

THE TECHNIQUES OF SOVIET PROPAGANDA

A STUDY

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THE TECHNIQUES OF SOVIET PROPAGANDA

What had to happen? The ignorance, the laziness, the pusillanimity, the perpetual fickleness and the credulousness of Western governments enabled Russia to achieve successively every one of her aims.

*Karl Marx,
New York Tribune, April 19, 1853.*

Politics is war without bloodshed. War is politics with bloodshed.

Mao Tse-tung.

IMPORTANCE OF THE THEME

In the West, people often say of this or that Soviet frenzy: "Oh, it's only propaganda."

This is a very dangerous reaction, for it is precisely when propaganda is concerned that the Soviets are most purposeful.

The proliferation of representative governments has ushered the Western World into a primarily political era, in which molders of public opinion are more influential in the shaping of events than are industrial managers or military leaders. But by a strange and significant paradox, this crucially important evolution has been better comprehended by the enemies of democracy than by its patrons.

Many democratic statesmen are still living in that past when popular opinion had little influence on authority, and matters of state were decided in chancelleries. But the totalitarians have recognized that where democracy rules, public opinion prevails. This is why those who trample it underfoot in their own domain court it ardently in the opposing camp, while those who respect it have abandoned it to enemy propaganda with only token opposition. This is why the Soviets regard propaganda as the primary theatre of cold war operations. This is why a cold shoulder from the State Department matters little to Mr. Mikoyan when his welcome was warm at the Waldorf, for eventually the State Department, as a democratic institution, will dance to the Waldorf's tune.

From north to south and from east to west, it is committees, and not missiles, which smooth the road for the Kremlin. There were no Soviet missiles in Tokyo, yet the President of the United States was forced to cancel his visit because of several hundred dragon-dancing students, under the remote control of Moscow and Peiping. Most of Laos fell to the Communists, while her SEATO allies busied themselves counting their missiles, more because Washington and Paris, seduced by Soviet sophistries, delivered up their friends Souvanna Phoumi and Boun Oum, than because of the strength of the enemy guerrillas.

Iraq, although integrated into the expensive military network of the Baghdad Pact, was forced out of it by internal disorders fomented

inexpensively by Moscow, despite all the threatening American missiles. Guinea, Ghana, Mali, Somaliland, and Zanzibar are all becoming Soviet satellites by the stratagems of a few thousand indigenous crypto-Communists in key positions, trained in Communist schools at a cost of some thousands of dollars, against which American missiles costing millions of dollars are impotent.

In Cuba, at the very border of the huge American missile complex, the Soviets have firmly established themselves by a pure, classic, head-on political penetration.

On the day the Government of Panama falls under control of some Popular-National-Progressive-anti-imperialist Front of Liberation, the United States could be manoeuvred into relinquishment of the Panama Canal without using a single missile from its billion dollar armament. This is a very real, and possibly imminent development. The front might consist of 500 students, 60 sergeants, 50 professors, 40 journalists, 30 lawyers, and 20 longshoremen, gathered from the back rooms of a dozen cafes, and united around 10 Soviet agents, at a cost to Moscow of some half million dollars.

This would be the beginning of the end. The free world will perish like a languid colossus, gorged with unused atomic super-weapons, from the bites of myriads of political fleas trained by Moscow.

It will die of a psychosis which might be termed the "Mars complex," which consists of visualizing, comprehending, and fearing only the "hot" war while essentially neglecting the protection of the decisive front; the subversive war waged by Moscow and Peiping. So war preparation is made only on the field where it will not occur. Building up the retaliatory capability of the West in opposition to Communist armament is, of course, also of vital importance, as otherwise the enemy would promptly subdue the world by the threat of annihilation. However, once our strength has established the "balance of terror," the Soviets, unwilling to risk a nuclear conflict, quickly shift the contest to the civilian arena where they create a huge apparatus for an entirely different kind of war; political warfare.

It is essential to understand why the Communist threat cannot be military, once the Western capacity for nuclear retaliation is established. The reason usually cited, the "balance of terror," which threatens the U.S.S.R. with at least the devastation it inflicts, is only part of the story. The prospect of purely material damage is insufficient to deter the Communist heads, because there exists no balance between them and the Western leaders in the "horror of horror." The Communist slave masters would callously accept appalling loss of lives if they were thereby better enabled to raise the Red flag over the ruins. But this is precisely what they know will not occur. They know that the one thing they really value, far more than the lives of their subjects, would inevitably be engulfed in the ruins; their power.

Studies by the Rand Corporation have indicated a new characteristic of nuclear devastation; the simultaneous destruction over the whole territory, of the whole network of human and technical communication links which maintains the control over society. These are the elements of resistance which classical wars have never succeeded in completely disrupting all at once. Such wars could only attack the enemy's substance piecemeal, leaving always intact sufficient remnants to assure the continuity of the old hierarchy and of the central

power. In contrast, a sufficiently massive nuclear strike could conceivably destroy simultaneously all these channels of command throughout the entire territory submitted to it.

Under these conditions, democracy could still survive, as it derives from the agreement of wills. Since representative government responds in general to the spontaneous tendencies of its social body, it enjoys the adaptive virtue of those organisms which breed peripheral heads when the central one is severed. Dictatorships, on the contrary, have only one head. More, it is hated. When the head falls, the body rebels. It lives only by organization and coercion. If organization and coercion crumble, the regime falls.

Long before the erection of dams, power stations, and factories in the seized empire, the Bolsheviks' first order of priority was the establishment of a tremendous network of party and police outposts and liaisons. On the day the telephone of the secret police cannot ring any more in all the provinces of the Soviet Union there will be no more communism. Although the West may be unaware of this, it is an obsessive terror to the Kremlin. That is why it will not initiate nuclear war. It has developed the formidable arsenal for such a war solely to intimidate the world, to support its blackmail behind which advance its authentic legions of conquest; the activists and auxiliaries who are the legions of the subversive war. For the Soviets, the atom is the umbrella of the committee.

As a result, the political front is more decisive than the military front in the present conflict between the free world and the Soviet world. And since propaganda is the principal weapon of political warfare, the study of its techniques is a matter of overriding urgency. It should be the central theme in the free world's resistance to its implacable enemy; in its struggle for survival.

POLITICAL WARFARE DEFINED

During the first session of the International Conference on Political Warfare, in Paris, Mr. Adam Ciolkosz, former president of the Socialist group of the Polish Diet, got to the heart of the matter: "The essence of Communist political warfare is to control the public actions of men; not to convince men. The act of convincing is a democratic touchstone, while the act of controlling is a conspiratorial mechanism. In all Communist countries, control by communism is total, while belief in communism is nil."

It might be better to use the term "the war of sophistries," rather than "the war of minds"; and "conspiratorial war" rather than "political war." However, the expression "political warfare" will be retained because it has achieved wide popular usage, and is defined as follows:

Political warfare is the activity conducted by agencies of Moscow and Peiping, established in the public life of all peoples to destroy free regimes from within and replace them with a system of totalitarian power. Its principal vehicles are propaganda, infiltration, corruption, conspiracy, sabotage, and guerrilla warfare. It uses indigenous personnel, rather than engaging regular Soviet troops in armed conflict. The objective is to capture, or at least subvert to the purposes of the Kremlin or Peiping, the command posts controlling national policy; administration, press, radio, television, universities, parties, unions,

etc., while carefully concealing from the captured elements any awareness of their service to communism.

It is this last characteristic which distinguishes Communist political warfare from normal political activity. While normal political activity tends to win agreements around objectives as clearly defined as possible, Communist political warfare tends to manipulate allegiances to favor objectives which are as thoroughly disguised as possible.

The term "political warfare" is often used as a synonym for the "war of minds," which frequently leads to a confusion of concepts. The use of the word "mind" often evokes the idea that what is involved is a confrontation of ideals, doctrines, and motivations; a contest played on the field of intellectual activity. However, communism today aims only at the emotionally conditioned part of the minds. It seeks alinement, not enlightenment. It employs lies, sophistries, demagoguery, and chicanery to cheat, rather than convince minds. The term "war of minds" could be accepted, if it were clearly understood as a war to subjugate minds; a poisonous attack on the intellect with the poisons of the intellect.

DIRECT CONVERSION VERSUS INDIRECT PROPAGANDA

In general, propaganda serves two purposes: to exalt already mustered proselytes and to manipulate the opinions of those not yet enlisted. One of the outstanding fatuities of the West is the delusion that the extent of the Communist threat can be gaged by the numerical strength of the indigenous Communist Party. As in all political systems whose appeal is not grounded in reason, Communist totalitarianism feeds much more on the confusion of its opponents than on the conviction of its members. Communist Parties serve simply as firebrands, and the Kremlin thrusts them into a social structure with the primary purpose of perverting or weakening its fabric. This is the *modus operandi* of "active minorities," a concept effectively utilized by Bolshevism from its inception, even in the U.S.S.R. and China. It has consistently used minority parties to seize power in undermined, weakened, and deluded societies.

For several years now, the promotion of communism as an ideology has been subordinated to the growth of the international Soviet empire; therefore, it is a dangerous illusion to equate national security with numerical weakness of the Communist Party, especially if there is wide acceptance of views favorable to the international enterprises of Moscow and Peiping.

The discussion of direct propaganda, designed to win members or voters, will therefore be very brief, the more so as its methods are fairly well known. Of far more importance, and widely misunderstood, is indirect propaganda, designed to contaminate minds and to atrophy defensive reactions in non-Communist circles, which will be the principal topic.

I. DIRECT PROSELYTISM

STRENGTH OF COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS

France and Italy, alone among the NATO members, have mass Communist Parties. Outside NATO, the principal mass CP's are those of Indonesia, India, and Finland. The CP's have a substantial membership in some 20 other nations, including Holland, Belgium, Sweden, Greece, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, British Guiana, and several in the Middle and Far East. Throughout the rest of the world, as in England and the United States, they are so weak as to constitute little more than sects. Total CP membership in the free world amounts to 6 million, of which 3½ million adhere to the five mass parties; 2 million constitute the membership of the 20 "sturdy little parties," and a half million are scattered in the hundred remaining tiny groups. But regardless of size, no country in the world is without an underground Communist Party, whether or not its overt counterpart exists.

Weak or strong, overt or covert, every Communist Party is universally characterized by certain specific features:

1. They are under disciplined control of Moscow or Peiping, whose orders are followed blindly, regardless of zigs, zags, or reversals.

2. They are not organized as political parties, but as totalitarian external detachments of totalitarian states. They are fanatical, monolithic, and intolerant. The chairman rules and manipulates the rank and file, who serve only as a striking force. Even the Fascist parties were clubs of amateurs, compared to these autocracies.

3. In proportion to its membership, its apparatus is 50 to 100 times larger and better equipped with propaganda facilities than is any normal political party. The Communist Party averages 1 permanent professional activist for each 25 or 50 members, while other parties have 1 for each 1,000 to 5,000 members. Its output of printed material; books, magazines, newspapers, pamphlets, leaflets, posters, and bulletins, also averages 100 times greater per capita than any other party, no matter how affluent. The same proportion applies to office space and equipment, while the ratio is even higher in party schools, study groups, political meetings, protection services, etc.

The apparatus charged with the world wide task of "direct proselytizing" commands the services of 150,000 full-time professional activists and disposes of an annual budget of \$500 million.

FULL-TIME PROFESSIONAL ACTIVISTS

The strength of the Communist Parties is determined by the system of full-time professional activists, evolved from Lenin's famous "professional revolutionaries," far more than by the number of members or voters. For these paid agitators the party preferably selects the obscure and footloose who will owe their advancement to it, and will feel insecure if separated from it. It trains them intensively in special schools, of which it has a wide variety, each adapted for training in a different sphere of activity. There are elementary academies of Leninism and advanced institutes of political studies, training schools for activists in rural areas, others for urban activists, and still others for activists in colonial territories.

In these schools the future activists are first depersonalized, then indoctrinated to a severely orthodox mental and behavioral pattern; trained to be zombies, totally controlled by their leaders, thoroughly qualified in the techniques of organization and agitation. The party teaches them to pursue control over men more than knowledge; power more than riches, and covert power in preference to overt power. Thus the party is able to restrict its servants to anonymous tasks, and to require the performance of any conceivable assignment, and all for very modest pay. Compared to the propagandists of the free political parties, who aspire to affluence, value above all open eminence, and indulge in abstract philosophizing, the advantages held by the Soviet trained activists are obvious.

These meticulously trained and constantly supervised cadres, as dedicated in their way as "professed" Jesuits are in theirs, are the Party's prime movers. In every country of the world there are a sufficient number, if not for mass action, to at least commandeer the critical machinery of public life in a crisis. In this constant ability to staff a coup lies the extreme danger of the Communist Parties, regardless of size. In Guatemala, the Communists, with only some thousand members, seized power through thoroughly conditioned and accurately directed intermediaries.

Of all the people deceived and misled by the Communists, the most grossly beguiled and misinformed are their own members, who are systematically maneuvered, duped, and intimidated. Once entangled in the Communist web through demagoguery or the various myths: the revolution, the Soviet paradise, liberation of the workers, or the betterment of labor, the member is held by threats of reprisal against defectors. These may be moral reprisals, such as slander or ostracism; or material, as physical assault or economic boycott. The basic formula is simple: attract by intoxication and hold by fear. Its principal ingredient: surrender of his free will by the member, which precisely defines the Communist Party as the antithesis of a true political party. The function of political parties in free societies is the education of the electorate through open discussion. The Communists transform these institutions from forums to prisons for ideas.

In summary, because of the totalitarian nature of their internal organization, their enormous material resources and their abject submission to the Kremlin, Communist Parties are in no sense political parties in the conventional meaning of the term, but rather foreign subsidiaries of the Soviet or Red Chinese state apparatus. As such, they forfeit any claim to the rights of free and open expression of opinion; rights which a civilized society ought to guarantee to its people.

II. INDIRECT PROPAGANDA AMONG NON-COMMUNISTS: TECHNICAL METHODS

Propaganda of this type is not aimed at recruiting members for the Communist Party, but rather at the dissemination of views openly or covertly serving Soviet foreign policy, regardless of their compatibility with any social doctrine.

THE MENAGERIE OF COMMUNIST AUXILIARIES

Bolshevism has always been fond of underground activities. It has always attempted to spread its influence by the use of "transmission belts": individuals or organizations which would conceal their allegiance. This phenomenon is repugnant to Westerners, who prefer to air political differences openly, based on professed ideas and declared allegiances. But it would be not only foolish, it would be disastrous if free people choose to ignore secret allegiances because they find them repellant. The reality which must be faced is a Communist world as made by Moscow, rather than as we would prefer it to be.

The menagerie of Soviet propaganda auxiliaries includes an infinite number of species, having a wide variety of duties and utilizing a multiplicity of methods. The conventional hired agent stands at the lower end of the spectrum; at the other extreme is the prestigious friend who will act only after tactful entreaty, and then only according to the dictates of his conscience—a conscience which has, however, been subtly conditioned.¹ Between these two extremes may be found all gradations of crypto-Communists and fellow travelers, all to some extent circumscribed and bound by innumerable fetters ranging all the way from cupidity to sentiment, with variations involving ambition, cowardice, snobbery, loyalty, professional interest, and a host of other motivations. Some spread lies about the virtues of the Soviet regime; others suppress the truth about its horrors. Some trumpet a "Yes," while others whisper a muted "but."

An excellent illustration of the havoc created by these undercover relays is provided by the case of President Edouard Benes, who allowed them to circumvent him. When he realized how he had been duped, his country was enslaved, and he died of grief. Subsequent developments have indicated that sagacious crypto-Communist advisers were expertly planted in his entourage, who consistently presented him with theses favorable to the Kremlin, and whom he finally accepted as arbiters of statecraft and morality. It should be noted that in free societies, in which reputation is achieved by the display of opinions, a type of "fashionable" phraseology and a "progressive" attitude may determine the political postures of the most responsible leaders. The same sort of "bright young men," whose task it was to bewilder and mislead the pundits they ostensibly served, were also among the advisers of Western Government.

Obviously, all political parties seek to attract influential personalities, but the Communists have enormously expanded this method of extending their influence through reflections from preadjusted mirrors, creating an entirely new phenomenon unique in both size and stealth. There is no known political party which, to attract prominent sympathizers, uses men who deny serving it. The Communist pseudoparty alone works behind such a mask. Disillusioned Communists have testified that on many occasions the party has requested members, during their early enthusiasm, to forgo a membership card to better serve Soviet propaganda efforts by their apparent "independence."

In considering the infinite variety of methods and procedures used by the counterfeit universe of Communist propaganda, it is difficult to

¹ See statement of Harry Gold to the Internal Security Subcommittee, "Scope of Soviet Activity in the United States," pt. 58, p. 3814.

select a single term which will adequately identify its practitioners. For some, the terms "crypto-Communist" or "fellow traveler" are too strong; for others too mild. In this exposition the less definitive designation "auxiliary" will be used throughout to designate any person or group following the Communist line, specifying that it does not *a priori* involve any connotation of moral obloquy, since some auxiliaries deceive only because they are themselves deceived.

METHODS OF RECOGNIZING SOVIET AUXILIARIES

The use by the Communist propaganda apparatus of auxiliaries as diverse as they are inconspicuous emphasizes the importance of the ability to recognize them, despite their variety and concealment. Two distinctive traits betray them: First, the auxiliary invariably and undeviatingly supports each position on international affairs supported by the Soviets, and faithfully follows Moscow in every reversal, twist, and turn of policy; second, the auxiliary will systematically denigrate every aspect of Western regimes, while attempting to whitewash the Communists with equal consistency.

While the party line may shift with bewildering rapidity, a random sampling of the January 1965, position of auxiliaries vis-a-vis international political affairs would include:

- Opposition to any strengthening of Europe, especially a European army.
- Denunciation of the retention of American troops in Europe.
- Disapprobation of NATO and SEATO.
- Approval of the U.N. veto power for the Soviets.
- Favoring abandonment of Berlin and disengagement in Germany.
- Opposition to the Federal German Republic and the "revenge mongers" of Bonn.
- Advocacy of diplomatic recognition, and admission to the U.N., of the Peiping government.
- Agitation for nuclear test bans and disarmament without control agreements.
- Condemnation of West European missile bases directed at the U.S.S.R., but not of U.S.S.R. bases directed at Europe.
- Censure of the "feudal and corrupt dictators" Chiang Kai-shek, Moise Tshombe, and Antonio Salazar, but praise for the anti-American dictators Fidel Castro, Ben Bella, and Achmed Sukarno.
- Pressure for the surrender of Quemoy and Matsu to Peiping.
- Opposition to the Franco-British action at Suez, but approval of the anti-Franco-British action at Baghdad.
- Antagonism to Israel, fellowship with Arab "nationalism"; antagonism to France, fellowship with the FLN; antagonism to Britain, fellowship with the Mau Mau; and in Moslem Kashmir, antagonism to India.
- Promotion of summit conferences on any and all occasions.
- Endorsement of "cultural exchanges," but toleration of U.S.S.R. literary censorship and radio jamming.
- Denunciation of Western "colonialism" in Asia and Africa, but complete silence concerning brutal Soviet colonialism in Eastern Europe.
- Opposition to internationally controlled free elections on German unification but endorsement of "elections" on Vietnamese unification without international control.
- Censure of "dollar imperialism" anywhere in the world, but loud praise for "ruble aid" to underdeveloped nations.
- Condemnation of American bases in Europe and Asia, but strident defense of Communist parties, which are effectively Soviet bases, in all countries.

Obviously many independent minds will, whether logically or fallaciously, arrive at the same position as the Soviets on some individual issues, but it is inconceivable that any but a dominated and disciplined auxiliary will be in systematic and synchronized agreement with all

the Kremlin's positions. It is by this consistency that the auxiliary can be recognized.

There is none so blind as he who will not see. The foregoing criteria for recognition of auxiliaries will probably be ridiculed by the voluntary dupes, of whom there are far too many. This catalogue of diagnostics has been compiled as a litmus for the detection of ambiguous cases, but the deluded will temporize, even faced with the obvious. The question, for example, as to whether the late Patrice Lumumba was "really a Communist" was a matter for extended soul-searching among them. Some even seriously put the question directly to Lumumba. The mere act of asking the question demonstrated total ignorance of the *modus operandi* of political warfare, whose first principle dictates denial of affiliation by any Communist. The credulity of the query was proved by the question itself. Lumumba had openly committed an act as blatant as original sin by requesting Soviet intervention in his country's internal affairs. While his Communist allegiance might have been doubted before this event, continued skepticism after it demonstrates only unparalleled gullibility.

The pattern has been repeated over and over, ad nauseam, with Arbenz, Juliao, Castro, and Ho Chi-minh. The great German poet, Heinrich Heine, wrote one day: "The Devil's best ally is the liberal intellectual who doesn't believe in the Devil." This could be well paraphrased: "The principal ally of the Communist conspiracy is the liberal intellectual who doesn't believe in the Communist conspiracy." It is to capitalize on this skepticism that half the apparatus of Communist political warfare has the mission of convincing the free world that there is no apparatus of Communist political warfare.

INFILTRATION

The generic term "infiltration" contemplates a whole system of secret channels making possible the injection of pro-Soviet poison into all the cells of the free world. The system is linked with the Communist espionage network responsible for transmission of information, which is a separate activity not covered by this study. This discussion will be concerned only with political infiltration designed to spread views favorable to the Soviets.

The mechanics are always the same. One or more auxiliaries achieve membership, or some existing members are won over, in the organization to be infiltrated. These maintain constant contact with unaffiliated auxiliaries, who are in turn supervised by actual Communist agents.

The various auxiliaries customarily maintain their contacts in clubs, salons, cafes, bars, and semipublic gatherings such as young peoples' church groups. Communist propaganda is matched with the channel through which it is to be disseminated. There are few social, political, or religious doctrines into which, with an appropriate dialectical twist, some elements favorable to Soviet foreign policy, cannot be insinuated, especially since there is no need to maintain consistency with Communist ideology, which has nothing to do with the undertaking. The methods of performing this verbal twisting will be detailed more fully in the chapters on psychological and logomachic techniques. The following discussion will deal with the principal targets of infiltration.

(a) *The press*

There are few publications in the world, even including some of the ostensibly conservative, into which the tentacles of the Soviet apparatus do not reach. The primary task of the auxiliary in this medium is manipulation of the editor, or, if this is not feasible, the reporters, without the editor's knowledge. Broad generalizations, such as this paper is "conservative," or that "Catholic," are no longer adequate to define its policy vis-a-vis Moscow. The managing editor may actually be unaware that his newspaper has been "permeated."

The most heavily infiltrated departments are international news and commentary, and book and film reviews. Reviewers have an especially important propaganda role. By their favorable appraisals, many readers will be influenced to attend film showings and read books favorable to the Soviet line, while ignoring others less biased, because of unfavorable reviews or the "silent treatment."

An effective Soviet technique for manipulation of the free world press is "letter brigades." Auxiliaries representing themselves as "devoted readers" write quantities of outraged letters when a paper has printed something anti-Communist, and messages of approval when it has favored some concession to Moscow or Peiping. Since the anti-Communist community is far less effectively organized, the preponderance of correspondence received from the auxiliaries exerts a significant influence on the policy of newspapers whose editors honestly believe they "must be attuned to their readers."

Submarines in the ocean of the press.—A remarkable disclosure is found in Arthur Koestler's confession, published in his book, "The God That Failed." He relates how, as a young journalist employed by a large conservative newspaper, he went one day to offer his enthusiastic adherence to the Communist Party. He believed this membership would entail resignation from his felicitous but "counter-revolutionary" position to serve the publications of the Communist Party, regardless of salary. His surprise can be imagined when he was told, by the "aparatchik" who received him, that this was a childish impulse; that he would serve the cause far better by staying with the conservative newspaper, carefully concealing his Communist affiliation while spying and reporting to the party all that occurred in the editor's office and at the same time, attempting to subvert the newspaper's policy to favor Moscow.

The famous American writer, Whittaker Chambers, who publicly directed an influential and openly pro-Communist literary review, was ordered by the CP to abandon this employment to work as a "submarine" in the conservative, anti-Communist press. These examples illustrate the preference of the "apparatus" for activity in the shadows.

Following the submission of several Eastern European countries to Communist domination, many observers were amazed to note that influential positions in the revolutionary regime were filled by those who had formerly been prominent in anti-Communist circles. The solution to the mystery was simple. These chameleons were creatures who, long before, had been insinuated by the Communist apparatus into the bourgeois press, including even such organs of the extreme right as the Bulgarian Fascist newspaper *Slova*.

In Lithuania, the former chief editor of the newspaper *Laikas* employed the underground agent Guzevicius, who came to solicit work

bearing the recommendation of a respected general. Young Guzevicius was timid, modest, kind, and a bit sickly. No one suspected that he was an agent, although his writings were curiously slanted in such a way that the Soviets never appeared in a bad light. This peculiarity was ascribed to the not unusual sin of youthful radicalism. When the Soviets occupied Lithuania in June 1940, Guzevicius appeared before the director of his newspaper with the Communist demands: Immediate discharge of all anti-Communist employees and complete control of all activities by the Soviets. Thus it was revealed that the likeable and conscientious Guzevicius secretly occupied so elevated a position in the hierarchy that he was named Minister of the Interior, the police agency of sovietized Lithuania.

One of the more explosive revelations of the Communist underworld was provided by the testimony of Janus Kowalewski,² who told of his entire life as a conspirator in Poland after World War I, acting under orders from the Kremlin. Kowalewski disclosed that he was carefully taught the art of journalistic distortion. He learned how to exaggerate the news of crises in capitalistic countries, to blur that which revealed the deficiencies of the U.S.S.R., to safely slander anti-Communists, to promote the advancement of sympathizers to higher positions, and to recommend or condemn in literary criticism according to the service to, or opposition of the Kremlin exhibited by the work reviewed.

The use of underground journalists, in otherwise "normal" newspapers is only the first stage of this technique. More audacious is the concept of a newspaper created to be secretly controlled in all of its elements. Newspapers financed by Moscow deliberately developed a non-Communist posture, although their columns were laced with fabrications to which subsequent references could be made, advantageous to Communist propaganda, such as: "Even the bourgeois newspaper (name deleted) recognized that there are no concentration camps in Soviet Russia." Thus, with funds provided by the apparatus, Kowalewski was entrusted with the task of creating a periodical, for which he chose the inconspicuous title *Illustrated Bimonthly Magazine*. Kowalewski testified that, from the beginning, some of the articles published were completely written by the "Agit-prop"³ department of the Communist Party, but signed by obliging writers, among which was Brenkowski, now Minister of Education of Communist Poland.

"Today," declared Kowalewski, "I have attained such a consummate skill in detecting the manipulation of minds by the Soviet apparatus that I can sniff in 10 spots, in 10 lines, the specific odor of a Communist fabrication in a non-Communist newspaper. For example, when I read the following sentence:

It would be better to write nothing against the persecutions of the church in Poland, because that would harm the church * * *

I know, without the slightest doubt, that this sauce was cooked in the Communist casserole."

Passing to China, employees of the Koumintang newspaper *Ta King Pao* included underground agents such as Mrs. Peng Tsu Kang, who concealed her Communist affiliation for 20 years. Another

² Communist Penetration and Exploitation of the Free Press, 1962, Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, pp. 73-87.

³ Agitation and propaganda. See: Constitution, CPUSA, published in Daily Worker, Feb. 21, 1929.

Koumintang newspaper, in Nanking, was directed by a very pretty and extremely intelligent young woman, Kung P'eng, who won the heart of the editor. Kung P'eng is today head of the Department of Information of Peiping's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Such is the situation; in many periodicals, of many tendencies, at many levels.

The confession of Aleksandr Kaznacheyev⁴ penetrates still further into the dark abyss of press infiltration. Kaznacheyev was a young attaché of the Soviet Embassy in Rangoon, capital of Burma, who chose liberty in 1959. As a typical professional product of Communist conspiratorial training, he had attended the specialized schools of Moscow for 10 years. There the students performed practical work in falsification of documents and distortion of facts; learned how to implant and maneuver clandestine factions in the organizations of the free world, and how to corrupt men. There they studied psychology, languages, the art of poisonous sophisms, photography, printing, bridge, sports, the use of a silenced pistol, and guerrilla warfare. As a good student, Kaznacheyev received on graduation a diplomatic post in the city of a thousand pagodas.

His work consisted of processing articles received on microfilm from Moscow, drafted in their entirety by Russian propaganda agencies. Picking them up in the Embassy cellar, he translated them into Burmese or English, embellished with local color, and placed them in the large Rangoon newspapers, *Newspaper of the People*, *New Light*, and the English-language *Mandalay Ludu*, over the signatures of underground Burmese on the newspaper staffs, thanks to the apparatus. Once published, Kaznacheyev forwarded clippings to Tass News Agency, which made a great deal of noise about them, stressing the point that they were genuine products of Burmese political opinion.

In addition to staging these illusory theatrics, Kaznacheyev was also responsible for numbers of forgeries, among which was a letter attributed to Admiral Frost, U.S. Navy, promising American support to an anti-Communist leader of the Sumatran insurrection against President Sukarno; a falsification calculated to identify Indonesian anti-Communists as creatures of Washington. The affair had serious repercussions, and the Admiral's denials did little to dissipate the resulting suspicions. Forgery was suspected only by a few propaganda specialists at the time. Three years later it was confirmed by the testimony of its author, Kaznacheyev.

(b) News agencies

News agencies receive very special attention in efforts at infiltration. Foreign correspondents are especially susceptible to this technique since, being isolated from their national environment they naturally seek association with diplomats, of whom a third are from Communist countries and another third from the "neutralists," where fallacious Soviet propaganda has wrought havoc. Also significant is an exposure to temptation that offers to provide compensation for the vagabond existence which is the lot of many correspondents.

The better to poison the agencies, Moscow has infested the cafes and bars frequented by their correspondents. The famous German Communist Willy Münzenberg, one of the geniuses of political

⁴ See "Soviet Intelligence in Asia: Conditions in the Soviet Union," testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, 1959.

warfare, suggested to the Communist Party the maintenance of a battalion of agents in the cafes of Alexanderplatz, journalistic center of Berlin. Their assignment was to insinuate biased news into the ears of the journalists, to propose articles written in advance to the lazy, trips to the restless, and women to the carnal.

It will be observed that nothing is left to chance in the universe of conspiracy called communism.

(c) Schools and universities

Here also the proportion of Moscow's auxiliaries is considerably higher than that of hard core Communists in the population of any given country. Due to its crucial importance in the molding of minds, this field is worked by all the instruments of Soviet propaganda, from openly Communist to underground cells, through all the gradations of embellishers, recruiters, slanderers, sophists, and satellite organizations. In France, 20,000 schoolteachers hold Communist Party cards. More than 25 percent follow Communist directives in their classroom teaching, which they receive through many channels: professional magazines, such as *L'Ecole et la Nation*, bulletins, circulars, and visits by party leaders. The proportion is 40 percent in Italy. These teachers have sometimes gone so far as to secure signatures of pupils on crypto-Communist documents, such as the "Stockholm Appeal." When the French Government recalled teachers from Morocco following an incident, the French Communist Party ordered those under its control to remain at their posts, and placed teachers loyal to it in the vacancies thus created.

In India, teachers propagandizing for Moscow use textbooks specially printed by the Indian Communist Party. In most European countries, the universities are a principal refuge of "fellow travelers." Some European universities are so contaminated that the Asian and African Communist and para-Communist movements can be said to have been nurtured in them.⁵

The 7 Chinese secondary schools in Singapore have less than 40 card-carrying Communists each, but solidly organized in political cells these politically dominate thousands of students. They draw the students into "committees of solidarity," to which each is required to pay a subscription. The money serves to produce far more propaganda than solidarity. Students are led to participate actively in the electoral campaigns of the Party of Popular Action, a Communist influenced organization.

In certain of the larger schools, the Communist cells organize "corrective sessions" where the students receive versions, revised in accordance with the party line, of the courses presented by professors who have been denounced as "reactionaries." The cells also assure a rough handling of adversaries. In brief, they organize to assume a moral, intellectual, and physical jurisdiction in each locality.

The professors, molders of student minds, receive their allotment of poison. Many teachers in the free world find in their mailboxes every morning a few drops from the great river of Communist propaganda; a newspaper to read, a circular to ponder, a tract to distribute, an appeal to sign, a symbol to exalt.

The very powerful Communist-oriented teachers' unions distribute millions of pedagogic reviews in which instructions are given for

⁵ See pts. 1-13 of Internal Security Subcommittee's hearings on "Subversive Influence in the Educational Process."

slanting courses to expound "the spirit of historic progress," which is to say—Communist propaganda. For example, teachers are encouraged to modify classic arithmetic problems to deal with the speed of Siberian trains, the number of orbits of Soviet sputniks, tons of steel produced in Chinese blast furnaces, etc.

Karl Marx, although himself an intellectual, assigned to the urban proletariat the principal role in the overthrow of the existing order. Lenin, although he paid lip service to this theory, rejected it in practice. He wrote that the proletariat, if it should follow its natural inclination, would decline rapidly into vulgar reformism, and that it could not become the leaven of the revolution unless guided by intellectuals. The Bolsheviks have consequently never slackened in their efforts to win this decisive stratum, with infiltration employed as the essential method.

(d) *Churches*

Strange as it may seem, churches are also highly infiltrated. Nearly 50 percent of the French Catholic press, including *Temoignage Chretien* (Christian Witness), the weekly with the widest circulation, have become outlets for pro-Soviet views. These publications oppose the MRP, the political party with Catholic leanings; in particular, its policy favoring a European union.

Albert Vassart, a former member of the French Communist Party, revealed in 1955 that Moscow has issued a 1936 order that carefully selected, reliable members of the Communist Youth enter seminaries and after training, receive ordination as priests. Others infiltrated the religious orders, particularly the Dominicans.

In the Buriat-Mongolian Republic the Soviets have established a seminary to train Buddhist lamas who then spread throughout Asia. Many are sent to Tibet where, racially identified with the native population, they are more welcome than lamas trained in Peiping. In Vietnam, Cambodia, Thailand, and Burma, many Communists don the yellow robe in order to indoctrinate the thousands of young people who frequent the monasteries and pagodas. Infiltration of all churches is one of the important tasks of the Soviet propaganda apparatus.

(e) *Other organs*

There is much infiltration in publishing houses, especially among manuscript readers;⁶ in radio and television, a forum often decried as subject to government censorship, but which is frequently far more pervaded by crypto-Communist propaganda; the stage and screen, which contribute extensively to the shaping of sensibilities, and are

⁶ See testimony of Angus Cameron and Albert E. Kahn before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee pts. 6, 8, and 12, "Strategy and Tactics of World Communism," and pt. 2, "Communist Activity in Mass Communications," also published by the Internal Security Subcommittee.

subject to exceptional Soviet infiltration activities; finally and obviously, ministries, especially foreign ministries, where certain internal memorandums and reports, inspired by proto-Soviet attitudes, have done great harm to the free world.

Infiltration in the publishing world is first aimed at the manuscript readers, the nerve centers where decisions are made on ideas to be printed, and those to be rejected. It is then directed at the book reviewers who advise in the press, and on radio and television, which books to read, and which to leave on the shelves. If an anti-Communist work escapes the sly suppression of the faceless arbiters in publishing firms, it is then necessary to destroy its public image or organize a conspiracy of silence surrounding it.

A courageous French television director who scheduled time for an anti-Communist presentation received letters the next day in which he was told: "We'll destroy you * * *" These letters were written by a special brigade of correspondents maintained by the Communist Party to bombard with protests and insults those newspapers, radios, and television stations carrying material too critical toward Moscow.

These maneuvers should not be considered inconsequential. Their consequences on human destiny can be dramatic. Thus, after World War II, 30 works on China circulated in the United States. The 25 which propounded the famous fabrication that Mao Tse-tung was an inoffensive agrarian reformer received a warm welcome in important segments of the press, while the 5 which told the truth about his cruel Stalinism encountered a wall of silence. The bucolic vision of Chinese communism which was thereby imposed on American opinion was the principal cause of the abandonment of China to the Communists; a desertion which has today consigned 700 million Chinese to a living hell, and the entire world to dread.

Infiltration has also invaded the fountains of literature, the libraries; including some where this influence would be least suspected. While on a lecture tour in a great Western country, I found displayed on a table in the library of one of its smartest colleges, where only millionaires' daughters browse, several "progressive" magazines without the balance of a single anti-Communist publication. Conspicuously displayed was the Soviet propaganda magazine *New Times*, edited in English by Moscow.

(f) *Labor unions and parties*

Many labor organizations are infiltrated to the extent of total colonization, effectively duplicating Communist Parties. As such, they are more properly classified as parallel organizations, which will be discussed in a subsequent section. Here the discussion concerns only free associations, in which Moscow plants numerous secret auxiliaries.

These undercover propagandists have two tasks: to assure union or party policy slanted in favor of Moscow, and creation of internal opposition aimed at taking over leadership or disrupting it. Many of these auxiliaries came into the open when their countries fell into the Soviet orbit; sadly symbolic of this phenomenon are the names of Fierlinger, Cyrankiewicz, and Marosan in Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary. It is unfortunately beyond doubt that a number of Fierlingers continue to work side by side with honest ac-

tivists in our most democratic parties and unions, long-standing targets of infiltration by Bolshevism, concerning which Lenin wrote:

"It is necessary * * * to agree to any and every sacrifice, and even—if need be—to resort to all sorts of stratagems, maneuvers, and illegal methods, to evasion and subterfuges in order to penetrate the trade unions, to remain in them, and to carry on Communist work in them at all costs * * *"⁷

These words can stand as an epigraph to all Soviet infiltration, and if not heeded by the free world, as an epitaph on its tomb.

Among the pacifists.—At least 20,000 organizations throughout the free world are agitating public opinion with pacifist slogans. In the United Kingdom, the venerable Congress of Trade Unions could be intoxicated by this demagogic campaign to such an extent that it clamored for the unilateral disarmament of its country. Dozens of organizations and hundreds of smaller local committees are working intensively against armaments in the United States. The proliferation of peace groups is still greater in Asia, especially in Japan which is peculiarly—and quite understandably—sensitive to the horrors of nuclear bombardment.

The movement appears to have no financial problems. It seems able to insert massive advertising at will in the most expensive newspapers of the free world, to organize luxurious international congresses and enormous rallies, to hire vociferous pickets surrounding U.S. Embassies, and to disseminate spoken and written words through floods of radio and television programs; torrents of books, pamphlets, leaflets, notices, and posters. It gathers overnight dozens of prestigious signatures to burning manifestos. It persuades chubby babies to enthusiastically offer their first teeth to be analyzed for strontium 40 which might have been accumulated from milk produced by cows who had eaten grass poisoned by radioactive fallout. Of course the Soviet cows, being Communist, produce no milk containing strontium 40, despite the numerous nuclear tests—including the "leaky underground" explosions.

The peace movement also charters special planes to fly hundreds of women from Los Angeles or Caracas to Geneva, to buttonhole Disarmament Conference delegates. It induces frogmen to plant peace banners on anchored Polaris submarines. It persuades histrionic stars, enlists generals, inflames Nobel Prize winners, penetrates churches, intoxicates logicians, and intimidates Presidents.

The movement undoubtedly mobilizes many honest lovers of peace, genuinely obsessed with the horrors of modern war. However, these

⁷ Lenin, "Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder" (1920) Selected Works (International Publishers, New York, 1943), vol. X pp. 95-96).

noble motives too often serve the worst ends. These wondrous springs of love and life are too often watering the slopes of tyranny and death.

All is not humanism and altruism in the pacifist movements. Many are directly or indirectly manipulated by the Communist apparatus, which has an especially easy task with the decent, but inexperienced, emotional and naive trumpeters of Jericho.

Dr. Gene Weltfish, leader of the Committee for the Protection of Children from Nuclear Fallout, has been identified as the woman who, during the Korean conflict, produced false accusations supporting the slanderous Communist charges of American bacteriological warfare*.

In the global theater, it is widely known that the tremendous international network of the Fighters for Peace, born in 1947 from the notorious Stockholm appeal, is so closely controlled that its leaders are moved like pawns by the chess players of the Kremlin.

There is considerable evidence of close ties between many of the pacifist movements and the Soviet objectives:

First. Many of those who manipulate the peace movements are also influential in other crypto-Communist, and even overtly Communist organizations. Demonstrators for peace use the slogans: "Fair play for Cuba," "Face the reality of mainland China," "Don't trust West Germany," etc.; obviously slogans by which the Soviets profit, but not peace.

Second. The tempo of peace agitations coincides remarkably with the winds blowing from Moscow, as witness the tremendous intensification immediately following Khrushchev's January 1961, speech in which he lauded the international movement for peace as the most important force acting in "the right sense."

Third. Many of the pacifist campaigns are vociferously acclaimed by the Communist press. The British Communist *Daily Worker* lauded the action taken against the Polaris submarines, and the Communist review *World Affairs* applauded the Geneva demonstration of "Women Strike for Peace."

Fourth. When the Soviets cynically violated their agreements by resumption of nuclear testing, the pacifist groups sent a few telegrams which indiscriminately denounced the bomb and the tests; but when, as an unavoidable consequence of the Soviet violation, the United States also resumed its tests, there were marches culminating in picketing and clamorous demonstrations before the American Embassies. Do the pacifists not know the locations of Soviet embassies?

*See Weltfish testimony before U.S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee Sept. 25, 1952, "Subversive Influence in the Educational Process," p. 232.

Fifth. Political nonsense can only be attributed to naivete if it is scattered at random among various tendencies, but when it is observed to be highly directional, always favoring the East, it is difficult to avoid an imputation of complicity. It is certainly more charitable to ascribe to bias, rather than stupidity, the following extracts from the open letter addressed to "Our Sisters, the Russian Mothers" by Dagmar Wilson, president of Women Strike for Peace:

"The Russians," wrote Mrs. Wilson, "do not want us to inspect their armaments because they are ashamed to reveal that they are so weak. Therefore, it is unfair for us to insist that we have to look at them." How moving is such delicate diffidence on Mr. Khrushchev's part! And this observation: "How could the Russian women let their Government indulge in war; don't they have children as we have?" Which implicitly conveys the monumental hoax that the Russian Government listens to its people, as does ours. And: "The Russians are rigid, not because they have aggressive intentions, but because they still have a craving for recognition." It is now possible to understand the massacre of the Hungarians by Khrushchev's tanks. The unfortunate man had developed a complex of rigidity because of frustration, brought on by those incorrigible children of Budapest who failed to recognize his respectability.

PARALLEL ORGANIZATIONS

Infiltration involves auxiliaries functioning within a group which as a rule is not openly under Communist control. With parallel organizations, on the other hand, the entire group is put, clandestinely, into the Communist wake. This phenomenon is exclusive to Communist propaganda tactics.

Organizations are instituted or colonized in all spheres of national life: political, cultural, technical, sports, etc., resulting in work on behalf of the Communist Party by people who would never have been its adherents if openly solicited. This gigantic counterfeit contains everything, from mass organizations whose Communist Party domination is hardly concealed, such as the CGT, Fighters for Peace, People's Assistance, Union of Frenchwomen, and France-U.S.S.R. to small groups like the Unitarian Socialist Party and the Union for the Oder-Neisse Border. It includes long-established organizations, which few suspect of being Communist dominated: International Association of Democratic Lawyers, Center of French Thought, French University Union, Association for Municipal Studies and Information, Sport and Gymnastic Federation of Labor, Committee for the Development of International Trade, Association of Scientific Workers, National Union of Intellectuals, French Democratic Youth Committee, Friends of Nature, National Union of Old Workers, Federation of Rentpayers, People's Musical Federation, etc.⁸

Some 140 of such crypto-Communist organizations have been identified in France alone, each with its offices, its staff, and its publications. Comparable numbers of parallel organizations exist in all countries, including those in which the Communist Parties are insignificant.

The managing bodies of these satellite organizations include roughly one quarter avowed Communists, one quarter "fellow travelers,"

⁸ Examples given are all French organizations; American examples are listed in the appendix to this

whose allegiance is camouflaged, one quarter recruited from the noted social category of "political half-virgins," more or less innocent but naive people, whose complaisance is rewarded by platform appearances and prestige; and the remaining one quarter constitutionally incurable political virgins, who will never learn from experience. Thanks to this amalgam, and the outward respectability, members are able to say: "It's an independent organization, although with a few Communists. Why not? It's a free country." While, behind the facade, it is under the strict control of Moscow.

FACTIONAL WORK

In these crypto-Communist organizations, propaganda is made and members, many of whom do not realize they are serving the Soviets, are manipulated by means of factional work, a notorious and formidable technique specially developed by the Soviets.

Certain members, card-carrying Communists and disciplined auxiliaries, form factions, or cells, that meet secretly before the general assemblies, to assign each person his role. They decide who will speak and for how long, what will be said and what will be left unspoken, prepare resolutions to be approved, and decide which will be rejected, polish their instructions and rehearse advice to be whispered in the proper ears, work out agreements which will have the appearance of spontaneity, and invent a few slanders to throw at the psychological moment at someone they fear may prove unmanageable. If the person suspected of dissent is so highly esteemed that he is immune to slander, he may be dispatched on an opportune mission the day of the vote. The uninformed and apathetic, who are easily influenced, and those under an obligation to the faction because of some favor granted or anticipated, will be urged to attend critical meetings. New members will be recruited shortly before a crucial vote who, being "green," are easily intimidated and have little understanding of the issues under consideration.

Thus a small nucleus of determined, disciplined, and synchronized men, working as a team, motivated by the gratification of manipulating others, exalted by the sense of serving a formidable power, with all scruples abandoned, can succeed in dominating groups of people far more numerous, but unorganized, ill informed, timid, irresolute, and inhibited by moral and ideological principles.

The entire edifice of Soviet propaganda can be said to be built on the pattern of a pyramid composed of secret factions. The leaders at the top in each party can be comprehended as a faction manipulating their own organization, as they maintain their power by placing their supporters in positions of responsibility within the party. The party itself constitutes a faction for manipulating parallel organizations. Parallel organizations are factions for manipulating the whole society. Prevailing from top to bottom is the governing principle of Bolshevism, the governing principle of all conspiratorial forces, subjection of an incoherent majority to a cohesive minority.

ADVANTAGES DERIVED FROM PARALLEL ORGANIZATIONS

Parallel organizations pay substantial dividends to the Soviets. By spreading in widely diversified circles, through channels adapted to

each, those policies which avoid the appearance of being servile echoes of the Kremlin's dictates, a much wider acceptance of Moscow's campaigns is achieved than would be the case if the Communist Parties alone were supporting them openly. Positions taken by supposedly independent groups are far more impressive than the "predetermined" actions of identified partisans. While the Communist Party would remain isolated if it appeared under its true colors, it is able to create the illusion that proto-Soviet policies are advocated by a vast and genuine national movement; an illusion created by hundreds of trick mirrors that reflect its orders from every point on the horizon, and at hundreds of different angles. A very thorough awareness of reality is necessary to be protected against deception by such a mirage.

The trick consists in transposing the music of Moscow into the several registers of trade unionists, philosophers, pacifists, Christians, sportsmen, etc., while fostering the belief that what they play is not a transposition, but an original work. So the credulous Othello is seduced to Iago's designs by being persuaded that these designs are his own—to end by strangling Desdemona, whom he loves. In the same way progressives, manipulated by parallel organizations, are led in the end to strangle the freedom they revere.

Even tiny crypto-Communist organizations play an important role in Soviet propaganda. They can apply pressure on legislators by enrolling flying squads of Communist-front organizations under their banner. In receiving delegations from these committees, legislators are often unaware that they are sent by Communist-serving puppet groups, and dare not show them the door. In some cases, subsequent colonization of groups, originally founded by loyal citizens, allows the party to capitalize on the prestige and esteem they have earned by public service and illustrious traditions.

Parallel organizations are a leading propaganda device used in underdeveloped and formerly colonial countries. As pro-Soviet propaganda in these areas concentrates on the exploitation of national and anticolonial feelings, the true face of communism is almost completely camouflaged, and the task of corrupting minds and establishing Soviet agents is primarily entrusted to parallel organizations. These are more easily disguised because the Afro-Asian community is less experienced, and the atmosphere more hectic. Because of this combination of circumstances the parallel organizations achieve the stature of major political forces.

A few examples, selected at random, are the Association for the Advancement of Asian Peoples, the Union of the Population of Cameroon (UPC), the Association of Frenchmen of Tunisia, the Study and Action Committee for Peace in Algeria, activated by the cooperation of Communists and Christian progressives, and the General Union of Algerian Workers (UTA), whose headquarters were for some time in Czechoslovakia.

OCCASIONAL FRONTS AND CAMPAIGNS

In addition to the permanent subsidiaries that the Kremlin creates or underhandedly colonizes, all sorts of temporary movements are organized: fronts, solidarity days, and rallies on topical issues, such as "for freeing the Rosenbergs," "against European Defense Com-

munity (EDC)," "for cessation of nuclear testing," and "against German rearmament," all concealed behind a screen of political neutrality. Among a thousand others, the "day of solidarity with the people of Cameroon," organized in 1959 in the Palace of Culture in Moscow, might be mentioned.

In organizing major campaigns the apparatus gives its all. For a "Universal Peoples' Congress," a "World Youth Rally," or an "International Writers' Meeting," it pays travel and hotel expenses for numerous pundits and delegates, arranges radio and television coverage, hires bands and troupes of entertainers, and organizes elaborate parades.

A classic and well-remembered example of a "big affair" was the campaign for the "Stockholm Appeal," conducted by the para-Communist "Fighters for Peace Association." By the expenditure of tens of millions of dollars for propaganda, 50 million signatures were obtained in the free world, many of them affixed in good faith.

The fronts and committees swell to a veritable flood when a particularly pressing threat appears in Moscow's path. During the French parliamentary debates on EDC, and the subsequent Paris agreements between the Western Allies and Germany, the flood became a deluge. Crypto-Communist committees sprang up in factories, hospitals, and laboratories under the widest variety of titles, from the most explicit, as "against German rearmament" to the extremely euphemistic, as "for the independence of French culture." Throughout the debate in Parliament and the Senate, first on EDC and then on the Paris agreements, representatives and senators were daily deluged by hundreds of communications from these committees containing appeals, warnings, and even threats of reprisals on the great day of the revolution. Some warned the peoples' representatives that approval of EDC would result in their pictures being exposed to public obloquy in every wall in France. Others threatened boycotts of the representatives' private businesses.

It has been estimated that there were over 15 million such letters. Morning, noon, and night, delegations came knocking on the doors to deliver petitions to Members of Parliament, to indoctrinate and intimidate them. Their telephones rang incessantly. This staging—the Illiad of Communist polwar—unique in the annals of political conspiracy and a classic of proto-Soviet propaganda, was intended to create the impression among Members of Parliament that the prospect of a European Army had generated a profound indignation throughout every strata of French society. Actually, an old theater ruse was emulated whereby the very same "extras" reappeared a dozen times in different costumes to create the impression of a crowd. But the staging succeeded. Its terrible pressure resulted in more than one negative vote and EDC was rejected—a turning point in postwar history, and a major Soviet victory achieved almost entirely by propaganda.

POPULAR FRONTS

While technically an occasional front, the popular front warrants a somewhat more extensive discussion. This has been one of the most effective techniques used by the Soviets in expanding their type of imperialism. Taking advantage of the fact that many uninformed democrats regard the Communist Party as "to the left," the party

seizes opportunities arising from real or imagined threats to leftist aspirations, rightwing activities, dangers of economic regression, etc., to propose a common struggle in unison with the parties of the left.

If the leftists fall into this trap, the integrated committees formed are immediately beleaguered by Communist activists and auxiliaries, whose apparatus, discipline, and amorality enormously exceed those of the non-Communist partners. Allies are then systematically bullied by demagogic excesses, bluffed, by "leftist" attitudes, deceived by a thousand intrigues, cheated in a thousand ways, and should they rebel, slandered and even physically liquidated. During the Spanish Civil War there were few days in which the Communists failed to stab some republican associates in the back. Many French resistance fighters fell under the blows of Moscow's agents, who used maquis activity against the Nazis as a front, behind which they liquidated their democratic opponents.

If a popular front is successful in taking over the machinery of government, the Communists then methodically eliminate their erstwhile allies with Machiavellian cunning. As the Communist Matyas Rakosi cynically described the operation, they "slice them to eat like a salami."

Popular fronts have notoriously augmented the strength of the Communist Party as in the wartime French resistance movement, and after the war in Italy, Ceylon, Indonesia, and Iraq. There are many instances of their responsibility for bringing the Communist Party to power, in Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia where the countries were satellitized, and the democrats who cooperated with the popular fronts were then slaughtered. A popular front brought Ho Chi-minh to power in North Vietnam; those into which the Kuomintang entered in 1924 and 1937 lost mainland China to Mao Tse-tung; and Guatemala was delivered to Communist henchmen by the same instrumentality.

Socialist Parties have been a particular target for these tactics. Many of them, including the French organizations, have, therefore, had sufficient bitter experiences to build an immunity. Unfortunately the popular-front mirage still attracts other circles: radical and Catholic in Europe, nationalist in Asia, and anticolonialist in Africa. Despite many tragic precedents, the tribe of Benes is not extinct; the tribe consisting of those democratic leaders who blindly enter into political alliances with Communists which lead to the three now standard stages: (1) supplying their treacherous ally with a cover, (2) delivering to them the power, and (3) disappearing into the grave.

UTILIZATION OF DIPLOMACY, CULTURE AND ECONOMIC EXCHANGES

Soviet diplomacy is not diplomacy, in the usual sense of the term. It is used by the Soviets as simply another, and one of the principal, implements for propaganda. Every form of exchange between Communist countries and the outside world, whether diplomatic, cultural, commercial, technical, or athletic, is conceived and developed over a framework of propaganda. Not, of course, open propaganda for communism; but rather an indirect, clandestine, and multiform advocacy of pro-Soviet attitudes.

All members of Soviet foreign missions are trained intensively to charm and tranquilize top political and financial personages in the

countries they are to undermine. The widely expounded idea that contacts with them may "widen their horizons and humanize their views" is absurd. These are not men who can give free rein to their inclinations, but docile tools of an apparatus; they are disciplined, regimented, spied upon, and controlled by concern for family hostages whom they have left behind. To the contrary, the Western circles to be attacked are vulnerable to their machinations through ignorance, unpreparedness, courtesy, infatuation for that which comes "from afar," and subserviency toward that which comes "from the left." When the West provides a man in an exchange situation, it is for the purpose of implementing exchanges. When the Soviets do so, it is for subversion.

Two Chinese industrial missions to Japan held three conferences with industrialists, and arranged 15 politicsocial entertainments. A Vietminh trade mission, which had promised the French Government to confine its activities to the business community, notified every diplomatic mission in Paris of its arrival, and distributed political leaflets to Viet students at the Sorbonne.

Soviet personnel in embassies, consulates, exhibitions, tours, economic missions, and cultural exchanges, surpass equivalent free world staffs by a ratio which on occasions has reached 10 to 1. Soviet services in Ethiopia, for example, use more personnel than all other nations combined. Their Mexican establishment has three employees for every one of the United States, and the proportion is equally abnormal in Argentina and Indonesia. Also significant is the relaying and amplification of their propaganda efforts by the diplomatic, economic, and cultural agencies of the satellite countries and Communist China. Finally to be noted is the notorious activity of Soviet diplomatic representatives in channeling funds to Communist and crypto-Communist apparati of the countries in which they are stationed.

TOURS FOR PROMINENT PERSONAGES

Considerable propaganda advantages derive to the Soviets from organized visits of prominent people and delegations invited to the countries they dominate. Hidden under the cloak of information and goodwill tours is an enormous machine of deception and hoax, the operation of which has become a real industry, employing tens of thousands of full-time people in the U.S.S.R. and China. Visitors to China are classified in eight categories, with tours and appropriate receptions organized according to the importance of the visitors. Below the fourth category, no flowers are presented at the airport. Schools train combination guides and interpreters, most of whom are attractive young women employed by the secret police. The achievements displayed, the personages produced, the answers given, and the tone of the welcome extended, are all devised and rehearsed with the greatest care.

Annual expenditures by the Soviet and Chinese Governments in this field alone, excluding the time wasted by the workers at the institutions visited, exceeds \$100 million, but the investment yields returns a hundredfold. Books and articles reporting these visits abound in the West, heralding what has become standard: a rose-colored vision of this somber totalitarian world. Accounts published during Stalin's regime prove the advertising value of such theatrics.

when the greatest names of the West produced euphoric accounts of an autocracy which by the very words of Khrushchev is now identified as one of the most horrible tyrannies of history. Joseph E. Davies, the American Ambassador to the Soviet Union, defended the Moscow trials and certified to the charge of treason against Tukhachevski, which Khrushchev's report to the 20th Party Congress acknowledged as a gross fabrication. Edouard Herriot was shown a prosperous population in Kiev, the very year that famine caused 6 million deaths in the surrounding Ukraine. Despite these deplorable precedents, there are always prestigious names willing to take these illusory tours, which continue to dupe millions of people, to the advantage of Moscow.

DESTRUCTION OF ANTI-COMMUNISTS: SLANDER, INTIMIDATION, KIDNAPPING, AND MURDER

In addition to the deception of the gullible, an important task of Soviet propaganda is the reduction to impotence of those who clearly recognize, and zealously proclaim the danger, and against whom are launched campaigns unlimited in intensity and ignominy. The Communists strive to make social outcasts of these Cassandras; to develop veritable Pavlovian reflexes associating an instinctive aura of hatred with their names. Communist and crypto-Communist apparati devote all their ammunition to this task, shrinking from neither slander nor provocation, forgery nor blackmail. Here auxiliaries take the lead as scandalmongers. The Soviet apparatus may denounce an anti-Communist as an underground party member; the police may be led to believe he is a terrorist or a loathsome criminal. The anti-Communist writer Victor Serge was so viciously slandered that even the sympathetic police services were confused and uncertain.

The Moscow apparatus asserted that Leon Blum was a police auxiliary and procurer for convicts; it charged Charles de Gaulle with having worked for German intelligence, that Jacques Soustelle was a Nazi spy, and Syngman Rhee with the delivery of Korea to Japan. These charges may be found in the Soviet Encyclopedia, or signed by such leaders as Maurice Thorez. One of its worst calumnies has been leveled at Guy Mollet: no less an accusation than that he had denounced fellow internees to the Gestapo. These, and similar attacks were essentially fabrications from whole cloth; devoid of any foundation and made in the full knowledge that they were unmitigated lies.

In the tolerant atmosphere of the free world, the endless repetition of these abusive attacks has a devastating effect. Indeed, it is not too much to say that there are few who, having become the object of a Communist attack, did not eventually either lose heart or become themselves suspect in the eyes of world opinion.

The campaign against dedicated anti-Communists proceeds from simple premises. Its effectiveness results from the nature of its execution: relentlessly and in practically every key. It is distinguished by the use of a vocabulary of abuse, including such terms as "radical rightist," "Fascist stooge," "negative element," "police stool pigeon," and "systematic anti-Communist." The last of these expletives is the acme of abuse, yet there are a considerable number of "liberals," convinced of the iniquity of systematic anticommunism, but who pride themselves on being systematic anti-Fascists. Furthermore, they see nothing incongruous in the Communists being sys-

tematic antidemocrats. It is difficult to understand how a systematic evil can be fought, if not by systematic opposition. This simple truth has not been lost on the Communists. Indeed, the maintenance of a constant atmosphere of denigration and criticism, directed against consistent anticommunism, is one of the principal tasks of the Communist propaganda apparatus.

The Communists have achieved such success in this particular area that a truly incredible attitude has been expressed in the Western World: statements have actually been made that anticommunism is a more dangerous evil than communism. When one adversary in a relentless and merciless struggle feels that it would be "bad manners" to fight back, it is obvious that his enemy has scored a major victory over him in the battle of propaganda: his intellectual intimidation.

Moreover, such intimidation thrives on its own successes. Insofar as serious and enlightened circles remain silent, abandoning to the tactless and tumultuous the condemnation of communism, the equation "anticommunism equals extremism" appears to be confirmed, further inhibiting the serious and enlightened. Senator Joseph McCarthy, alarmed and aroused by his discoveries, was sometimes less than tactful, and often tumultuous, in his attacks on cryptocommunism. The success of the Communist propaganda apparatus in creating an image of the Senator as a "reactionary extremist" and a demagogue has made it extremely difficult to accuse any individual of cryptocommunism without being termed a "witch-hunter," yet it is certain that cryptocommunism did not die with Senator McCarthy.

When intimidation fails to silence the counter-propaganda of some particularly effective anti-Communist, the Soviets do not shrink from violence to eliminate him. They murdered Trotsky, Krivitsky, Nin, and others; they kidnapped Trushnovitch.

RADIO BROADCASTS

Little emphasis needs to be given to this well-known propaganda channel; however, it is worth noting that in this field, in which the United States has made an exceptional effort, the Soviets still use approximately quadruple the broadcast time. France, on whom a half dozen Soviet stations lavish idiomatic programs, has few if any Russian-language broadcasts.

In addition to flooding the airwaves with broadcasts, the Soviets have seized every available opportunity to establish crypto-Communist radio stations. East German radio engineers have installed a powerful transmitter in Conakry, providing a Soviet propaganda outlet at the very heart of Africa.

TERRORISM AND GUERRILLA WARFARE

Since the end of World War II, the Communist apparatus has demonstrated scant scruples regarding bloodshed. Murder in the cities and terrorism in the villages has poured blood on the streets, while guerrilla warfare has spattered it on the bushes. An incomplete listing of the aggressions fomented by Moscow since 1945 indicates the emphasis placed on this method of subversion since that date:

Uprising in Iran, 1945.

Greek Civil war led by Markos, 1945-48.

Guerrilla operations in Malaya, 1945-54.
 Huk guerrilla war in the Philippines, 1946-50.
 Guerrilla activity in Burma, 1949.
 Bloody riots in Bogotá, Colombia, 1951.
 Sanguinary coup of Arbenz in Guatemala, 1955.
 Riots in Caracas, Venezuela, 1958.
 Guerrilla warfare in Laos and Vietnam, beginning 1960.
 Terrorism in Angola and Cameroun, beginning in 1960.
 Generalized guerrilla warfare in Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Brazil, beginning in 1960.
 Bombings in Zanzibar and violent uprisings in Tanganyika, Kenya, and Uganda, 1964.

These bloody scenes, played by communism on the world stage and already responsible for thousands of deaths, must be supplemented by the enterprises which blew up into veritable wars in China, Korea, and Laos, or which were stifled to murderous repressions in Hungary and Tibet.

Communist terrorism is sometimes characterized by extreme insolence as in Venezuela, where Communist students murdered a teacher in a classroom; where sunburned employees returning after a 2-month absence publicly informed their foreman, "We went into the mountains with the guerrillas;" and where the president of the Communist Party, during a parliamentary session, answered the complaint of an industrialist that his factory had been forced to close after an explosion, putting 500 workers on the street, with: "I'm sorry, but the historic process required it."

In Vietnam, Laos, and Angola, Communist guerrillas perpetrated horrible atrocities; butchered notables, obscenely mutilated women, buried priests alive, bombed schools, pillaged leper colonies, and burned crops. In Stanleyville terrorism reached its nadir in outright cannibalism, as threatened by the Communist leader of the rebels, Gbenye, in a public speech. Here again the "historic process required it"—a process which restores prehistoric conditions.

Communist guerrilla activity seeks the shadows, as do all Communist enterprises. It claims to be "nationalist" rather than Communist, allowing the dupes of the free world to pretend that Lumumba, Castro, Cardenas, Juliao, and their like are not Communists. However, following an airplane accident in Peru, documents were found in the attaché case of a Cuban diplomat which established the total organizational, financial, and military subservience of Juliao to the Havana Communist apparatus. The Vietnamese guerrillas are wholly remote controlled by Moscow, Peiping, and Hanoi. They must cut throats because communism fails to win hearts. Their goals are to demoralize the population and intimidate the masses; to discredit legitimate leaders and undermine their diplomats; to recruit partisans and multiply desperados.

Thus it is plain that recourse to violence is not at all unusual in political warfare, although such methods do not evolve into the confrontation of classical war. These violent actions are only the frosting on the cake. The fundamental business of the enterprise is still the molding of public opinion and the control of men. Violence wields a sword in political intrigue but remains subservient to its design, its extent determined by political goals, and its utilization contemplated in political planning. Violent tactics can only attract recruits in a climate created by the political apparatus. Even when

political action culminates in an attempt at seizure of power, the resulting violence is only the superstructure built on the deep, underlying framework of propaganda, organization and infiltration.

Violence fulfills an additional and significant function in the arsenal of propaganda lures because blood, alas, always adds prestige to the cause for which it is shed, and ardor to its partisans. And while intoxicated students storm police barriers the activists, borne on the wave of the mob, distribute their leaflets and scream their pro-Soviet slogans.

Machiavelli formulated it well: "In any enterprise aiming at power, there must be somewhere the sword; but the sword has to be handled by politics."

An estimated 200,000 professional guerrillas are supported by the Communist apparatus on a more or less permanent status, of which 80,000 are in Latin America, 20,000 in Africa, and 100,000 in Asia. The maintenance and supply of arms and propaganda received by these fighters costs about one-fifth as much as a conventional foot soldier, as established by the tacticians of the clandestine anti-Hitler resistance. Estimating the cost of the conventional soldier at \$2,000 per year, the price tag on worldwide Communist guerrilla activities amounts to \$80 million a year.

SPECIAL SCHOOLS

A distinguishing characteristic of bolshevism is the wealth of special schools for the training of propagandists. The Communist Party of every country has many such schools to mold its agitators. There are six in France, including the Viroflay School and a Leninist University. The abler students are sent to Moscow or Leningrad to study in institutes innocuously labeled "economic and social," often registering under an assumed name to hide their real identity. There were trained the professional revolutionaries Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai, Ho Chi-minh, and many others.⁹

A university for Afro-Asiatic students operates at Tashkent, in Soviet Turkestan, attended by thousands of black and yellow students. The former are chiefly natives of Ghana, Guinea, Sudan, and Cameroun, to whom recruiters propose a 3-year program with terms in various institutes. The curriculum includes techniques of disguised propaganda and a variety of methods for investing a country. The Tashkent University has become the alma mater of the Kremlin's auxiliaries in many underdeveloped nations.

Prague has to some extent supplanted Moscow, as its western setting and cultural prestige are more appealing. Here two schools operate especially for "elites" from formerly colonial countries. Alumnae include the present President of Guinea, Sekou Toure, the brother of Kwame N'Krumah of Ghana, and the brother of Fidel Castro of Cuba. The principal schools of espionage are also located in Prague. In the Far East, the center of special schools for propagandists has moved to Peiping where several hundred anticolonialist apostles and fellow travelers are turned out annually, to be sent to Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Indonesia, and Japan. Besides the special schools, the regular universities in the Communist coun-

⁹ See testimony of Leonard Patterson re Gus Hall, current General Secretary of the Communist Party USA, Feb. 2, 1960, and of Joseph Zach Kornfeder, pt. 2, "Communist Threat to the United States Through the Caribbean," both before the Internal Securities Subcommittee.

tries have departments of colonial problems, of africology, of vernacular dialects, of primitive economics, etc., which under an academic cloak are in fact the cradles of auxiliaries.

An aggregate of several thousand indoctrinators a year is estimated as the production of these beehives.

The special schools are a formidable weapon. For the mediocre or indigent men admitted to them, the long journey and the discovery of new countries means promotion and pleasant memories. The students make lasting friendships, savor the intoxication of initiation to an inner circle; they feel associated with imposing power and entrusted with a solemn mission; and they learn techniques which impress upon them their own distinction and importance. Above all, they believe they have become repositories of truth. This is the mainspring of their missionary fervor, continually rewound by frequent contacts, technical and material assistance. The "truth" they learn is in fact a fraud, but its rational content matters little. What matters is an apprenticeship in a particular phraseology; in a rhetorical system that supplies classified answers to every question; in an oratorical artistry having actually more to do with acrobatics than intelligence, but which hypnotizes an audience.

III. ESTIMATED MAGNITUDE OF PROPAGANDA MEDIA UTILIZED BY MOSCOW

In those countries having a powerful apparatus for direct Communist proselytism, the apparatus of parallel and crypto-Communist organizations is roughly equal in size. Where the Party is weak or nonexistent the parallel apparatus remains very large. Considering the fact that undercover corruption is the most expensive, it can be concluded that the worldwide crypto-Communist propaganda apparatus employs some 300,000 people and costs \$1.5 billion a year.

Adding the cost of direct Communist propaganda abroad, and the propaganda effort directed at foreigners—residents and visitors—within the Communist bloc, consisting of guided tours, radio broadcasts, and special schools, it can be roughly estimated that the total of all types of propaganda, worldwide, involves some half million personnel and an annual expenditure of approximately \$2 billion.

This effort is aimed at the some 1 billion people outside the Communist bloc; thus it may be said that Moscow, with some participation by Peiping, spends \$2 a year for every free man it intends to subjugate. To grasp the magnitude of Moscow's political warfare against us, a committee of the U.S. Senate has estimated that the equivalent amount allotted annually by the United States to worldwide propaganda is 1¼ cents per person. With the addition of budgetary provisions for this purpose by all other free nations, the total amounts to almost 2 cents.

The Soviet propaganda effort is thus roughly 100 times as great as that of the entire free world; so it is a phenomenon having an entirely different nature. One essential truth about communism must never be forgotten: the size, type, and scope of its open and furtive propaganda apparatus is unique in human history.

THE MAINSPRINGS OF SOVIET PROPAGANDA

Money

The power to drive this fantastic machine is money, mostly derived from overexploitation of enslaved masses toiling under the Communist yoke, who work to exhaustion for absurdly low wages, enabling their masters to not only dominate them the better, but also to more successfully deceive the free toilers of the world.

A substantial supplement is poured into the golden stream of rubles by profits from a number of industrial and commercial import-export companies established by auxiliaries in the free world on behalf of the Iron and Bamboo Curtain countries.

In those countries where the Communist Parties are very strong, systematic racketeering in captured institutions, such as municipalities and labor unions, provides another substantial source of revenue.

With regard to the role of money, corruption can be the only rational explanation of the sympathy displayed by many free men for Moscow's ruthless tryanny. Yet many pundits of rationalism, who explain everything capitalistic by greed and profit, refuse to admit this inescapable implication and in pretended faith and innocence insist that communism works miracles.

It should be emphasized that the success of Communist propaganda should be attributed primarily to the immense material means devoted to it. Many hate to ascribe political power to the apparatus available to it, preferring at all cost to regard it as stemming only from "deep social currents." Undeniably, social injustice, or aspirations for national independence, provide themes for the agitation constituting the roots of the exuberant vegetation of communism. But the rain that makes it grow is Soviet money.

The Marxian concept that political influence always reflects underlying economic conflicts was conceived in an era when propaganda had not yet become an autonomous enterprise. Communism in 1918 was no doubt able to take root in some countries due to a conjunction of social and economic conditions. But once the original planting had become established, Moscow's influence was perpetuated through a process of bureaucratic ossification, identical in the U.S.S.R. and abroad. Basically, the extraordinary longevity of totalitarian states is due to the strength of their machinery for the control of people. Today's best minds recognize that this state machinery has indeed become a fundamental, distinctive factor of events, as entitled to enter the tabernacle of historical causes as the "sacred" relationships of productivity. Communist propaganda is only one wheel in the Soviet state machinery.

The power of organization

One important characteristic of Soviet propaganda is that it becomes embodied in organizations: committees, clubs, associations, societies, unions, parties, and congresses. Bolshevism has made an important discovery: the power of organization, by which it has revealed its thorough understanding of the major phenomenon mentioned earlier—the passing of modern society into an age of political supremacy. Propaganda only spreads the virus; the organization maintains the epidemic. In and through the organization, adepts become soldiers. Within it, minds are molded, hearts synchronized and wills subjected. Organization is to propaganda what the factory

is to science. The Communist is the entrepreneur of organization, as the capitalist is the entrepreneur of manufacturing.

Gullibility of the free world

Strange as it may seem, a third propellant of Soviet propaganda, and not the least, is the eager and gratuitous response of the free world's press. The actual power of the Kremlin's propaganda substantially surpasses the formidable potential thus far evaluated, because it is voluntarily echoed and orchestrated by the non-Communist news media. Influenced by their love of sensation, their search for spectacular news, and their naivete regarding Soviet chicaneries and lies, they repeat many of these chicaneries and lies of their own free will, even without inducement by the auxiliaries which infiltrate them. Thus the Soviets use many mirrors, besides their own, for catching their larks.

IV. PSYCHOLOGICAL METHODS

Having reviewed the technical resources of Soviet propaganda, this section will deal with the methods used to play on emotions, and the following section with the fallacies to which it resorts to delude minds.

The simplest, and unfortunately the most effective method used by Soviet propaganda is typical vulgar demagogy, but raised to a level previously considered impossible. The provocation of simultaneously contradictory discontents had never been thought possible, yet that is what the Kremlin accomplishes every day; setting town against country because bread is too dear, country against town because grain is too cheap; merchant against bureaucrat in the name of efficiency, bureaucrat against merchant in the name of planning; European against American in the name of culture, American against European in the name of efficiency. It stirs up prejudices diametrically opposed to the internationalist and altruistic doctrines it professes: chauvinism, when it wishes to arouse Franco-German enmity; antisemitism, if Israel stands in the path of Soviet imperialism. It enrolls the centuries and the dialectic in the service of its impostors, wrapping them up in the "historical process." Communist demagogy is the first to have dared assume the pomp of philosophy and the blazon of history.

FALSEHOOD AND DUPLICITY WITHOUT LIMIT

Bolshevism's descent to absolute falsehood is obvious in its basic position; it promises total liberation and organizes total enslavement. A very incomplete list of examples is illustrative of methods whose blatant fraudulence cannot be equaled by any movement in history:

Designation as "armies of liberation" troops who impose the cruelest subjection on conquered countries.

Offering its services as a partner to "defend freedom" while concocting tyranny. Inciting workers to demand trade union rights and ruthlessly abolishing those very rights immediately after winning power.

Labeling the equalization of income "bourgeois" in Communist regimes and "Communist" in bourgeois countries.

Forcing innocent people to "confess" their guilt and laud their executioners.

Termining compulsory voting for unopposed candidates an "election" and sessions of unanimous endorsement "debates."

Condemning West German rearmament after heavily arming East Germany.

The West has devoted too little study to this unique historical phenomenon: for the first time, a political system is based on a total lie—a lie practiced with ostentation. The strength of this unprecedented record of (not 90, but 100 percent!) lying rests on the fact that it saturates and wearies mistrust. Free men, living in a world where a modicum of good faith is practiced—if only because political rivalry can unmask too blatant falsehoods—simply cannot believe that mendacity can become total.

Further, public opinion tends to polarize in favor of communism because it is always discussed in academic terms. The West always refers to the Sino-Soviet regimes in terms of "communism," as if they practiced the humanitarian doctrines formulated years ago under that name, whereas Westerners should have long ago adopted the more accurate terms of "fascism" or "absolutism" for these tyrannies.

THE THIEF CRYING "THIEF"

Soviet propaganda uses as a fundamental psychological stratagem the ancient and familiar ruse of crying "thief" to divert attention from its own thievery. It arouses Western workers against exploitation while preparing the most grinding exploitation in history. But the principal target for this stratagem is the people of Asia and Africa. By urging them to fix their gaze, concentrate their clamour, and shake their fists at defunct Western colonialism, crypto-Communist propaganda prevents them from seeing, hearing, and halting expansion of Soviet colonialism.

Communism relies on the political inertia through which it continues to draw dividends on the sympathy it won among Western liberals by its early identification with Socialist movements and their idealistic goals. It can be said that communism has created its entire career as an impersonator among adherents of the left, leading them to believe it was one of their own by posing as a defender of the worker; an advocate of progress, economic rationality, social justice, and the independence of man—in short, that communism stands for the same ideals as the left, when in fact it is digging a grave for the left.

While leading "advanced thinkers" to believe its economy is unsurpassed in the world, it persuades "conservatives" to suppose its diplomacy is conventional. In the first instance, it plays on the inertia that perpetuates fallacies; in the second on the apathy that discourages investigation. In both, it lies. The notion that the U.S.S.R. behaves "as do the others" in its international affairs caters to intellectual laziness because it eliminates the necessity of analyzing Soviet actions. And this yields the Kremlin a substantial advantage, for it induces Western leaders to believe that the Soviets regard a conference, a treaty, and a minister as a conference, a treaty, and a minister, whereas the Kremlin has actually made of them a trap, a rag, and a menial, respectively.

Contributing greatly to the victory of the Soviet world is every misconception which tends to present the abnormal, counterfeit character of that world as analagous to normal standards of decency. There follows a few random samples of such misconceptions, which have been widely accepted in the West.

That a Soviet statesman was a comrade in arms; true, but in the U.S.S.R. he is a puppet controlled by the Politbureau's directives,

while, in the West, a statesman remains a human being, with his own personal inclinations and friendships.

That Russian people do not want war any more than any other people; true, but the people in the U.S.S.R. have no voice while, in the West, the people—the voters—rule.

That a conference is better than conflict; true, for people who confer to explain themselves or reach an agreement, but the Soviets, do so only to introduce the propaganda ruses and duplicities with which they hope to prevail without striking a blow.

That everyone has done some wrong; true, but the wrongs of the Soviets are high crimes, not misdemeanors.

CAPITALIZING ON ITS OWN TURPITUDE

Soviet propaganda resorts to this practice proscribed by the Roman code, as well as by the laws of decency, when, for example, having compelled Western nations to rearm in self defense, it capitalizes on the remorse which fills them at the necessity for rearmament.

BLUFFING THE FREE WORLD ON ITS OWN PRINCIPLES

The Kremlin, now far more colonialist and imperialist than the West, plays on unwarranted extensions of rules of virtue which the "advanced thinkers" had opposed to old abuses by the free world.

Moscow plays on the West's traditional pacifism, representing any firmness as warmongering.

It plays on democracy's tolerance to induce it to tolerate Communist Parties, which are the incarnation of intolerance.

It plays on the concern for objectivity in liberal circles to incite neutralism on the pretext of balancing America's faults against those of the U.S.S.R., when it is impossible to be neutral between the camps of freedom and slavery.

It plays on the liberals' traditional mistrust of their own state to freeze them into antagonism, paralyzing any unison of Western forces against Soviet totalitarianism.

In short, one of the key tactics of Soviet propaganda is the burial of liberals under the weight of their own principles. It is high time for the West to cast off the spell and reject the attacks on its purity made by the impure.

PLAYING ON FEAR

Many Soviet propaganda successes are due to fear, rather than conviction. The Kremlin displays every ounce of power it possesses even exaggerating its strength by hoax. Thus it develops a defeatist reflex among the masses, and induces prominent personages to desert the cause of freedom, speculating that a victorious Soviet power would be ruthless to its opponents, while the tolerant Western camp can be betrayed without risk.

PLAYING ON RIVALRIES

Communist propaganda pounces on every difference of opinion that divides the free world, embittering conflicts at will. It exaggerates our national, ideological, and economic rivalries. If the free world were not menaced by Communist totalitarianism it would be good to

tolerate these frictions, as from them an advanced society can, in normal times, derive ferments of progress. But to indulge in them, at the moment when the combined Western forces are barely adequate to prevent the Bear from swallowing them all, reveals our decadence, and recalls the spectacle of Byzantium engrossed in arguments about the Eucharist on the eve of the penetration of its walls by the Turks.

PLAYING ON IGNORANCE

Under representative governments the masses, and a significant portion of the elite are only casually concerned with politics, not having realized that their own political philosophy, of subordinating government to the consent of the governed, places their fate at the disposal of politics. The Soviets have comprehended this principle which is why, while they crush freedom of opinion in their own realm, they have thoroughly equipped themselves to circumvent it in the free world. They practice politics 7 days a week, 52 weeks a year, and have accumulated for the regalement of the Sunday politicians of the West, an enormous stockpile of views, counterviews, formulas, fallacies, attitudes, and dialectical arguments which are hollow and easily dissected if examined closely, but which impress the uninitiated. They thus enjoy the advantage of the bluff that an unscrupulous specialist can easily impose upon amateurs. Their use of this arsenal of pedantic systems to impress the good people of the West resurrects Moliere's doctor, pontificating in Latin to a bourgeois. This is a gaping hole in the intellectual armor of the free world.

Play on folly

Khrushchev's visit to the United States, culminating in the hypocrisy of Camp David, will stand as a classic example of the huge dividends accruing to Soviet political warfare from the folly of the West. The Soviet chief was flattered, feasted, and patted on the back, less than 3 years after Budapest. When a king is executed, the aristocrats pursue the regicides with their vengeance for a century. When a people is massacred, the democrats retain their bitterness toward the democides for an entire morning.

Play on forbearance

Democratic people are forbearing; patient with their adversaries, and considerate of their viewpoints. This amiability is virtuous in dealing with free men, but when we permit the totalitarians the same benefits we are only deceiving ourselves. Conferences have dragged on for years, in those parts of the world provided with palaces, at which the West has "discussed" disarmament with the U.S.S.R. diplomats—more accurately, with tape recordings produced at the Kremlin. Recently the Soviet "nyet" was repeated for the 360th time, in answer to the crucial question of control.

The West knows full well the Kremlin will never allow inspectors free access to all its territories, going wherever they desire, because in such a case they could not ignore the sad reality of the Communist "paradise." This is, therefore, a situation in which the Kremlin prolongs the world's anxiety simply because it is ashamed of itself. It is a unique opportunity to terminate these vain parleys by casting all the blame on the Kremlin. Instead, the West drags along with the empty convocations, whose only effect is the provision of free

propaganda galleries for the Soviets, who have confused and deceived public opinion so profoundly that today many people believe it is Moscow which honestly wishes to disarm, and Washington which is stubbornly resisting.

V. LOGOMACHIC MEANS

The lack of preparedness of the people in the free world, both in factual knowledge and in the art of discussion, enables the Soviets to flood the West with fallacies painstakingly fabricated to delude minds; with views apparently plausible but actually playing into the hands of the Communists.

CHANGING FRAME OF REFERENCE AND LIGHTING

To delude judgments, Communist propaganda primarily uses a subtle and effective method, consisting of covertly changing frames of reference and lighting when passing from the Soviet regime to the free world. Summarized in the following table are the more systematic modifications of criteria and attitudes, surreptitiously implemented by auxiliaries.

	Concerning the Soviet regime	Concerning Western regimes
Frame of reference adopted for judgment.	Dialectics.....	Ethics.
Terms of reference used for judgment.	The future.....	The past.
	The historical process.....	The blemishes of the present.
Elements considered valid for judgment.	Ends.....	Means.
Attitude adopted.....	Promises.....	Achievements.
Intellectual standards.....	Doctrines.....	Abuses.
	Deterministic.....	Purist.
Key words in speeches.....	Dialectical weaving (to evade contradictions).	Logical rigor (to emphasize contradictions).
	Scruples (to obstruct censure)....	Polemics (to accelerate censure).
	People.....	Money.
	Progress.....	Stagnation.
	Work.....	Exploitation.
	Aspirations.....	Interests.
Style of approval.....	Vibrant.....	Stiff.
Style of criticism.....	Stiff.....	Vibrant.
State of mind cultivated.....	Open.....	Closed.

To review the principal "organized fallacies" circulated by Communist propaganda:

FALLACY NO. 1: WE ARE FACED WITH A CONFLICT BETWEEN "TWO BLOCS," THE U.S.S.R. AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

This propaganda theme is in accord with the old liberal illusion that international conflicts invariably have a sordid economic basis. It renders the U.S.S.R. several services:

Establishing parity of guilt between the U.S.S.R. and the United States as equally engaged in defending or extending their interests, concealing unilateral Soviet aims, and practices of aggression and hegemony by this false symmetry.

Since the matter is represented as simply one of rivalry between interests, uninvolved countries are induced to believe they may remain aloof as neutrals.

Yet the conflict is neither national nor economic. It does not exist between two empires; neither between socialism and capitalism.

It is clear that the rulers of the Kremlin hate the democratic form of socialism as much as capitalism. Only in the Communist world is found the combination of political absolutism and economic bureaucratism which makes possible the exploitation and oppression of people with such unequaled harshness. Communism has a single ambition: to perpetuate its totalitarian state apparatus, and to serve this ambition only one expedient, extending the domination of that apparatus to the entire world. For it cannot tolerate on its flank the presence of a free society whose way of life exposes the Soviet web of lies, and fascinates its fettered subjects. It is because the West personifies freedom that the U.S.S.R. must crush it.

The conflict is then between freedom and dictatorship; between a humanistic open society and a despotic closed tribe. This is why minds are at stake more than territories. This is why it concerns every man, in every corner of the globe. If the term "bloc" is to mean the territory of threatened nations, it must be broadened to include the whole free world, and not limited to the United States. Of this whole, the most ardently coveted today is Europe and Asia, not America. If the United States is the fortress facing communism today, Eurasia is the prey. Washington provides a shield, but the primary objective of Soviet aggression is Paris, London, and New Delhi.

FALLACY NO. 2: THE SOVIETS BRISTLE BECAUSE THEY ARE AFRAID

The idea that the U.S.S.R. is bristling with missiles and surrounded by buffer states because they fear a Western attack is a monumental absurdity of pro-Soviet propaganda over which the West often stumbles. The notion is appealing to those who strive for the prestige of the "ivory tower" attitude, and stems from a lingering resentment created by the anti-Bolshevik intervention of 1919-20. It is of considerable service to the Soviets, by completely inverting the responsibilities: the pitiable role of the besieged is assigned to the Soviet aggressors, while the assaulted West is obliged to prove its innocence.

The notion that the Soviets act aggressively through fear will not bear examination. No free world government has the slightest intention of assailing the U.S.S.R., and striking proof was furnished by its voluntary and continuing disarmament from 1945 to 1951, although confronted by an overarmed Russia throughout the entire period. Although the Western powers rearmed after the Communist aggression in Korea, this was purely a defensive measure. They began to rearm West Germany only when faced with the massive rearmament of East Germany.

It is preposterous to imagine that the always well-informed rulers in Moscow do not recognize so obvious a truth. They must be completely aware that no Western power wants to wage war against them. They pretend the contrary only to substantiate the myth of "capitalist encirclement," a key propaganda issue supplying a plausible pretext to justify their dictatorship. It is the old ruse used by Hitler, who was a poor lamb worried by the big, bad wolves of Prague and Warsaw; the threadbare but apparently still effective pretext of the tyrant who bolts the doors, pretending the Devil is lurking outside, when he is the only devil and bolts the doors only to better dominate inside. The dictators of Moscow, having no reason to fear, are not

fearful. Budapest furnishes ample evidence that they are overarmed because militarism is the necessary support and climate of every dictatorship. Also, they overarm because their intentions are aggressive.

It is past time for those who exploit the prestige of the "above the melee" attitude to rejoin the melee where their own fate is being decided, fully as much as that of their committed fellows.

Have they already forgotten the wave of annexations, aggressions, and coups loosed by communism after World War II in Manchuria, Korea, China, the Baltic States, Iran, Czechoslovakia, and Berlin?

Can anything comparable be honestly charged against the West? The crimes of Moscow and the mistakes of Washington are in no sense commensurate, any more than the crimes of Hitler were commensurate with the mistakes of London and Paris, and to assign equal obloquy to them is neither noble nor courageous because it is untrue. That which is really noble and courageous, honoring the philosopher, does not consist in recognizing guilt even when it is of his own side. It consists in assigning guilt according to truth: to its own side if its own side is the truly guilty, and to the opposite side if it is culpable.

FALLACY NO. 3: THE WEST RETREATS INTO A NEGATIVE ATTITUDE

This propaganda motive capitalizes on the organic inclination of free men to criticize their governments. It serves the Soviets by cultivating a popular inferiority complex toward totalitarians, whom it portrays as impetuous youths, treated by the old fogies of the West only by rebuff.

Yet if the concrete proposals made by each of the "two blocs" are reviewed for the last decade, it will be found that the constructive and imaginative proposals to promote understanding have consistently emanated from the West, while the Soviets have issued only hollow and venomous denunciations and a hundred vetos in the United Nations. The United States has never exercised a single veto in the United Nations. Who is negative?

Even after the crime of Budapest, the West was inexhaustibly patient and tolerant with the Soviet rulers, replying in the negative only to the victims, not the murderers. Every day the Soviet press is replete with gross slanders of the United States; every day the United States answers with Olympian observations, or even with favors by making their television screens available to their calumniators. In the matter of free circulation of publications between the two blocs, who is negative and who positive; which opens its newsstands and bookshops to the other, and which closes them? Who allows unrestricted listening to the radio broadcasts of the other, and who jams them?

In only one area is the Kremlin positive: aggression. If the mere fact of Western resistance is negative, a positive attitude must consist in baring one's throat to the knife.

FALLACY NO. 4: ATOMIC ENERGY IS THE MODERN WORLD'S MOST SERIOUS PROBLEM

This propaganda device exploits the inherent and very respectable love of peace; also the dramatic character of nuclear developments which has promoted the hasty conclusion that its problems are the

alpha and omega of our time. It is nothing of the sort. Actually, the overriding problem of the modern world is dictatorship in Moscow. If this did not exist; if the presently Communist world were controlled by representative governments like those functioning in London, Bonn, Paris, and Washington, further development of nuclear technology could progress with all desired speed and scope without the least concern by anyone in the world. Conversely, if nuclear energy had not been discovered and the nations were armed only with the superbombs and gases of Hitler's day, the threats of Moscow and Peiping would still be sufficient to saturate the world with anxiety.

The diversion of concern, away from political awareness of the Communist design for the oppression of mankind, to a philosophical protest against the tremendous power which science has brought to man, is in fact of the greatest service to the Kremlin.

Once upon a time a wise philosopher among the animals was called to resolve mounting tensions between two species. He proceeded to the designated location and there, indeed, was a collection of jagged rocks, poisonous toadstools, and other horrible weapons assembled in both camps. Not wishing to investigate the rights and wrongs of the situation he refused to look at the antagonists, and deciding the armaments were the cause of the trouble, ordered both camps to destroy them. He was applauded for such lofty impartiality, but when he opened his eyes he found sheep on one side and wolves on the other. Whereupon the wolves immediately proceeded to devour the sheep—and also the "wise" philosopher.

This little fable well portrays the fate of the free world and its peace crusaders, should the current pacifist movement gain control of international policy. The movement is achieving considerable momentum—but only in those free nations which are not threatening the peace. It is nonexistent, as is any other free expression of public opinion, in those nations which are initiating repeated and continued aggressions.

Obviously, many pacifists are unaware of the consequences but all of them, even those who carefully disassociate themselves from communism, indulge in a fundamental fallacy which operates only in favor of the Soviets. It consists in treating both camps "symmetrically," and proclaiming the threat of weapons as an independent issue, detached from its genesis.

Wars in the pre-Communist era stemmed from conflicts of interest between nations whose culpability and degree of civilization were both roughly equivalent. The fate of mankind would not have been seriously threatened, regardless of which antagonists had won World War I. In those times it was, therefore, a badge of civic responsibility for a political leader to "rise above the 'melee,'" and condemn his own nation equally with its opponents.

But this pattern, which sustained classical pacifism, is utterly unrealistic in our time. In the conflicts with both the Nazis and the Communists, there is not a rift between interests, but an essential struggle between free civilization and systems of totalitarian power. Totalitarian power alone bears the guilt of aggressive and hegemonistic designs and if it wins, mankind will have entered into a protracted and horrid night. It is no longer noble or courageous to assert the equal culpability of both camps, because it is no longer true. To equalize the responsibilities of Washington and Moscow has today become blatantly fraudulent.

Moscow remained superarmed after World War II—but not Washington. Moscow invaded Iran, Greece, and Korea, and forcibly enslaved eight Eastern European countries—but not Washington. Moscow tore to shreds every single one of the treaties it signed—but not Washington. Moscow maintains a colossal world apparatus to undermine and subvert all free nations—but not Washington. Moscow deports, slaughters, and imprisons—but not Washington.

So, when one antagonist is immensely more aggressive than the other, the assignment of equal responsibility to each is in actuality service to the aggressor. The disarmament of two knights avoids bloodshed; but if policemen and criminals are simultaneously disarmed, crime is protected. In the present state of world affairs, only the retaliatory strength of the nonaggressive camp can maintain peace. The statement may be criticized as indecorous, but it must be made because it is true.

Even though the Soviets were miraculously to destroy all their armaments tomorrow it would not save civilization, even assuming the incredible possibility they would not cheat, because they would then attack us with their fantastic apparatus of political warfare, by which they can conquer countries from within by subversion, conspiracy, and propaganda, without firing a shot. The Soviets possess both a sword and a virus while the free world has only a sword. So if both discard their swords we would be killed by the Soviet virus. By ignoring the Communist political machinery the normal pacifist commits yet another aberration, and parades about draped in some noble but empty slogan, such as, "let us exchange ideas, not ICBM's." As if Communists were influenced by ideas!

As a matter of fact, it is far from noble to always seek easy applause for the abstract posture of "placing human life above all else" while permitting others to shoulder the unpopular task of realistically saving lives by resisting communism.

Summarizing, there is truly no problem of nuclear weapons today; only a problem of Communist dictatorship in Moscow and Peiping. So long as these totalitarian, Machiavellian, and hegemonistic regimes are in power, even without nuclear missiles no free man, anywhere on earth, can look confidently to the future.

FALLACY NO. 5: A BILLION COMMUNISTS CANNOT BE IGNORED

This type of propaganda titillates "realistic" tendencies. It promotes visions of friendlier relations and exchanges, liable to win the hearts of the billion, and prove to them that underneath our varied exteriors we are all brothers.

This is one of the trickiest themes because it masks the crucial fact that friendly relations are rewarding only between people able to exercise free will, whereas under totalitarianism the people are impounded and muzzled, unhappily incapable of being reached by any diplomatic or touristic approach.

Moreover, this propaganda is also treacherous because it strengthens the implication that there are actually a billion Communists in the world, lending substance to the Kremlin's display of power, when nothing could be further from the truth. There are not a billion Communists, but a billion human beings living under a Communist dictatorship against their wills. If it were not against their wills, a dictatorship would not be necessary.

The fact cannot be ignored that a billion of our contemporaries suffer under communism. They manifested their hatred for it with their blood at Vorkuta, Tiflis, East Berlin, Poznan, and Budapest; they manifested it vocally when 90 percent of the Korean prisoners of war chose freedom; they manifested it with their feet, fleeing by the millions through all the crevices of the Iron and Bamboo Curtains in Berlin, Trieste, the Burmese jungle, Macao, Hong Kong, the 17th parallel in Vietnam, and the 38th parallel in Korea; they manifest it with their silence, pointing to their censored press and their sham elections; they manifest it from all the concentration camps of Siberia and China.

In fact, the most systematic of those "systematic anti-Communists" whom so many naive Western idealists find it more expedient to condemn than the Soviet dictators, are the billion subjects of Communist tyranny. It is thanks to their indomitable hatred of dictatorship, to the silent but fierce "nyet" the Kremlin rulers have never ceased to read on their muzzled lips, that the aggressiveness of the despots has been restrained, and the West still enjoys freedom. This billion people should, therefore, be invoked, not to rationalize our submission to their masters, but rather as our most valuable allies in the common defense against these tyrants. For while it is surely necessary to strengthen NATO, to conclude pacts and to make counterpropaganda, neither alliances nor preaching will assure final security so long as totalitarians control an empire of a billion serfs.

There is only one hope for peace in our time: the end of the dictatorships in Moscow and Peiping, and the best possibility of avoiding a catastrophic world conflict is the destruction of these dictatorships from within by their billion oppressed subjects.

FALLACY NO. 6: COMMUNISM'S SUCCESS ARISES OUT OF SOCIAL INJUSTICE

This propaganda cliché utilizes the Marxist propensity to seek the origin of any political disorder in an economic maladjustment; also the generous "liberal" tendency to seek a cure for the causes of an evil, rather than repress its consequences.

This concept serves communism by leading the democratic governments to a dangerous forbearance toward the Communist apparatus, comprehended and embellished as a reaction to poverty, when it is, in fact, only an appendage of dictatorship.

The fallacy of this notion is apparent when communism's areas of strength and weakness are scrutinized. Its solidest strongholds in the past have often been, and are increasingly today, the affluent social strata: the French labor aristocracy, the German Weimar Republicans, Benes' Czechoslovakians, the Asian intellectuals, and the Japanese businessmen. Conversely, it has been strongly opposed by the indigent peoples of Spain, Northern Ireland, Chiang's China, and South America.

We are told that the masses of Asia and Africa need freedom less urgently than bread, with the implication that this explains their affinity for Moscow. This idea is wrong on two counts: first, because political freedom is historically the most effective route to a higher standard of living, and second, because an impoverished people's poorest chance to get bread is acceptance of Communist dictatorship, notorious for its systematic underconsumption. The real vehicle of

communism in Asia is not the hunger of the people, but the ambition of the intellectuals.

To alleviate human misery by raising the standard of living of the masses is undoubtedly a most sacred duty, but it would be pure illusion to think this is enough to ward off the peril of Communism. No amount of reform can silence Communist demagoguery, which knows no limit in aggrandizement and treachery. It is clearly inconceivable that all social injustice can be eliminated within this century, regardless of the effort devoted to the task. Yet the Communist threat is already harassing our flank. The proposed parry is completely out of phase, in both space and time, with the thrust.

The struggle against social injustice must certainly be pursued unflinchingly, but to regard it as the principal weapon against communism; to concentrate on aid to substandard housing while ignoring the infiltration of government, is evasion masked in nobility, and substantially assists the Communist assault.

FALLACY NO. 7: AID TO UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES COUNTERS THE SOVIET THREAT

Capitalizing on the resentment accumulated among the underdeveloped nations against the West, on whom they so long depended, the Soviet apparatus of intoxication and mass conditioning moves into these countries with an insolently abundant supply of resources. The West, overwhelmed by its guilt complex as a former colonialist, feels it necessary to affect respect for the slogans with which the Kremlin's agents flood the "uncommitted" nations—the "third world."

Communist political warfare has achieved considerable success by worrying Western consciences with impostures of the following dimensions:

To pretend that the Communist system provides bread, although it does not grant liberty, while the greatest famine in history stalks in China, and the U.S.S.R. must buy wheat, milk, and meat from the capitalist world.

To credit the myth that communism can rapidly industrialize underdeveloped countries, when non-Communist Japan, Venezuela, Brazil, and Senegal achieved industrialization better, faster, and at less cost in human misery than did Communist China.

To have seriously accepted the claim that communism aids national emancipation with no one recognizing that "aid" as the oldest trick, of crying "thief" to divert attention from the veritable robber. By concentrating the attention and anger of the people in the newly independent countries of the "third world" against withering Western colonialism, communism prevents them from recognizing and resisting its own growing colonialism.

To these three principal fabrications, Communist propaganda in the underdeveloped countries adds a wide variety of opportunistic local slogans. These "internationalists" widen the rifts between nationalist factions in Singapore, sharpen language conflicts in Ceylon and India, inflate tribal rivalries in the Congo, exasperate traditional peculiarities in Assam, provoke religious conflicts in Burma, attack Brahma among Moslems and Mohammed among Hindus.

Basically, all this is very similar to Communist tactics in the developed countries, and can be summed up in a word: demagoguery. However, there is a new element in Communist demagoguery: its extension beyond all historical boundaries of hoax. It puffs itself up into the dimensions of history and enrolls philosophy in its service.

The Western governments, involuntarily imbued with that Marxism which the Soviets peddle only to foreigners and carefully avoid in their domestic life, have decreed that the sole means of preventing Communist expansion in the underdeveloped countries is by extension of economic aid. From the inception of their economic aid program in 1954 until the end of 1962, the Soviet bloc loaned \$5 billion to the "third world." The Western powers have extended 75 billion in aid since the end of World War II, 15 times as much as the Soviets. Logically, Western influence in these countries should have been 15 times stronger than the Kremlin's. Instead, it has been Moscow which has grown 15 times more influential.

Prior to its recent reverses, the Communist grip on Brazil had tightened enormously with no significant Soviet contribution, but with hundreds of millions of dollars received from Uncle Sam. Indonesia and Ghana became "fellow travelers" while enjoying a regular flow of dollars, prior to receipt of one ruble. Iraq similarly rejected its protectors of the Baghdad Pact before receiving anything from the Kremlin, and Cuba's communization was in no way retarded by substantial American aid received during the first 2 years of Castro's reign.

Any objective observer must conclude, simply on the basis of available facts and results that as a means of stopping Communist expansion, Western aid such as that extended to the "third world" is a miserable failure.

This is because the main premise of this policy is false. Economic aid is by itself powerless to counteract the work of the huge apparatus of political agitation. The West is losing because its economic aid is solely economic; the Kremlin is winning because its economic aid is primarily political.

The peculiarities of Soviet economic aid sharply emphasizes its aim at acquisition of key positions in the political life of the "third world." Thus, the preferred fields for Soviet aid are those requiring the maximum number of technicians, either imported from the U.S.S.R., or native personnel sent to Moscow for training and indoctrination. In either case, these technicians will spend far less time on their assigned calculations than in spreading the Kremlin's slogans.

Jupiter, said the Greeks, makes ambitious those he wishes to destroy. Those whom the Kremlin wishes to destroy it makes Marxist. This point must be stressed: The whole Western system of aid to the third world is based on a pure Marxist postulate: that beliefs are never more than reflections of needs, and that in particular Communist belief is produced only by economic injustice and discontent. From this it follows that to suppress communism it suffices to suppress misery.

Elimination of the misery of developing people is, of course, necessary for reasons of human solidarity. These people should legitimately benefit from technological progress, sense its power, acquire its spirit and thereby enter the modern world by rejecting their ancestral inertia. For the honor and the progress of mankind, it is salutary for

the husbandmen of this progress to sow its seeds in soil until now untilled. The fallacy lies in the belief that this necessary generosity suffices to prevent the spread of Communist infestation, especially in the short period within which this infection threatens to overwhelm the "third world."

Remember, this disease has also attacked economically developed countries, such as Czechoslovakia, France, and Cuba, for the reason that it is grounded on myths and passions, more than on needs. In the underdeveloped countries, even more than in the West, the Communist leaders are usually the wealthy intellectuals, while the masses are more driven by messianic visions than by materialistic influences. The revolts in Hungary and Tibet damaged the Communist position in India considerably more than did 10 years of American assistance.

Ironically America, which professes humanism and spirituality, utilizes materialistic methods while the Communist world, professing to believe in "Marxist materialism" resorts to idealism in its proselytizing. The term "idealism" is here used, not in its usual sense of "generous impulses," but in its philosophical meaning as "placing the principal emphasis on ideas," as opposed to "philosophical materialism." The United States think they have only to build schools, hospitals, and railways in underdeveloped countries, and hand out Spam and fruit juice, for the peoples to be automatically cured of Communist leanings. Meanwhile the U.S.S.R. works primarily on minds, preaching the doctrine that an increased standard of living will result—much, much later—from the people's faith in communism and hatred of the West, propagating this idea by an inexhaustible stream of books, pamphlets, and leaflets, written in every language and adapted to every level of intelligence.

Thus has been established a division of labor between the U.S.S.R. and the United States which will rapidly bring about the former's destruction of the latter. The United States provides food; the Soviets propaganda. The United States builds schools to teach the alphabet to underdeveloped people; the U.S.S.R. prints anti-American newspapers for these people to read with their new skill. The United States builds libraries; Soviet auxiliaries fill them with Leninist literature. The United States builds hospitals; the Soviets staff them with Communist nurses to indoctrinate the patients.

This is not interpreted to mean that economic aid programs should be discontinued. Aid can have excellent consequences, but only if supplemented by programs of political education. Dollars without indigenous political specialists, alert to the Communist peril, invariably wind up in the pockets of Soviet auxiliaries.

The truth is that in order to resist Soviet propaganda the most urgent necessity is aid, not to the underdeveloped countries of the "third world," but to the underdeveloped minds of the West. Such aid is the purpose of the constructive measures to be subsequently proposed.

FALLACY NO. 8: LET US ARREST THE STRIFE WITH THE COMMUNIST GIANTS BY COEXISTENCE

Genuine coexistence would merit universal applause, but a coexistence which will be demonstrated to be fraudulent deserves only criticism and denunciation.

To begin with, the belief that the slogan "peaceful coexistence" is a novelty in Soviet politics requires a really systematic amnesia. The slogan is one of the most ancient and shopworn in the Communist bag of tricks. It harks back to Lenin, who launched it in the very accoutrements in which we observe it attired today. Since then it has experienced at least seven major revivals, alternating with the same number of periods of tension. For those with short memories, the following sketchy almanac is very revealing:

First coexistence: 1920-22. Lenin-Chicherin. Ended with the first Russo-German Pact of Rapallo.

First antioexistence: 1923-25. Chicherin. Beginning of the Iron Curtain. "Bolshevisation" of the Communist International.

Second coexistence: 1925-27. Stalin-Chicherin-Litvinov. Distinguished in 1925-26 by widespread recognition of the Soviet Government.

Second antioexistence: 1927-33. Stalin-Litvinov "Third Period." Class set against class. Insurrectional strikes and sabotage. Break with England. Ended with Hitler's arrival in power.

Third coexistence: 1934-39. Stalin. Pact with Laval. U.S.S.R. entry into the League of Nations.

Third antioexistence: 1939-41. Stalin. Began with the second Soviet-German pact, the Stalin-Hitler agreement which triggered World War II and finally ended with Hitler's attack on Stalin.

Fourth coexistence: 1942-46. Stalin. The war years with "Uncle Joe." Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam.

Fourth antioexistence: 1947-53. Stalin. Coup of Prague. Berlin blockade. Korean "police action."

Fifth coexistence: 1953-56. Malenkov-Bulganin-Khrushchev. Culminated in the embraces of Geneva; terminated in the blood of Budapest.

Fifth antioexistence: 1956-57. Khrushchev. Assaults on Quemoy and Matsu. Disturbances in the Near East.

Sixth coexistence: 1958. Khrushchev. Brief burgeoning of the "Spirit of Camp David," interrupted by Berlin crisis in November 1958.

Sixth antioexistence: 1958-60. Khrushchev. Shoe pounding on U.N. desk. Bellowed obscenities in Paris.

Seventh coexistence: 1960-61. Khrushchev. Implied commitment to halt nuclear tests. Kennedy-Khrushchev meeting in Vienna.

Seventh antioexistence: 1961-63. Another Berlin crisis—Wall of shame. Nuclear megatons. Cuba.

Eighth coexistence: 1963-65. Khrushchev. Moscow test-ban treaty.

This calendar develops clearly a significant characteristic of Soviet foreign policy: its resemblance to a sinusoid curve with alternating oscillations of tension and relaxation, but with the axis arrowing always toward world hegemony; a hegemony which communism simply cannot renounce, not only because it constitutes communism's veritable vocation, but also for a still deeper reason—if communism does not destroy freedom abroad, freedom will destroy communism within.

Even more significantly than by these oscillations, the Soviets reveal their insincerity by their failure to express their coexistence in any concrete act; it always remains strictly vocal.

Stress must be laid on the fact that Eastern and Western positions are in no way symmetrical. Only the East has been guilty of assailing and subjugating peoples, and hence it is the East which owes atone-

ment if it wishes to reestablish a normal climate. However, it continues to adamantly refuse—

- the self-determination of the captive nations of Europe;
- the reunification of Germany by genuinely free elections;
- the control of disarmament by realistic inspection;
- the lifting of the Iron and Bamboo Curtains;
- the termination of guerrilla warfare, which is kindling fires in Asia, Africa, and Latin America;

the elimination of the wall of shame in Berlin, the virtues and beauties of which Khrushchev celebrated just 1 week before coexisting with Averell Harriman in Moscow.

Thus, coexistence is entirely abstract; all euphony and no substance—a particularly incongruous position for a regime which professes materialism. The completely empty proposal made by the Soviets as a preliminary manifestation of a recent mood of coexistence, the nonaggression pact between the Atlantic and Warsaw powers, perfectly illustrates that it is, in contradiction to Lenin's teachings, pure verbiage without the least concrete foundation. The proposal has no provision whatever for the enforcement of peace; it is simply a verbal pledge which is not even new, as being already incorporated in the commitments undertaken by all members of the United Nations. True, words have utility—but mainly for hypocrites. The single consequence of the terms of such a pact would be implicit confirmation of the Communist status of the European captive nations by equating them, mere satellites with puppet governments supported by Soviet bayonets, with the truly independent and legal States of NATO. Dictatorships are continually gnawed by a profound consciousness of their illegitimacy, and before all else crave recognition. And that is what we would award them by acceptance of this pact. We would not be signing "no" to aggression; we would be signing "yes" to communism.

This is unfortunate, the conciliators will say, but let us still sign. Let us admit that communism is here to stay. Let us pass the sponge over its crimes. Granted, we could better believe in the new spirit of communism if it had put its delinquent past in order, but if its good intentions do not extend that far, let us at least attempt to arrange matters so it will not resume its mischief making.

Alas, it will resume.

First, because the Communists will obviously reason that a new expansion they will realize by fraud or crime tomorrow will, the day after tomorrow, become the past, and that the logic of the "new spirit" will then result in a fresh passing of the sponge. And so on, ad infinitum, without any foreseeable end to the philosophy of the sponge.

Second, because communism itself has repeatedly and consistently announced its intention to continue its conquests.

Indeed, the most yawning crack in the facade of coexistence is exposed by the clamorous Communist insistence that coexistence does not extend to the areas of what they term "ideology" and "the class struggle." The good democrat will reason that if the competitive struggle is staged on the ideological level, and no longer by H-bombs, it then becomes legitimate, and victory simply has to "go to the best."

It would indeed be legitimate if communism would compete fairly. But—and this is the crux of the matter—what communism calls the

"ideological struggle" has no relation to a genuine debate of opinions. It is a struggle conducted by the Kremlin with the implacable extremism of war, utilizing all the perfidious ruses, shameless deceits and fanaticized rioters in the heavily stocked arsenal of political warfare; means utterly illegitimate with respect to the rules of free and honest competition of ideas.

The Kremlin uses for this struggle a colossal, truly monstrous apparatus, unique in the history of man, which spends billions of dollars a year and employs a half million overt and covert agents to infect and hypnotize the world by an all-pervading torrent of propaganda, unlimited demagoguery, and tentacular infiltration. Thousands of activists are carefully trained in an immense array of special schools in the arts of sabotage, disorganization, hoax, sophistry, and slander. Violence is not missing from the picture. Whenever and wherever advantageous, blood will be shed in street riots, terrorism and tele-guided guerrillas, as communism has amply demonstrated it was prepared to do lavishly in the weaker sectors of the free world, in Caracas, in the Andes, and in Vietnam—at the very hour its leaders were clinking champagne glasses with the free world representatives in Moscow.

This is what "ideological struggle" means in Communist practice. It has neither the dimensions nor the standards of those debates of opinion on which representative governments must indeed rely for political decisions. This type of "ideological struggle" is no more tolerable than assaults with missiles.

Communism prefers political war to hot war because on this front the West remains steadfastly dumb and blind, while the Kremlin enjoys absolute supremacy, served by the colossal machine it has perfected over a 40-year period. To win an armed confrontation, bolshevism would need the support of its own people who, knowing it from bitter experience, withhold that support. To advance its objectives in the political war, it needs the sympathy of the foreign intelligentsia who, knowing it only by theory, bestow that sympathy.

Finally, the Soviets could in no event risk a nuclear war. Not, as is commonly supposed, because they would suffer as much damage as they would inflict, but because their regime would crumble. Resting only on a totalitarian framework of control and coercion, all of whose ligatures would be simultaneously destroyed by a nuclear devastation, the survivors would immediately revolt against the ruling tyranny.

This is why Khrushchev never relished the idea of pressing the button to unleash nuclear missiles, as was demonstrated to the world in the Caribbean. This is why, when the West makes generous concessions to prolong a "genial mood" of communism, it pays very dearly for the "renunciation" by the Communists of a line they never intended to pursue.

This is also why, finally, a part of the "peaceful coexistence" formula could become reality: the "peaceful" part. However, the term "coexistence" remains and will ever be a snare, because it is, and will always be, our death that the Communists seek, as they have themselves clearly avowed. But unable to obtain our death quickly by fire, they have chosen to administer it in their own good time, by strangulation.

For us, the prospective cadavers, the advantage appears indeed thin.

Even though the fundamentally antidemocratic, warlike, and conspiratorial nature of Moscow's "ideological struggle" is not comprehended, any child should at first glance recognize it as a fake by realizing the systematic asymmetry between the opponents.

Compare the opposing forces. The U.S.S.R., barricaded, dictatorial, and belligerent, allows no slightest element of Western life to penetrate its territory; while the West, open, tolerant, and frivolous, amiably permits the enormous plow of Communist propaganda to furrow and cultivate its ground, almost at will. Thus coexistence actually means that the Soviets exist simultaneously on their land and ours, while we exist only on ours; worse, the biexistence enjoyed by the Soviets is permitted to practice mischief, while the monoexistence to which we restrict ourselves has the self-imposed obligation of virtue. Still worse, this privilege of a mischievous biexistence would be guaranteed to the Soviets by a pact between the Atlantic powers and the puppets of Warsaw. This, as has been demonstrated, is the only significance of such a pact.

To achieve an honest coexistence, it would either be necessary for the Kremlin to dissolve the apparatus of political warfare it maintains in our territory, or permit the advocates of our ideology to organize and express themselves freely in its domain. In these circumstances we could accept their challenge, even without insisting that Moscow disgorge its wrongfully acquired loot, because Moscow would then obviously lose the contest—possibly in a matter of months.

Alas, where is the Western statesman who will raise the obvious question of the reciprocity of equal rights, without which any competition is a farce? Acceptance of Soviet style coexistence implies concession to communism of all the advantages of an unfair contest, while we retain no possibility of victory.

VI. CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS

COUNTERPROPAGANDA: KEY TO OUR SURVIVAL

The West must develop the means to counter this formidable apparatus of propaganda and conspiracy, arrayed against the free world by the Soviets. It is most important that we realize the urgency of this task.

At stake is the very survival of the West. Our only realistic preparedness is on the military front, but due to the balance of terror achieved in nuclear capabilities, this is not the area in which the contest will be decided. It will be decided in the field of propaganda, where the West is sadly deficient.

The West does not sufficiently realize the extent to which the seeds of propaganda have yielded the Soviets an extraordinary harvest of advantages, even territorial and strategic, which in former eras could only be obtained by armed force. Most Communist conquests have been achieved, not at the point of the bayonet, but rather through political warfare waged by a poisoning of minds. The lightning Soviet expansion following the defeat of Nazi Germany resulted from the generosity and naivete of the Allied leaders at Yalta; generosity and naivete which would have been inconceivable, had these leaders correctly discerned that Stalin's regime was fully as black a despotism as

potism to those values of historical progress and self-determination for which they had fought, amply repaid the Kremlin in a single day under the Crimean sun for the billions of rubles which had for decades been invested in fostering precisely this illusion. China succumbed from ideological contamination much more than from military supremacy. Czechoslovakia collapsed only from the ideological contamination of its elite. All the Middle Eastern countries which have fallen into the "neutralist" camp—actually partial to Moscow—have been lured into it primarily by the charms of propaganda, coupled with political subversion. The decisive role of Communist propaganda in the rejection of the European Defense Community has been previously discussed.

The idea of neutralizing a reunited Germany—an idea eminently favorable to the Soviets—which gained currency in some Western circles, is due exclusively to the operation of the huge Soviet mechanism for propagating fallacies. Should it gain widespread acceptance, the Kremlin could have acquired the territory it desired, achieving the evacuation of American troops without firing a shot, through sheer persuasion.

It should be emphasized that no criticism of NATO's military effort is here implied. Indeed, this effort can only be fully endorsed. It would clearly mean immediate disaster should the Soviets be permitted to surpass us in military strength, for they would not be as scrupulous as was America, which has never used its nuclear monopoly against the Soviets to promote its political aims. Once convinced it possessed decisive superiority in weaponry, the Kremlin would promptly subjugate the free world without giving the least consideration to "world opinion." We should, therefore, take great satisfaction in an adequately armed NATO, assuring its augmented efforts to the end that we will not be overtaken.

But it should also be recognized that, as with economic aid, this necessary and laudable military effort is not alone sufficient. Precisely because NATO, by superior armament, insures against a war of missiles, it must equip itself for the war that consequently becomes crucial: the war of minds. If not, the tragic mistakes of the Maginot line will be repeated; we will be armored on one front and the enemy will pass on another. The Nazi enemy bypassed the Maginot line in 1939, through a territory which France had not defended because it had been designated "neutral." This time the Communist enemy will pass underneath, through a political territory which is likewise not defended because due to a similar fetishism it supposedly falls exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of each separate country, and the realm of democratic tolerance. This is precisely why it is so vulnerable to enemy intrusion. The strength of the political arm in each separate country is insufficient to combat Soviet propaganda. Here, then, is a vital task for NATO to assume.

Even from the viewpoint of pure military technique, propaganda had a profound influence on our efficient defense. It is generally assumed that a nuclear war will be won or lost in the first 15 minutes. The Kremlin will attack instantly, the moment it concludes that the Western leaders, bound by a restive and ill-informed public opinion, will hesitate 15 minutes before initiating reprisals. At that point the hesitancy will either continue, resulting in enslavement, or it will dissipate in a holocaust. In either case disaster will have been pre-

capitated by vacillation induced by enemy propaganda. Destruction of the West's will to resist is a primary aim of Communist propaganda, too often assisted ably by well-meaning but anti-anti-Communist elements within our society.

PROGNOSIS FOR RECOVERY

To undertake the necessary recovery the West must be convinced of its feasibility. To this end two cliches of despair must be dispelled.

The first concerns the abject fear sometimes induced by the Soviet mechanism of propaganda and infiltration. Although its formidable dimensions have been emphasized, it should not be concluded that in this field the Soviets are supermen whose accomplishments cannot be matched. It is only that they were the first and only politicians to consciously build a complete machine for the use of tentacular propaganda, organization, and infiltration. No special genius is required to use it effectively, once the method is understood, and the will to use it acquired. It can be implemented by any group having access to adequate material resources; actually at far less cost compared to the Soviets, as it is surely more costly to sell lies designed to subjugate minds by trickery than to sell truth designed to leave minds free, and simply provide antidotes for lies.

If 20 intelligent, active, and enlightened anti-Communist Panamanians were provided the resources to set up committees, publish papers refuting Communist lies, and for staffs in schools of counterpolitical warfare, a working base for counterpropaganda could be formed for a hundredth of the cost of the military installation in the Canal Zone, and might be far more effective in defense of the Panama Canal.

"Propaganda is of no use" is the second unsubstantiated and nefarious cliché, carefully cultivated by the Communist auxiliaries. Why have the Soviets undertaken the colossal effort which has been discussed, if it results only in the production of worthless merchandise? And who can say where we would be today if the miniscule counterpropaganda effort made by the West had not, to some extent, exposed the tyranny and impostures of communism?

The truth is that counterpropaganda has to date lacked the desired effectiveness, not because of its extravagance, but rather because of its utter paucity compared to the Communist propaganda it has confronted. A fortress is not proved impregnable because it cannot be scaled with a footstool.

AN INSTITUTE FOR IDEOLOGICAL RESISTANCE TO COMMUNIST POLWAR

Obviously NATO cannot assume direct responsibility for all necessary counterpropaganda. However, it appears entirely feasible for it to supply member governments with weapons for political resistance. Highly useful for this purpose would be the creation of an Institute for Resistance to all forms of Soviet polwar.

Such an Institute, working on a scientific level and consequently avoiding many of the objections against a State institution "indulging in political debate," would have the following missions which can here be only summarized, the details of which would require a special study:

(a) Collection and study of all facts concerning the overt and covert Soviet propaganda polwar against the West, detailing its

ways, means, and stratagems, revaluation of the different masks it assumes under various circumstances, recording and computing its development, and evaluating its effects.

(b) Diligent dissemination of information on the foregoing matters to member governments.

(c) Enlightenment of public opinion by documented synopses released to information media, publication of books and pamphlets, arrangement of lectures for both specialists and the general public, and finally, by releases to the information media, correction of the fallacies about communism that blind, delude, and paralyze the dynamic forces of the free world.

(d) Preparation and suggestion of counterpropaganda themes and methods of counterinfiltration.

(e) Organization of a regular series of courses on Communist methods, open to concerned, high-level officials of member nations, journalists, and politicians.

(f) Initiation of a study on the possible adoption by all free nations of constitutional provisions similar to article IV of the French, and article XVIII of the German Constitutions, reflecting the concept that Communist machinations are not entitled to democratic tolerance.

(g) Establishment of 1- or 2-year apprenticeship programs for professions involving leadership, such as teaching, journalism, medicine, and business, to which would be invited African and Asian nationals for training, after which they would return home with concepts of freedom and warnings against Communist impostures.

In summary, such an Institute would constitute a crucible of ideas, a center of awareness, an arsenal of arguments, and a school for activists in the common struggle for freedom.

The mere existence of a single, supranational organization for Soviet propaganda, the only one in history with these characteristics, is adequate justification for the organization of an antidote: a similar Free World center at the NATO level. Supranational force calls for supranational resistance, a supranational laboratory and brains.

For greater flexibility, the institute could possess a certain autonomy as regards NATO, enabling it to also serve organizations like SEATO and the Baghdad Pact. It could have branches or affiliated centers in several free nations.

THE WORLD LEAGUE OF FREEDOM

This organization would not be a governmental function, but an independent agency formed for the purpose of working at the level of public opinion, with the principal missions of disintoxication and counterpropaganda.

As a private organization it would initially depend on the affiliation of individuals, and later would seek the adherence of already constituted groups. The League structure would be extremely flexible, contemplating great liberty of action for its members and leaders. It would not be a supraorganization, but rather a rallying point, a source of information and inspiration, and motivation for independent and diverse groups, each of which would work within its own sphere of influence for the attainment of common goals.

The league should first acquire powerful media of communication: newspapers, radio and television stations, and publishing houses. With these tools it would undertake the following tasks, in cooperation with other, already existing organizations:

(a) To diligently destroy all the daily swarm of sophisms circulated to support the international politics of the Kremlin, by means of bold refutations which the league would strive to have published by the most influential newspapers.

(b) To clearly expose all the conspiratorial methods utilized by Moscow and Peiping throughout the free world.

(c) To circulate all such material as might enlighten public opinion on the true nature of the Communist systems.

(d) To organize demonstrations mobilizing public opinion against the direct and indirect undertakings of totalitarian communism.

(e) To encourage a sacred union of all free men and free political parties, transcending national and doctrinal barriers, for resistance to the menace of Moscow and Peiping.

The League's climate would be militant; not diplomatic. Its style would be lofty but incisive. It would attempt to reverse the present trend to the end that the free world would stand as the accuser, rather than a defendant.

SCHOOLS AND ACADEMIES

The Institute for Resistance would cooperate with the World League of Freedom to create a network of schools at all levels, distributed throughout the free world, where men and women of all nationalities and races, carefully selected with regard to the audience they would command on their return to their own environment, could receive a more or less intensive training on Soviet political warfare, and on the ways and means of protecting freedom.

ASSISTANCE TO THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES

Massive moral and material assistance must be organized to the unflagging opposition, be it stealthy or violent, of the peoples groaning under the yoke of totalitarian communism, who are our most dependable and valuable allies. In them lies our only hope of overthrowing the dictatorships of Moscow and Peiping without resort to war; and we should bear in mind that the destruction of these dictatorships is the only true guarantee of lasting peace.

Adequate centers should implement, with the necessary discretion, all the means provided by modern technology to transmit messages through the Iron Curtain; literature parachuted from balloons, small automatic transmitters, small, jam-proof radios capable of receiving foreign broadcasts, miniature records and tapes, etc. These centers could prepare literature, and brigades of conversationalists for Soviet citizens visiting abroad. The free world has every justification for such stratagems because of the brazen censorship imposed on all ideas and activities behind the Iron Curtain, in contrast to Western toleration of any kind of propaganda—any Communist thesis.

These centers would also welcome those who flee to freedom, and undertake the systematic publication of their revealing stories. In cooperation with the World League of Freedom, the centers would

organize repeated and impressive demonstrations seeking the self determination, by free supervised elections, of the peoples subjected to Communist dictatorships, and to protect against the oppression under which they are suffering. They might transform May Day into a D-Day of solidarity between the workers of the free world and their enslaved brethren of the Communist empire.

MISSIONARIES OF FREEDOM

Under this program, men and women could be enlisted who would be fired with enthusiasm at the prospect of a new type of apostolate. Trained in special schools, they would be taught a wide variety of technical skills, in agriculture, local irrigation and power sources, medicine and family hygiene, etc. They would study native languages, and be thoroughly trained in every aspect of political warfare. Each mission would be supplied with a workshop, a radio transmitter, records and tapes, a small motion picture projector, and a small printing plant.

Such training and equipment would allow the missionaries to exercise a new kind of cultural, economic, and political apostolate in the underdeveloped countries. While warning untrudgingly against the deceptions of communism, they would build their influence by helping the people improve their human environment by assistance in road building, irrigation, food preservation, housing, etc. Such local help is perceived by the small fry, and makes more friends than the huge affairs of dams and airports, to which most economic aid has heretofore been limited.

Fortified by this trust and support, these missionaries of freedom could demonstrate the extent of suffering borne by the people who have fallen under the Communist yoke, and the superiority of free institutions in every way to those of the Communist world, for the poor even more than the wealthy.

Picked local people could be recruited for training at the special schools who, on their return, would assume the duties of the initial Western missionaries. In the course of time the entire program could be manned by the natives of Asia, Africa, and South America.

Twenty thousand such missionaries of freedom, working at the bush, village, factory, and university levels, could gain the esteem of the natives at an annual cost not exceeding a billion dollars, a fifth of the current world budget for economic aid. They would form a barrier against the Communist tide far more efficient than a hundred more missiles in Western arsenals, and would accomplish much more than the present assistance program, directed through purely governmental channels and concentrated on heavy construction which, while no doubt useful to the recipient nations, is not directly exploitable against communism.

Freedom must establish its own chivalry.

What to do in international policy

The following policy, if adopted by the West, can preserve the two cardinal values of peace and freedom:

1. Carefully select and clearly formulate strictly minimal conditions for true peaceful coexistence such as, for example:

Dismantling of the Communist political warfare apparatus throughout the world.

Reunification of Germany by free, supervised elections and destruction of the "wall of shame."

Advance acceptance of a foolproof system of control for any prospective disarmament agreement.

Discontinuance of jamming our radio programs, and unlimited access of free world literature to the U.S.S.R.

2. Until these conditions are fulfilled, confront communism quietly, but sternly with adequate armament, both military and political. Notify the Kremlin unequivocally that it will not be permitted to advance one step further, by subversive means or otherwise. Declare irreconcilable hostility to its despotism, helping those who resist it and building against it a sacred union of all free men in the world, transcending national and partisan affinities.

3. Let the Kremlin's leaders know that any desired agreement will be possible when, but only when, they have unequivocally and demonstrably accepted and implemented the basic conditions.

Should they do so, then hurrah for peaceful coexistence! Because it would then be truly peaceful! But if they refuse, there will be no point in negotiating coexistence, since it will be nothing but a lie.

Anti-Communists are often reproached as hardening themselves in their hatred. To the contrary, they aspire only to a true peaceful coexistence, as defined above, the more enthusiastically since, if this state of affairs should materialize, communism would fundamentally—and actually—have ceased to exist.

It may be objected that the type of international action proposed is unprecedented. No doubt it is, but can we prepare to wage a new war with obsolete stockpiles? Intercontinental ballistic missiles with nuclear warheads are also unprecedented. When an enemy assails us with unprecedented propaganda weapons, must we abandon our defense because it would involve resort to unprecedented methods?

Truly, we must react forthrightly, determined to proceed undeterred by any kind of formalism. We must react rapidly and vigorously, utilizing the highest moral standards, the most effective political skills and the maximum material resources.

It is H-hour minus 5 on the battlefield in the war of minds.

CONCLUSION

"When weapons balance, stratagems must prevail." This aphorism of Sun Tsu, a military theoretician who wrote in the fifth century before Christ, contains the essence of Communist tactics. Faced with a balance in nuclear armament, the Soviet threat moves to the conspiratorial level, and the decisive front then becomes that of subversive warfare. If we are not to witness the death of Western civilization, we must disengage, as quickly as possible, from the situation in which the West concentrates solely on the war of missiles, ignoring that already raging war which will decide the outcome: the political war.

The principal strategy employed by the Kremlin to conquer the world is simple: agitate aboveground with weapons, and make its major advances underground with politics. In the foreground of the international arena, communism thunders with nuclear megatons while its shock troops in the U.N. pound with shoes on the tables.

And while the world is engrossed in this uproar, one country after another silently falls into the Communist maw in the wings.

They fall from methods less conspicuous, and far less expensive than missiles: the committee, the tract, the meeting, the covert accomplices, the radio program, the infiltrated press, the subverted universities, the popular front, the professional revolutionary, and when convenient, the dagger and plastic bomb of guerrilla warfare.

The Kremlin's procedure is basically only a variant of the classic military tactic which seeks to deceive the defender in such a way that he concentrates all his strength on the approaches the assailant will not use, leaving undefended the actual attack route. We have heavily defended the military and economic approaches, leaving the paths of conspiracy and subversion wide open to enemy attack.

The Soviets would have us believe that conflict between East and West will be resolved by superbombs and we rush to beggar ourselves building more and more superbombs. Communism would have us believe our destiny depends on a choice between Nasser and Sukarno, and we hasten to run errands for Nasser and Sukarno. Communism would have us believe that it does not meddle in the internal affairs of "neutralist" countries, and we hurry to convert our anti-Communist ally Laos into a "neutralist." Communism would have us believe that its aggressive designs stop at the threshold of the United Nations, and we quickly shape our foreign policies to the framework of the U.N.

We are induced to concentrate our efforts only on:

Indiscriminate aid to underdeveloped countries, whether or not Communist.

"Neutralism."

The United Nations.

Nuclear overarmament.

These are the four principal traps set for us by the Kremlin. All these false localizations of the dangers have as a goal the concealment of the veritable weapon and the veritable battlefield, political warfare, with its formidable network of subversion and deceit.

Yes, the military sector of our world is on the alert, while its political sector slumbers. Our missiles roar and soar while our minds sleep, and even embrace the enemy's lies.

We have armed Berlin with atomic artillery which sits idle, yet not even one pound of plastic bombs has been found to blast, in one night, the wall of shame. And we withhold the supply of plastic because of failure to understand the truth that cries out from each stone of the wall; the truth that Berlin is a psychological symbol for the Soviets, and not a territorial or military goal.

Billions of dollars are furnished to strengthen the Japanese economy and its naval establishment, but not a finger is lifted to discourage the many Japanese teachers who are openly instructing school children that their first fatherland is the Soviet Union or Red China.

We spend a million dollars for each horsepower of a Saturn missile, \$200 million each, but we have not a cent for the courageous and hard-pressed anti-Communists of Indonesia, Panama, Madagascar, India, and Brazil, with which they could at least establish publications in opposition to the flood of Communist literature which is submerging their countries.

We know the formula for conversion of the space gradient into energy, but have not solved the problem of converting an African leader in Kenya to anticommunism.

We prepare commando forces with the most prodigious transport speed and firepower, theoretically capable of intervening against Communist aggression within 24 hours, anywhere in the world, and simultaneously pay the expenses of United Nations troops sent to destroy the anti-Communist friends of the West in Katanga.

We crush the taxpayers to forge a steel breastplate with which to face the Kremlin on the battlefield, while in the struggle for minds we furnish television time to Communist-serving intellectuals whose wiles paralyze resistance to the Kremlin.

The matching of missile to missile is basically a simple problem, but what do we gain by filling our arsenals with weapons while passively permitting the enemy to disarm our minds? It is more difficult, but far more important to our salvation, that we refute Communist sophistries, denounce Communist intrigue, and interdict Communist sabotage. Everything remains to be done in this neglected, but decisive, realm.

Condemnation of the just is a tragic act, too often seen in history's theater. Let us not add an even more tragic act: the defeat of the strong. Let us halt the catastrophe which is pushing our civilization, which owes its greatness to reason, to death by paralysis of reason.

It is to this momentous and dramatically pressing task that the reader is invited. Our world is marching, like a sleepwalker, on the brink of an abyss. It must be awakened and restored to reason by the combined efforts of all free men.

APPENDIX

ORGANIZATIONS DESIGNATED UNDER EXECUTIVE ORDER No. 10450

[Compiled from memorandums of the Attorney General dated April 29, July 15, September 28, 1953, January 22, 1954, April 4, September 21, and October 20, 1955]

CONSOLIDATED LIST—NOVEMBER 1, 1955*

This list is prepared solely for the information of Federal civilian officers and employees and for the convenience of persons completing applications for Federal employment. Membership in or affiliation with a designated organization is one factor to be considered by the departments and agencies of the Federal Government in connection with the employment or retention in employment of individuals in Federal service.

Abraham Lincoln Brigade.
 Abraham Lincoln School, Chicago, Ill.
 Action Committee To Free Spain Now.
 Alabama People's Educational Association. (See Communist Political Association.)
 American Association for Reconstruction in Yugoslavia, Inc.
 American Branch of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions.
 American Christian Nationalist Party.
 American Committee for European Workers' Relief. (See Socialist Workers Party.)
 American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.
 American Committee for Spanish Freedom.
 American Committee for the Settlement of Jews in Birobidjan, Inc.
 American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, Inc.
 American Committee To Survey Labor Conditions in Europe.
 American Council for a Democratic Greece, formerly known as the Greek American Council; Greek American Committee for National Unity.
 American Council on Soviet Relations.
 American Croatian Congress.
 American Jewish Labor Council.
 American League Against War and Fascism.
 American League for Peace and Democracy.
 American National Labor Party.
 American National Socialist League.
 American National Socialist Party.
 American Nationalist Party.
 American Patriots, Inc.
 American Peace Crusade.
 American Peace Mobilization.
 American Poles for Peace.
 American Polish Labor Council.
 American Polish League.
 American Rescue Ship Mission (a project of the United American Spanish Aid Committee).
 American-Russian Fraternal Society.
 American Russian Institute, New York, also known as the American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations With the Soviet Union.
 American Russian Institute, Philadelphia.
 American Russian Institute of San Francisco.
 American Russian Institute of Southern California, Los Angeles.
 American Slav Congress.
 American Women for Peace.
 American Youth Congress.

*This list was checked with the Department of Justice on Mar. 26, 1965.

American Youth for Democracy.
 Armenian Progressive League of America.
 Associated Klans of America.
 Association of Georgia Klans.
 Association of German Nationals (Reichsdeutsche Vereinigung).
 Ausland-Organization der NSDAP, Overseas Branch of Nazi Party.
 Baltimore Forum.
 Benjamin Davis Freedom Committee.
 Black Dragon Society.
 Boston School for Marxist Studies, Boston, Mass.
 Bridges-Robertson-Schmidt Defense Committee.
 Bulgarian American People's League of the United States of America.
 California Emergency Defense Committee.
 California Labor School, Inc., 321 Divisadero Street, San Francisco, Calif.
 Carpatho-Russian People's Society.
 Central Council of American Women of Croatian Descent, also known as Central Council of American Croatian Women, National Council of Croatian Women.
 Central Japanese Association (Beikoku Chuo Nipponjin Kai).
 Central Japanese Association of Southern California.
 Central Organization of the German-American National Alliance (Deutsche-Amerikanische Einheitsfront).
 Cervantes Fraternal Society.
 China Welfare Appeal, Inc.
 Chopin Cultural Center.
 Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges.
 Citizens Committee of the Upper West Side (New York City).
 Citizens Committee To Free Earl Browder.
 Citizens Emergency Defense Conference.
 Citizens Protective League.
 Civil Liberties Sponsoring Committee of Pittsburgh.
 Civil Rights Congress and its affiliated organizations, including:
 Civil Rights Congress for Texas.
 Veterans Against Discrimination of Civil Rights Congress of New York.
 Civil Rights Congress for Texas. (See Civil Rights Congress.)
 Columbians.
 Comite Coordinador Pro Republica Espanola.
 Comite Pro Derechos Civiles. (See Puerto Rican Comite Pro Libertades Civiles.)
 Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.
 Committee for Constitutional and Political Freedom.
 Committee for Nationalist Action.
 Committee for Peace and Brotherhood Festival in Philadelphia.
 Committee for the Defense of the Pittsburgh Six.
 Committee for the Negro in the Arts.
 Committee for the Protection of the Bill of Rights.
 Committee for World Youth Friendship and Cultural Exchange.
 Committee to Abolish Discrimination in Maryland. (See Congress Against Discrimination; Maryland Congress Against Discrimination; Provisional Committee to Abolish Discrimination in the State of Maryland.)
 Committee to Aid the Fighting South.
 Committee to Defend Marie Richardson.
 Committee to Defend the Rights and Freedom of Pittsburgh's Political Prisoners.
 Committee to Uphold the Bill of Rights.
 Commonwealth College, Mena, Ark.
 Communist Party, U.S.A., its subdivisions, subsidiaries, and affiliates.
 Communist Political Association, its subdivisions, subsidiaries, and affiliates, including:
 Alabama People's Educational Association.
 Florida Press and Educational League.
 Oklahoma League for Political Education.
 People's Educational and Press Association of Texas.
 Virginia League for People's Education.
 Congress Against Discrimination. (See Committee to Abolish Discrimination in Maryland.)
 Congress of American Revolutionary Writers.
 Congress of American Women.
 Congress of the Unemployed.
 Connecticut Committee to Aid Victims of the Smith Act.

Connecticut State Youth Conference.
 Council for Jobs, Relief, and Housing.
 Council for Pan-American Democracy.
 Council of Greek Americans.
 Council on African Affairs.
 Croatian Benevolent Fraternity.
 Dai Nippon Butoku Kai (Military Virtue Society of Japan or Military Art Society of Japan).
 Daily Worker Press Club.
 Daniels Defense Committee.
 Dante Alighieri Society (between 1935 and 1940).
 Dennis Defense Committee.
 Detroit Youth Assembly.
 East Bay Peace Committee.
 Elsinore Progressive League.
 Emergency Conference to Save Spanish Refugees (founding body of the North American Spanish Aid Committee).
 Everybody's Committee to Outlaw War.
 Families of the Baltimore Smith Act Victims.
 Families of the Smith Act Victims.
 Federation of Italian War Veterans in the U.S.A., Inc. (Associazione Nazionale Combattenti Italiani, Federazione degli Stati Uniti d'America).
 Finnish-American Mutual Aid Society.
 Florida Press and Educational League. (See Communist Political Association.)
 Frederick Douglass Educational Center.
 Freedom Stage, Inc.
 Friends of the New Germany (Freunde des Neuen Deutschlands).
 Friends of the Soviet Union.
 Garibaldi American Fraternal Society.
 George Washington Carver School, New York City.
 German-American Bund (Amerikadeutscher Volksbund).
 German-American Republican League.
 German-American Vocational League (Deutsche-Amerikanische Berufsgemeinschaft).
 Guardian Club.
 Harlem Trade Union Council.
 Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee.
 Heimusha Kai, also known as Nokubei Heieki Gimusha Kai, Zaibel Nihonjin, Heiyaku Gimusha Kai, and Zaibel Heimusha Kai (Japanese Residing in America Military Conscripts Association).
 Hellenic-American Brotherhood.
 Hinode Kai (Imperialist Japanese Reservists).
 Hinomaru Kai (Rising Sun Flag Society—a group of Japanese War Veterans).
 Hokubei Zaigo Shoke Dan (North American Reserve Officers Association).
 Hollywood Writers Mobilization for Defense.
 Hungarian-American Council for Democracy.
 Hungarian Brotherhood.
 Idaho Pension Union.
 Independent Party (Seattle, Wash.). (See Independent People's Party.)
 Independent People's Party. (See Independent Party.)
 Industrial Workers of the World.
 International Labor Defense.
 International Workers Order, its subdivisions, subsidiaries, and affiliates.
 Japanese Association of America.
 Japanese Overseas Central Society (Kaigai Dobo Chuo Kai).
 Japanese Overseas Convention, Tokyo, Japan, 1940.
 Japanese Protective Association (recruiting organization).
 Jefferson School of Social Science, New York City.
 Jewish Culture Society.
 Jewish People's Committee.
 Jewish People's Fraternal Order.
 Jikyoku Iinkai (the Committee for the Crisis).
 Johnson-Forest Group. (See Johnsonites.)
 Johnsonites. (See Johnson-Forest Group.)
 Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee.
 Joint Council of Progressive Italian-Americans, Inc.
 Joseph Weydemeyer School of Social Science, St. Louis, Mo.

Kibeï Seinen Kai (association of United States Citizens of Japanese ancestry who have returned to America after studying in Japan).
 Knights of the White Camellia.
 Ku Klux Klan.
 Kyffhaeuser, also known as Kyffhaeuser League (Kyffhaeuser Bund) Kyffhaeuser Fellowship (Kyffhaeuser Kameradschaft).
 Kyffhaeuser War Relief (Kyffhaeuser Kriegshilfswerk.)
 Labor Council for Negro Rights.
 Labor Research Association, Inc.
 Labor Youth League.
 League for Common Sense.
 League of American Writers.
 Lictor Society (Italian Black Shirts).
 Macedonia-American People's League.
 Mario Morgantini Circle.
 Maritime Labor Committee To Defend Al Lannon.
 Maryland Congress Against Discrimination. (See Committee To Abolish Discrimination in Maryland.)
 Massachusetts Committee for the Bill of Rights.
 Massachusetts Minute Women for Peace (not connected with the Minute Women of the U.S.A., Inc.).
 Maurice Braverman Defense Committee.
 Michigan Civil Rights Federation.
 Michigan Council for Peace.
 Michigan School of Social Science.
 Nanka Teikoku Gunyudan (Imperial Military Friends Group or Southern California War Veterans).
 National Association of Mexican Americans (also known as Asociacion Nacional Mexico-Americana).
 National Blue Star Mothers of America (not to be confused with the Blue Star Mothers of America organized in February 1942).
 National Committee for Freedom of the Press.
 National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners.
 National Committee To Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims.
 National Committee To Win the Peace.
 National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East (a conference called by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy).
 National Council of Americans of Croatian Descent.
 National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.
 National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.
 National Labor Conference for Peace.
 National Negro Congress.
 National Negro Labor Council.
 National Action League.
 National Party of Puerto Rico.
 Nature Friends of America (since 1935).
 Negro Labor Victory Committee.
 New Committee for Publications.
 Nichibei Kogyo Kaisha (the Great Fujii Theater).
 North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy.
 North American Spanish Aid Committee.
 North Philadelphia Forum.
 Northwest Japanese Association.
 Ohio School of Social Sciences.
 Oklahoma Committee To Defend Political Prisoners.
 Oklahoma League for Political Education. (See Communist Political Association.)
 Original Southern Klans, Inc.
 Pacific Northwest Labor School, Seattle, Wash.
 Palo Alto Peace Club.
 Partido del Pueblo of Panama (operating in the Canal Zone).
 Peace Information Center.
 Peace Movement of Ethiopia.
 People's Drama, Inc.
 People's Educational and Press Association of Texas. (See Communist Political Association.)

People's Educational Association (incorporated under name, "Los Angeles Educational Association, Inc."), also known as People's Educational Center, People's University, People's School.
 People's Institute of Applied Religion.
 Peoples Programs (Seattle, Wash.).
 People's Radio Foundation, Inc.
 People's Rights Party.
 Philadelphia Labor Committee for Negro Rights.
 Philadelphia School of Social Science and Arts.
 Photo League (New York City).
 Pittsburgh Arts Club.
 Political Prisoners' Welfare Committee.
 Polonia Society of the IWO.
 Progressive German-Americans, also known as Progressive German-Americans of Chicago.
 Proletarian Party of America.
 Protestant War Veterans of the United States, Inc.
 Provisional Committee of Citizens for Peace, Southwest Area.
 Provisional Committee on Latin American Affairs.
 Provisional Committee To Abolish Discrimination in the State of Maryland. (See Committee To Abolish Discrimination in Maryland.)
 Puerto Rican Comite Pro Libertades Civiles (CLC). (See Comite Pro Derechos Civiles.)
 Puertorriquenos Unidós (Puerto Ricans United).
 Quad City Committee for Peace.
 Queensbridge Tenants League.
 Revolutionary Workers League.
 Romanian-American Fraternal Society.
 Russian American Society, Inc.
 Sakura Kai (patriotic society, or Cherry Association, composed of veterans of Russo-Japanese War).
 Samuel Adams School, Boston, Mass.
 Santa Barbara Peace Forum.
 Schappes Defense Committee.
 Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee.
 School of Jewish Studies, New York City.
 Seattle Labor School, Seattle, Wash.
 Serbian-American Fraternal Society.
 Serbian Vidovdan Council.
 Shinto Temples (limited to State shinto abolished in 1945).
 Silver Shirt Legion of America.
 Slavic Council of Southern California.
 Slovak Workers Society.
 Slovenian-American National Council.
 Socialist Workers Party, including American Committee for European Workers' Relief.
 Sokoku Kai (Fatherland Society).
 Southern Negro Youth Congress.
 Suiko Sha (Reserve Officers' Association, Los Angeles).
 Syracuse Women for Peace.
 Tom Paine School of Social Science, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Tom Paine School of Westchester, N.Y.
 Trade Union Committee for Peace. (See Trade Unionists for Peace.)
 Trade Unionists for Peace. (See Trade Union Committee for Peace.)
 Tri-State Negro Trade Union Council.
 Ukrainian-American Fraternal Union.
 Union of American Croatians.
 Union of New York Veterans.
 United American Spanish Aid Committee.
 United Committee of Jewish Societies and Landsmanschaft Federations, also known as Coordination Committee of Jewish Landsmanschaften and Fraternal Organizations.
 United Committee of South Slavic Americans.
 United Defense Council of Southern California.
 United Harlem Tenants and Consumers Organization.
 United May Day Committee.
 United Negro and Allied Veterans of America.

Veterans Against Discrimination of Civil Rights Congress of New York. (See Civil Rights Congress.)
 Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.
 Virginia League for People's Education. (See Communist Political Association.)
 Voice of Freedom Committee.
 Walt Whitman School of Social Science, Newark, N.J.
 Washington Bookshop Association.
 Washington Committee for Democratic Action.
 Washington Committee To Defend the Bill of Rights.
 Washington Commonwealth Federation.
 Washington Pension Union.
 Wisconsin Conference on Social Legislation.
 Workers Alliance (since April 1936).
 Yiddisher Kultur Farband.
 Young Communist League.
 Yugoslav-American Cooperative Home, Inc.
 Yugoslav Seamen's Club, Inc.

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NOTE.—The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee attaches no significance to the mere fact of the appearance of the name of an individual or an organization in this index.

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