These Communist leaders from abroad are indoctrinated in the policy which Moscow considers best calculated, according to the particular background of the country concerned, to build towards Communist domination and the destruction of democratic processes.

Thus they use the liberties, which are the essence of our free institutions, to try to undermine, in country after country, the very concept of liberty itself.

In February of 1959 one of these major party Congresses, the twenty-first, was held in Moscow. Since a miscellaneous group of Communist leaders from all quarters of the globe gathered together,

the security arrangements of these Communist meetings could not be very good. Hence we know, for example, a great deal about the instructions which were given to the Communist delegates from Latin American countries. We know that the program now being followed in Cuba is based, chapter and verse, on what the Cuban Communists were instructed to do at this twenty-first party Congress.

A very special meeting of Communist party delegates is now being held in Moscow to celebrate the anniversary of the Soviet Revolution. In addition to high representatives of Communist China and of all of the ten Communist satellite states, we have identified representatives from five Latin American states, five important European countries, and from many Asian and African countries. If the usual pattern is followed, we expect that the Communist parties of about 60 countries will be present. The American Communist party is among those represented at the meeting.

Some of the time of this conference will undoubtedly be spent in discussing important differences between Moscow and Peiping. Khrushchev is supporting the doctrine of co-existence as the best method of spreading Communism. The Chinese Communists had adopted a more uncompromising view, favoring military aggression wherever it can effectively advance their frontiers.

However, we can be sure that there will be group meetings in which the situation of individual countries and areas will be

carefully studied and a party line adopted with appropriate instructions to Communist leaders in practically every country in the world.

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These Communist parties operating in the Free World are not national parties as are the other parties which represent the various political and social views of free peoples. The Communists represent the views of International Communism as laid down in Moscow, or sometimes in Peiping.

It is quite true that in local situations local Communist leaders are even encouraged to follow extreme nationalist lines. This tactic enables them to get support from disaffected elements which would not follow open Communist doctrine. At times the Communist line even encourages working with the so-called bourgeois or even extreme rightist elements. Anything goes as long as the objective of breaking down the orderly processes of representative government is served.

In many cases, pacifism and opposition to national defense measures can be exploited by Communist intrigue to weaken the unity and strength of countries. Even members of NATO, for example, have been subject to this kind of pressure.

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Tied into the world-wide network of Communist parties dedicated to the destruction of free government, there is a group of Communist

front organizations which play supporting roles.

In the first line, we have the World Federation of Trade Unions with headquarters in Prague. This organization, with central control stemming from the Communist leadership, has a decisive voice in the largest trade unions of France, of Italy, of Indonesia, of Japan and has great influence on Communist unions in practically every free country of the world.

In further supporting roles to the world-wide Communist party and labor organizations, there are two large Communist youth organizations. In recent years these organizations have held major rallies in Moscow and East Berlin, attended by young people from all parts of the world. Last year the Moscow management of these youth rallies had the boldness to hold their world-wide conference in free Vienna. They had good reason to regret their boldness.

The Communists have also organized a whole galaxy of additional front organizations in other fields such as journalism, women's activities and various professions including law, medicine and the like. The Communists promote ban-the-bomb movements, capitalizing on widespread fears of nuclear war.

If International Communism can sell the Kremlin's idea of co-existence, this will give increasing respectability and appeal to their Communist parties, their front organizations and to the whole Communist apparatus.

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Our liberties will not be secure until we thoroughly recognize the nature and extent of the danger of these Communist techniques; until we take effective steps to uncover and disclose to the world, so that all can see, their motives and objectives; and identify the leaders and the stooges of these parties and fronts as they receive their tactical orders from the Kremlin.

In exposing the International Communist apparatus it must also be made very clear, particularly in the underdeveloped areas of the world, that their choice in determining the pattern of their economic and political development does not lie between "capitalism on the one hand and Communism on the other." The real choice is between the dictatorship of the Communist system run by the Kremlin and free development of the social and economic life of the peoples of these countries.

To put this problem more concretely the following is the situation as I see it today.

Organizers for International Communism are at work everywhere in the world. They have the tools in their hands which I have just described. The wares they are trying to sell are attractively packaged. The themes - democracy, peace, co-existence, are prominently displayed and the slogans of imperialism and colonialism are used.

These organizers also have at their disposition the Communist party and front organizations. They are ready to receive any prospective recruits. Everything is made easy. Moscow will provide. Promises are cheap.

On the other side the democracies of the world have no comparable organization. We do not want anything like a Comintern or Cominform or party Congress to direct and subsidize the millions of people who long for the advance of freedom and democracy. With us in the Free World these problems are handled through free political parties, often contesting among themselves, often working first and foremost for their own particular party ends and only incidentally using their resources to combat Communism.

Today as we go into the decisive decade of the Sixties, the political leaders of the Free World will undoubtedly be considering the steps that can be taken to help coordinate measures to stop the menace of the International Communist movement.

It is clear that the great forces of freedom and democracy in the world, of which this country is the leader, should be put to work behind a united coordinated effort to meet peacefully the Moscow directed threat. Today the Communists believe that they are able to protect their own frontiers by sealing off the Communist orbit from any form of peaceful penetration which they consider harmful. They believe that today the Free World is divided in its efforts to

meet their offensive or to take up a counter-offensive. Let us show them that they are mistaken on both counts.

In order to organize effectively we must first of all educate the peoples of this country and of the world to the meaning and intentions of Communism, make them knowledgeable of the apparatus by which Communism is being promoted by Moscow, of the nature of the directives which come from Moscow to the Communist parties of the various countries of the world. With this knowledge we can help to build up support for all indigenous anti-Communist forces to meet the particular Communist threat, country by country.

In this way we can assure that the sacrifices of the veterans whom we honor today have not been in vain and what they have accomplished to preserve our liberties, shall not be lost because of any failures on our part.