

ADDRESS
BY
ALLEN W. DULLES
DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE
to
ST. GEORGE ASSOCIATION, INC.
of the
POLICE DEPARTMENT OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
1 May 1960

PUBLIC ORDER AND THE PRESERVATION OF OUR FREEDOMS

I am deeply grateful for the award you have tendered me. As an old resident of this great and inspiring city, there is no group of men from whom I should have preferred to receive such an honor.

In accepting this award I wish to pay my tribute to you from the police force of New York for your contribution in maintaining order within the framework of protecting our freedoms.

I fear that injustice is often done you by the misuse of the word "police." We too loosely talk of police states, of police methods, and the like. Here in this country we well know that the police are the protectors of our freedoms and of our liberties. When order and discipline are not maintained, it is we the people who cannot exercise our natural rights and carry on our appointed tasks.

You, in turn, help to enforce the laws adopted by the representatives of the people to protect the people from the invasion of their rights. This is fundamental to our form of government.

If this country of ours does not set an example to the world of maintaining order under law, what can we expect from other countries less well situated than we -- countries new to the task of making democracy work.

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It may be significant that we meet here today on May 1st, a day which has had particular significance to history. The idea for such a day of peaceful demonstration was initiated by American labor unions some seventy years ago. The purpose was to win an eight-hour day. Unfortunately, over the years, May Day has been more and more taken over by the Communists, and now we have our own separate Labor Day in September.

Before this day is over we may hear from various parts of the world -- even from countries near to us, some strange and dangerous doctrines preached. It is typically one of the techniques of the Communists to take over ideas which originated for the purpose of peaceful demonstration to protect the peoples' rights, and make them over into instruments for destroying those rights.

The problem of maintaining order in the world necessary for the protection of the rights of the individual has become vastly complicated over the last few decades by the emergence of Soviet Russia and Communist China as world powers dominating nearly a billion people. And at the same time we see emerging scores of new states untried in the ways of democracy.

The Sino-Soviet Bloc is dedicated to changing the face of the world and to replacing the democratic system of law by the dictator system of the proletariat. In the course of advancing this program, they have promoted violence and class struggle as one of their chosen instruments.

Here in the United States we are more fortunate than most of the peoples of the world. Due to our tradition, the inherent strength of our institutions and the vigilance and temperance of our law enforcement, Communist penetration and Communist agitation has been rigorously restrained.

Unfortunately, in many other countries of the world today this is not the case.

It is the strategy of the Soviets and the Chinese Communists to concentrate first on the weak and then to encircle us, the strong, by penetration in Asia, Africa, Latin America. Even in some countries in Europe such as Italy, and France, the Communist parties have considerable open strength, and a well-organized underground apparatus.

If you have thought of me for your award, it may be because as head of the CIA, I have the duty to bring together all of the information on the Communist plot on a world-wide basis, to expose it, and to furnish others with the means of exposing it, and to collect the evidence on which the policymakers in Government may frame an effective policy to combat international communism.

As you know so well in order to deal with crime and the artisan of disorder, whether locally or in the international field we must have intelligence on their plans and objective; on their leadership and their techniques; and so it is also with the Communist plot.

The general Communist program has been well advertised to us all; their tactics are often disguised.

It is the Communist view that history rolls inevitably toward the final victory of Communism.

Khrushchev told us all about this during his recent visit to this country. In his address last September at the National Press Club, he explained the "We will bury you" theme.

He said that by this he did not mean any physical burial of anyone at any time. It was merely a question of inevitable changes in the social

system over the course of the historical progress of society.

In another address Khrushchev argued that the social system changes as society develops. First he said there was the feudal system. It was superseded by capitalism. Capitalism was more progressive than feudalism. But capitalism, he claimed, engendered irreconcilable contradictions and as it outlived itself, it like every earlier system would give birth to its successors. Capitalism, he said, as Marx, Engels, and Lenin have proved, will be succeeded by communism.

Khrushchev would have us believe that this evolution to Communism will be a peaceful, painless process. One might footnote this view by suggesting that this had hardly been true in Poland, in Hungary, the Baltic states or in China.

Although professing that history will take care of us, Moscow and international communism have a definite program for helping along this so-called historical evolution.

I shall briefly outline what I believe this program to be. And since today is Sunday, it is well to start out with the Soviet attack on religion as one of the cardinal points of their program.

Karl Marx taught that religion is the opiate of the people. As late as 1954 the Central Committee of the Communist party labeled the church as "the prop and tool of the ruling classes which they use as a means to enslave the workers." They propose to instill atheism as a substitute for religion.

Here we can quote history back to them. No great civilization has ever prospered and endured without a deep religious background.

The Soviet's atheistic program of attack on the Free World has three main major elements: first, the military, second the economic, and third

the subversive. I shall say a word about each of them.
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The military threat is widely advertised and is easier for the people of the world to understand than their more subtle techniques.

This threat is based on Soviet missiles and bombers, nuclear weapons and a large conventional force, ground and air, supplemented by the largest submarine fleet in being the world has ever known.

For their own political purposes they rattle the missile; this took place notably during the Suez crisis about four years ago. Some foreign visitors to the Kremlin these days have also received Khrushchev's estimate of how many missiles and nuclear bombs were being reserved for them, or would be required for the destruction of their respective countries. He hasn't yet told us how many are reserved for the United States.

I believe, however, that Khrushchev is still confident that he can win the world without actually employing military force. He doesn't want to acquire a world in ruins if he can take it intact. However, he keeps up his military forces as an ever-ready threat particularly for those countries which live under the shadow of Soviet Russia and Communist China.

Then there is the Communist economic threat. This has two main elements -- their own domestic industrial growth, and their foreign economic penetration.

Domestically Khrushchev recognizes that the United States is the most highly developed economic power in the world today. However, he claims that with the Soviets' higher annual rate of growth, they will catch up with us in the next ten to fifteen years.

Such boasts are an exaggeration but this does not prevent his peddling them on the world-wide basis. Nor do those boasts fail to impress the

underdeveloped and non-industrial nations who see the great strides which the Soviet has made over a few decades. From a second rate industrial power they have now come to be second only to the United States.

While Soviet industrial production today is less than one-half of ours, it is true that their present annual rate of growth is about twice our own, though their absolute industrial production is still less than ours. If one takes the free world's industrial production and contrasts it with that of the communist world, including that of Communist China, the gap in favor of the Free World is still greater.

In the decade or so which Khrushchev allows for equaling our industrial production, the Soviet, on the basis of present relative rates of industrial growth, will narrow the gap, and in 1970 Soviet industrial production could be about 60 percent of our own.

This is impressive, -- and while not up to Khrushchev's boasts, it certainly gives us no call to relax.

As for agriculture, the picture is very different. With six times the number of farm workers that we have in the United States, the Soviet Union is producing about twenty-five per cent less in farm products than we are. The facts are that their agriculture is inefficient. Here they have little or nothing to boast of. There is too much of Karl Marx and collectivism and too little free enterprise incentive and ambition on the Soviet farms.

However, what should give us pause about their economy is that they are putting into national power goals, into military hardware, heavy industry, and related fields, a far greater percentage of their total production than are we.

We are spending a great deal these days for the production of the certain types of consumer goods which add little to the sinews of our national strength. And in making comparisons with the Soviet Union, we must realize that it is the use to which we put our great economic resources rather than their absolute size that determines the measure of national power.

I am no economist, but I feel that it is our primary duty these days to produce primarily that which will keep our country strong and free. Strong not only in the sense of military might but in education, science and technology: -- free not only in the sense of freedom from want but free to develop the best that is in us; with the tools to enjoy our leisure but not necessarily every imaginable gadget.

I admit this is easier to say than it is to accomplish in a free society.

In his regimented state, Khrushchev takes his military hardware out of the hide of his people. He limits the volume of consumer goods, of housing and the like. As a consequence, Khrushchev today faces a domestic problem of no mean proportions in meeting the growing demand for more progress in raising the standard of living.

The other phase of the Soviet economic threat is targeted abroad.

It is carried out on a highly selective basis but it is very efficiently publicized.

The areas of Soviet economic penetration are chiefly the Middle East, including Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, -- South and Southeast Asia, including India, Burma, and Indonesia. Recently, the Soviet Union is turning its attention to central Africa and to the hemisphere to the south of us, with Cuba now receiving Soviet credits and oil products from Communist countries.

It is well to remember that the less developed countries look upon the Soviet Union as a nation which in a few decades has developed from a backward country into the world's second industrial power. These less developed countries aspire to do the same. Although they do not expect to reach anything like the high economic and industrial levels of the United States, they are attracted to Moscow's claims that rapid industrial progress can be achieved if they just conform to Communist methods and discipline. We know the fallacy of that argument but many of the lesser developed countries do not.

The third major element of the drive of communism to fulfill its boast of inheriting the earth lies in the field of political action, propaganda and the subversive effort to undermine free governments everywhere.

They start of course with the weakest and most vulnerable targets but they lose no opportunity to work even against the strong and the sophisticated.

Their weapons include the control of their far-flung Communist Party organization, underground and above ground, on almost a world-wide basis. Then they have their front organizations in the fields of labor, of veterans, students, youth, women, and the various professions.

Their so-called world peace and "ban the bomb" movements appeal to the aspirations of peoples in various parts of the world.

The over-all strategy of International Communism is generally worked out in Moscow or, in some cases, in Peiping, at secret conferences of Communist delegates from various areas of the world.

Take Latin America, for example. At the 21st Communist Party Congress held in Moscow a little over a year ago, guidance was given to the Communist

leaders in secret regional session. The Latin American Communists were directed to develop the theme of nationalism and to omit any reference to relations with Moscow. They were told to use every effort to eliminate pro-American elements, and to develop their local revolutions with the United States as the main target and whipping boy. I need hardly point out that these directives are being implemented. The theme in Latin America is liberation from what they describe as the domination of the "Colossus of the North."

Moscow's strategy for dealing with the labor movements in Latin America was revised. So-called neutralist and independent local Latin American labor confederations were to be organized. Membership in the Communist Party was to be played down and concealed.

Many of the Latin American Communists who attended the Moscow briefings received supplementary indoctrination at a later meeting in Peiping.

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This is just a short blueprint of the strategy of International Communism.

It is a formidable threat to our free institutions and those of the free world.

But Communism is not the wave of the future. It is reactionary, repressive, atheistic and intolerant.

As such it will not satisfy the strivings of man and while it may produce material strength, it does not create moral values.

There is some evidence today that those who are living under communist domination are becoming more and more restive as education and knowledge of the outside world become more general behind the Iron Curtain.

The example set by this country as the leader of the Free World alliance will play a major role in the shaping of the future and in the meeting of the Communist threat.

In the opening paragraph of the Federalist papers in which men who had a great part in the framing of our Constitution and our system of government expressed their views, there is this statement, "There seems to have been reserved to the people of this country by their conduct and example to decide whether societies of men are capable of establishing good government."

It has been an inspiration to me to meet with you today, to receive this award and to know that throughout this land there are great bodies of men who like you are dedicated to the upholding of law and maintenance of order under the framework of the preservation of our freedoms.

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