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RICHARD HELMS, Assistant Director, Central Intelligence Agency

"The Security Implications of World Communism in 1957"

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Mr. Governor (if present)
Mr. President
Distinguished members of the International Association of Chiefs of Police,
and Guests:

I welcome this privilege of talking with you today about the threat which International Communism poses to the security of every country in the Free World. Communism now affects the daily lives of all of us and could affect the future of every citizen in every free country throughout the world. But the future of these citizens and their countries will not be determined by Communist dogma. The future of freedom must and will be safeguarded by the courage and skill with which men defend it. All of us here, by the very nature of our profession, are charged with that defense.

For this reason, I count it not only a privilege but an exceptional pleasure to discuss with you our vital task. We who devote our lives to upholding the law and guarding the national security have much in common. We have identified the enemy. We have learned through practical experience what his tactics are and how to counter them. We speak the same language, face the same hazards, share common experiences.

During the past forty years the Soviet Union has undergone a series of storms and gyrations which have shaken it to the political core. Yet during this same period, it has never ceased to use and encourage International Communism as its fifth column. Despite crises at home, there has been no change in Soviet policy abroad: political domination of the world is their aim. We all know that.

There has been no change in their real intentions despite protestations to the contrary. The Kremlin is still the Kremlin. Its dedicated purpose is still the denial of all the rights and dignities of individual human beings even though its outer walls may be disguised to resemble a temple of brotherly love. Look under the soft, white feathers of the new Kremlin dove and you will find there the predatory claws of the hawk.

The Soviets, their satellites and converts, are still engaged in their relentless drive to undermine the democratic institutions of the Free World, to destroy in the end our social, political, and economic systems and thus to liquidate the greater freedoms we now enjoy. No tactics, however lawless, however deceitful, are overlooked. Under Moscow's direction and control Communist parties and front groups play their assigned roles in subversion, espionage, and corruption.

Let us examine their tactics.

The attack against us is mounted in two ways: the overt and the covert. The Communist Parties of the Free World are engaged in the overt, while the covert is carried on by hidden Communists, spies -- in fact, the entire apparatus of subversion. There are three and one-half million open, card-carrying Communists in the Free World. Their parties poll a total vote of 29,000,000. They claim 39,000,000 sympathizers and fellow-travelers enrolled in eight huge front organizations -- the eight Trojan horses within our portals.

The forces we cannot see are probably more dangerous. From within the Communist World more than 300,000 highly trained officers ensure the continued Soviet domination of the twenty-seven intelligence and security services of the Communist states. This force serves the bureaucracy of the Soviet police and intelligence services -- the largest, wealthiest, and perhaps the most protected class in the Soviet government today.

I must emphasize that these figures are modest estimates. Perhaps a clearer illustration of the consistency and strength of the Soviet conspiracy is the activity of Soviet intelligence officers sent into the Free World. During the years 1942 to mid-1957 many of these espionage officers disguised as diplomats were exposed to public view by police and security forces. Here are the figures:

Australia	14 cases	Sweden	10 cases
Canada	15 cases	Turkey	5 cases
Japan	10 cases	United States	
Norway	7 cases	of America	24 cases

Others were exposed in Argentina, Denmark, Iran, Italy, the United Kingdom, and West Germany. All of you know such cases.

We all know something else: for every spy caught and rendered useless, another is sent to take his place. So the strength of the opposition remains unchanged, and we dare not relax our guard.

Communist propaganda has been especially effective in countries developing new national forms. Communist infiltration in these vast areas, heretofore denied, has enabled them to warp and actually retard the normal growth and emerging independence. In some such countries we can expect extensive subversion (as in Syria), direct seizure of power (as in Czecho-

slovakia), and brutal repression of the nation's will (as in Hungary). Our responsibility is to work together to stop this process.

The first step in stopping the process is recognizing Communist propaganda for what it is. Today we hear much about "united fronts" and "peaceful co-existence". But these words mean something quite different when Communists talk among themselves. In 1945 Stalin made the true nature of peaceful co-existence unmistakably clear. Here is one of his favorite quotations from Lenin:

"We live . . . not only in a state but in a system of states, and the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with the imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable. In the end either one or the other will conquer."

The true nature of peaceful co-existence has become very clear to those who tried to befriend Communism and the Soviet Union. Where are the leaders of Europe who believed -- or tried to believe -- in Soviet friendship? Some are dead: all have vanished from the political scene. Here are a few who could tell us about it: Benes and Masaryk of Czechoslovakia; Mikolajczyk of Poland; Dimitrov of Bulgaria; and Nagy of Hungary.

Today these European countries may seem far away, but the tactics of ten years ago are now in use throughout the Free World. Ever since Stalin loudly announced the dissolution of the Comintern, the Communists have protested that foreign Communist Parties are independent of Moscow. The fact is that Moscow subsidies continue to flow to those parties through Soviet embassies abroad. The fact is that Moscow has actually increased its training program for foreign Communists. The fact is that Khrushchev uses the foreign Parties exactly as Stalin did -- as instruments of Soviet power.

The dual tactic of peaceful co-existence and underground subversion is still used because it is still effective. Some of the Communist Parties of Southeast Asia are growing in strength and influence. In India the Communist Party has gained control of the government of one state. The Syrian Communist Party has maneuvered itself into a key position there.

We in the United States learned about peaceful co-existence and united front tactics during the depression years of the 1930's. Then the Communist Party in our country succeeded in enlisting a fairly large number of disgruntled people by concealing its advocacy of violence, its revolutionary goal, and pretending to be just another political party. The technique aided the Communists in their attempt to develop a systematic and highly organized penetration of our government. The plan failed because the Soviet fifth columns were recognized and dealt with for what they were -- and in fact are.

Today Khrushchev's voice is the voice of the dove whenever he repeats the thirty-year-old Stalinist lies about peaceful co-existence. But Khrushchev has scarcely bothered to hide the unchanged Soviet purpose. He

has himself emphasized that the Free World should expect no change in Soviet foreign policy. A clear explanation of what Communists mean by peaceful co-existence was spelled out in a recent book by an ex-Communist, Milovan Djilas, from whom I quote:

"A united world which even the Soviet leaders desire can only be imagined by them as more or less identical with their own and as being theirs. The peaceful co-existence of systems of which they speak does not mean to them the interweaving of various systems, but the static continuation of one system alongside another, until the point when the one system -- the capitalist system -- is either defeated or corrodes from within."

All of us are accustomed to dealing with facts. We must guard against either underestimating or overestimating. We recognize that Soviet strength is counter-balanced by certain real weaknesses. The extension of Communist control to the territories of Eastern Europe has placed Soviet Russia under unprecedented strain. Hidden conflicts have come into the open; hidden defects have appeared. The death of Stalin and the ensuing scramble for power set in motion a historical process which is too recent to permit a full assessment. But it has become clear that for the first time in history, Communism -- as ideology, ruling system, and international conspiracy -- has generated its own acute problem of internal security. Something has happened to the serpent: it is biting its own tail.

What is this pressing security problem within the Soviet orbit today? It is that more men are beginning to think, to wonder, and to question. The rulers in the Kremlin are finding that of all human phenomena, ideas are the hardest to control. And the ideas now arising challenge the existing order. They represent natural human aspirations for personal freedom and dignity. They assert the rights of man against the oppressions of the monolithic Communist state. And no matter how the leaders of Communism turn and twist, shouting that these ideas have been imported from the West or smuggled past the borders by sly and secret agents, the ideas persist and grow. Why? Because they are the universal truths to be found in all religions and cultures. The more people who become freed from the bonds of ignorance through public education, the greater the number of individuals who will demand their inherent right to question and to think for themselves. It is this group which is an increasing challenge and menace to the Soviet system as it now operates.

This challenge is not new to Soviet Russia and its satellites. From the founding days of the USSR through the Stalin-Trotsky struggle, the purges, the battles of collectivization, and the liquidation of the "kulaks", all the way to recent banishments to Outer Mongolia, the history of Soviet Russia has been the record of conflict. But throughout the past the Soviet leaders have been able to isolate the opposition, whether Mensheviks, army officers, or doctors, and to destroy them one by one. Now these leaders are queried not by cliques but by cross-sections of populations. The questions of the Poles cannot be silenced by the butchery of the Hungarians. The same nagging questions have been heard even inside the walls of Moscow University.

And how have the leaders of Communism reacted? Here is another weakness. They have reacted to new ideas by searching for old plots. The men who now ask the questions have at least a glimmering hope of freedom. The leaders do not, because they are the prisoners of their own system. Beset on all sides by the growing pressures of faceless opposition, they have begun to bite each other. The result is a spreading restiveness in the Communist Parties of other countries. Such a result is inevitable, because followers are disturbed when their teachers in the Kremlin disagree. Historically, the entire Communist world has been dependent on Moscow for direction and leadership. Mao Tse Tung's approval of Soviet slaughter in Hungary is a cynical recognition of this fact. The questions of Budapest are asked of Communist chiefs in Bucharest, Rostov, Ulan Bator, and Peiping. They turn to Moscow for answers, but hear instead the sounds of confusion and fear, of purge and banishment.

For the past forty years the Communists have been telling us that they are on the move. And it is true that we have seen a lot of movement. But they seem to disagree about where they are going. I have heard recently a story told among refugees and whispered behind the iron curtain. It runs: not long ago Kadar and Khrushchev were surprised to find themselves sitting opposite each other on a train going from Budapest to Moscow. After a few toasts had been drunk, Kadar asked, "Where are you going?" "To Moscow", said Khrushchev. "Ah!" said Kadar. "How glorious is the modern Soviet technology! There you sit, looking at me -- and you're going to Moscow. And here I sit, looking at you -- and I'm going to Budapest!"

Kadar is not the first comrade of the Kremlin to discover that the roads to Moscow are one-way streets.

A totalitarian regime dealing with popular dissatisfaction may choose any of three methods. It may seek to distract its citizens from their troubles at home by plunging into adventures abroad. It may resort to bloody suppression, as in Hungary. Or it may attempt to ease the pressure by installing the safety valve of pretended liberalization, as in Poland. The first of these moves would pose a graver and more immediate problem for the Free World than suppression or tactical liberalization. But even though restlessness is now in the air, the threat of world Communism remains undiminished. It will grow, as it has grown in the past, if the Communist chiefs are again permitted to devote their full attention to our destruction.

Our defense must remain unceasing vigilance and cooperation with each other and with all who share our aspirations. The maintenance of internal security in our free countries is our strongest bulwark against Communist influence. For this reason the infiltration and neutralization of police and security forces outside the Communist Bloc is one of their first objectives. The magnitude and aggressiveness of Communist subversion has placed a heavy burden upon law enforcement agencies.

The Central Intelligence Agency enjoys close and effective cooperation with Mr. J. Edgar Hoover. It is not for me to speak of the accomplishments of the FBI and the various police forces in the United States, or of

their very effective work in countering the Communist threat there. But today it is plain that the Communist Party of the United States is at its lowest ebb, chiefly because of the determined and professional manner in which the Communist conspiracy, in all its ramifications, is being exposed and prosecuted by the law enforcement agencies.

As part of its program of technical assistance to the countries of the Free World, the United States is helping the police and security forces of those countries to develop their capabilities to resist Communist subversion. It is gratifying that these services are sharing with us their skills and hard-won experience in the face of a common adversary.

Perhaps I should let Communism's leading spokesman round out the picture for us. In a speech made in East Germany two years ago, Mr. Khrushchev said, "We want friendly relations with all countries. If anyone, however, expects us to forget the doctrines of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, he is making a tremendous mistake. Those who wait for this will have to wait until a shrimp learns to whistle." I think that Mr. Khrushchev and his friends will have to wait even longer before we forget the dogmas of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin and the disastrous results of those dogmas. It will indeed be long before the survivors of the Hungarian Revolution forget.

In India Mr. Khrushchev said, "We have never renounced and will not renounce our political line, charted for us by Lenin. We did not renounce and will not renounce our political program. That is why we tell the gentlemen who are expecting the Soviet Union to change its political program -- wait for pigs to fly."

We of the Free World do not often think in terms of pigs, shrimps, and other inhabitants of the "Animal Farm". We think in terms of people. The freedom that we defend is the freedom others seek. The major and heartening successes which you have achieved renew the hope and strength of all men.

Mr. Governor (if present), Mr. President, distinguished members, and guests, I bring greetings from Mr. Allen W. Dulles, the Director of Central Intelligence. I give you his assurance that we are proud and honored to work shoulder to shoulder with all those who are dedicated to the protection of the sacred rights of free men.

I thank you.