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36

"The Subversive Effects of International Communism"

ADDRESS

BY

HONORABLE HERBERT BROWNELL, JR.

ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES

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An earlier speaker at this conference, Henry Holland, has discussed with you the problem of international communism in this hemisphere. His remarks were directed principally toward the ideological contest between communism and the political and economic systems of the free world. He mentioned the existence of another front on which we are combatting communism; the front created by the efforts of the international communist conspiracy to intervene in our domestic affairs as free nations. It is about this that I would speak to you today.

First, let us get something of an idea of what kind of enemy we are dealing with; what he is trying to achieve; how he is trying to achieve it. Then we can draw some reasonable and clear conclusions as to how his efforts can be blocked.

Our enemy is the international communist conspiracy. It is a world-wide organization. Its headquarters are in Moscow. It maintains a complex international organization which operates in every country of the world. Some sections operate openly; others are shrouded with the deepest secrecy. The entire organization is directed by one central directorate.

What is the objective of this organization? Very simply it is to conquer the world, something of which madmen have dreamed from time to time since earliest history.

What means does this conspiracy use to achieve its aims? Lenin, Stalin and his comrades and proteges, the Soviet leaders of today, developed quite a variety of deadly weapons to be used in accordance with the needs of time, place and circumstances. They range from political and economic warfare, penetration, infiltration, subversion of democratic parliamentary process, espionage, political strikes, demonstrations, guerilla warfare and forceful seizure of power to threat of war, limited war and total war.

Recently the communist leaders have undertaken a campaign to persuade us that they will renounce open violence in certain situations and will live in peaceful coexistence with the free world. They have not, however, made any promise to abandon their efforts to overthrow free governments by subversion, infiltration and espionage. A promise to abandon any of the past criminal practices of communism will be received with interest and hope. It must be received also with great caution. First, such promises are not new. Stalin always said that he was guided by the principle of peaceful coexistence; yet even his own collaborators are now expressing horror at his crimes of violence. Second, for more than a year Soviet leaders have been explaining to communists throughout the world that peaceful coexistence can be accepted only between states, and not between classes. The class war, they say, must go on. Khrushchev reassured the last communist congress that after communism takes over a government, violence will be used to eliminate centers of opposition. Third, every shred of available evidence shows that the international conspiracy is conducting business as usual, if not on an intensified scale. Using typically concealed language, speakers at the last congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union made it clear to the initiated that the tactics of international communism today have been designed to produce an international climate favorable to conspiratorial activities.

So we must and we shall encourage communist leaders to fulfil their promises to abandon their policies of international violence. We must remember, however, that the choice of the weapon is always one of expediency and we must be prepared against the possibility that tomorrow the Soviet leaders may find it more expedient to go back to the use of violence and war.

How is the enemy organized, particularly as regards his activities in this hemisphere? In top control is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which directs all elements of the world-wide conspiracy, including the communist parties, the international and national "fronts", and the clandestine intelligence organizations. The support it gives to these elements includes policy guidance, training, funds, aid in illegal travel, and safe haven behind the Iron Curtain for communists who have violated the laws of their own countries. For their part, the communists in the free world are expected not only to follow the Soviet "line" but, more concretely, to provide the Soviet communists with intelligence, passports, and other identification documents for use in illegal operations, secure meeting places for Soviet intelligence agents, and other items useful to the communist conspiracy. This constant "mutual aid" serves to strengthen and extend further the tentacles of the world communist movement which already reach into all our countries.

Every effort is made to give the impression that the local communist parties operate independently of Moscow domination, and that, at most, they merely look to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for "examples". A great deal of time and energy is devoted to concealment of central control by the Soviet Union, and of the parties' links with the Soviet clandestine organizations.

Both open and secret means are used, of course, to transmit directives, guidance and instruction from Moscow to the field. One of the better known means of communication is the weekly journal of the Communist Information Bureau. The Cominform as it is generally known is controlled by a special secret apparatus of the Central Committee of the Soviet Party. Its journal

whose lyric title is "For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy" is published in Bucharest and printed in nineteen languages. It carries the propaganda line and directives of the Soviet Party to branches of the party throughout the world. Those who receive it know that the journal speaks with the authoritative voice of Moscow and that no article even by a foreign communist leader is printed without Soviet approval.

The Cominform journal publishes a separate Spanish language edition which is shipped in large quantities, and by various and devious means to Latin America. There, its contents are redistributed by many devices. One is to reprint leading Soviet articles in the local party organ. The Communist Party of Cuba (which uses the name of the Popular Socialist Party) publishes and distributes a readily-concealed Spanish language pocket edition of the journal, selecting for reproduction those items considered to be of greatest significance. Similarly, the Communist Party in Brazil picked up certain revolutionary lessons printed in the Cominform journal of January 28, 1955 and published them in the following month in its own party organ Voz Operaria urging all party members to study them.

The communist organization usually tries to maintain three separate branches in each of our countries. Their common leadership is carefully concealed. These are the local section of the communist party, the local branch of the secret international subversive and espionage organization and, finally, the local "front" organizations.

The role of a local communist party is important. Its effectiveness cannot be measured by its numerical strength or by its political influence, which may be relatively small. Every communist party represents a continuous threat to the national security of the country. First, it represents the local hard-core man-power reservoir of the international conspiracy.

The history of international communism shows clearly that the conspiracy depends on quality rather than on quantity: a few individuals only are needed to perform acts of sabotage or espionage which can critically damage vital national security interests. Second, the local communist party provides a leadership trained to survive periods of inactivity or reversals and to spring into action when opportunities for revolutionary action arise. The Bolsheviks of Russia survived the long pre-revolutionary waiting period and were able to seize leadership of the anti-Czarist revolution, thus rising to power themselves. Well-meaning but uninformed public opinion often minimizes the communist threat because of the relatively small size of the local communist party -- as if the effectiveness of a virus were dependent on its size.

The organization and the practices of local communist parties closely follow the pattern of their acknowledged model, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This basic uniformity makes effective Soviet control and guidance much easier. In order to conceal that control and guidance the Soviet Party from time to time uses some strong and relatively mature local communist party as a relay channel and a regional guide for other communist parties. Thus, the political program of the communist party of Brazil is a regional model for other communist parties of that area.

This program was developed under close and constant Soviet guidance during the period 1952-54. It has been openly endorsed by the Soviet Party and widely publicized in the Cominform journal. As a result a number of other parties of the region are already conforming their own programs.

The Brazilian communists openly acknowledge the guidance of the Soviet Party saying:

"It is our duty to recognize that we are able to prepare a document of the scope of our program only because the Party follows unconditionally the world Communist movement and remains completely loyal to its inspirer and guide, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

Following the Soviet approved tactics of Mao Tse-tung, the program calls for a "concentration of fire" on "the principal enemy" - the United States. It demands not only the liquidation of United States' interests in Brazil but the confiscation of large landholdings and of the properties of Brazilian citizens who oppose Communism and are friendly to the United States. The announced goal is the establishment of a "People's Democracy" under the dictatorship of the Communist Party.

The next arm of Soviet Communism in this hemisphere is the extensive clandestine organization which exists in each of our countries. Today the Soviets are undertaking to expand and strengthen their covert apparatus. As the experience of our Australian, Canadian and Iranian friends amply illustrates, its bases of operations include Communist bloc diplomatic and commercial establishments. Occasionally the top leaders of local communist parties are allowed some participation, depending upon their training and ability.

The role of the secret organization is the highly technical and often dangerous field of espionage and subversion. It handles much of the training of local agents in the arts of sabotage, mob violence and subversion of public officials. It builds up the deposits of revolutionary arms and

handles much of the transfer of money, information and agents with the necessary forging of documents. It attempts to ferret out secret defense and military data for transmission behind the Iron Curtain.

The Communist "front" organizations constitute the third important arm of the international Communist organization in our countries. Their purpose is always to extend Soviet influence to people and groups that the Communist Parties as such cannot reach. The Communists always try to give these "front" organizations the appearance of being independent of their control. At times they are able to infiltrate and secretly achieve control of some innocent organization. Often the organization is a dummy created by the Communists, who, concealing their control, try to attract a membership which can be unwittingly exploited.

The key posts in the "fronts" are always held by Communists and the basic aim is always to influence the minds and actions of target groups along lines favorable to Soviet interests. At times the "fronts" serve as useful cover for illegal Communist operations and as information collecting mechanisms.

Today the Soviets control thirteen major international front organizations. Each has dozens of subsidiaries extending to almost every country of the free world. Each links the Kremlin to a network of national organizations operated by local Communists or by innocent dupes. The "fronts" are organized along similar functional lines. Though all operate in the same way they can "offer all things to all men". There is a front for "peace". There are others for youth, women, labor, international traders, journalists, intellectuals and professionals. Each has a theme designed to attract a particular target group. Through these fronts the Soviet

Communists finance travel to international meetings and tours of the Soviet Union and satellite states for people whom they have selected for subversion or manipulation as dupes. These tours and meetings are also useful as cover for clandestine training of agents selected for espionage or other illegal operations. Finally, the "fronts" serve as a vast machine which seeks to saturate the Free World with Soviet propaganda. The World Peace Council is one of the most active and widely known of the Communist "fronts." You may be surprised to know that 67 of its 443 top figures come from Latin America. Its twenty-man executive bureau includes the presidents of the Communist women's, lawyers' and scientists' fronts, the Secretary General of the Communist labor front, and the ex-President of the Communist Youth front.

Another well-known Communist front is the World Federation of Trade Unions - the WFTU - which was expelled from Vienna by Austrian authorities a short while ago for its interference in the internal affairs of other countries. It will be recalled that the WFTU was established after the war in an effort to create a truly international labor organization and that Free World labor organizations, including our own CIO, participated. In 1949, realizing that the Communists had succeeded in seizing control and that Soviet bloc trade unions served the Party rather than the workers, free labor withdrew and formed the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the ICFTU. Ninety percent of the membership of the communist organization is in Soviet bloc countries. It claims a large membership in Latin America, but the actual number in the area is approximately 200,000. This is the principal front for the infiltration of Latin American labor, and it has also attempted to attract non-labor organizations.

The regional organization through which the WFTU operates is the CTAL, with headquarters in Mexico City. It was expressly designated at the WFTU executive bureau meeting in Paris in 1949 as the "body linking and coordinating the WFTU and national centers of Latin America." The head of the CTAL, Vicente Lombardo Toledano, is a frequent visitor to Moscow, and is a Vice President of the WFTU as were also two of the CTAL's Vice Presidents in 1953. In several of the Latin American countries, the leaders of CTAL affiliates are also leaders of the local Communist Party.

In 1953 the Third World Congress of the WFTU was attended by about 200 Latin American delegates. The organization maintains a central school where selected persons are trained in communist doctrine and activities. The belief is encouraged that the school is located in Vienna, but it is actually behind the Curtain in Budapest, Hungary. As of July 1955 more than 80 students from 14 Latin American countries had attended. They returned to their homes as trained agents of international communism to carry on propaganda, to agitate and create dissension and unrest, to organize and penetrate front groups, to arrange local and regional meetings and, in a number of cases, to become members of the illegal conspiratorial underground.

Other important "fronts" are the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) and the International Union of Students (IUS). Lenin said "he that has the youth has the future" and communist leaders are devoting great attention to youth. Propaganda aimed at these groups in Latin America has quadrupled in the last two years. Latin Americans are included on the Executive Committees of both organizations. They helped organize the seemingly innocuous "South American Youth Festival" in São Paulo in February 1955 and arranged for more than 1,000 Latin American students and youth to attend last year's Warsaw Festival. These "Festivals" are considered so important

by the Soviets that they spent over \$50,000,000 on the 1951 Youth Festival in East Berlin.

The Women's International Democratic Federation and the Committee for the Promotion of International Trade are other front organizations aimed at special groups. The activities of all these groups in Latin America, particularly in the propaganda field, has increased sharply over the past year.

If the basic objective of the international communist conspiracy is to achieve world dictatorship, what specific things is it trying to accomplish in this hemisphere to further that aim?

In the light of recent Soviet pronouncements and tactical changes, it is clear that the primary objective of the conspiracy today is to create the illusion that it is not a conspiracy; to persuade the free world that there is no need to build external or internal defenses against its attacks. Communism is paying a high price to promote this illusion. Included in this price is the demotion of Stalin, the strenuous advertising and sales campaigns conducted by the Soviet leaders themselves in foreign countries, and a whitewash of communist ideology which is confusing even to old-time communists.

We can identify three additional specific objectives. The first is to divide the governments and peoples of the Western Hemisphere, to create distrust and resentments between them. Obviously, it would be vastly easier to capture the governments of the Western Hemisphere if they can be prevented from organizing solidly to defend their liberties. The second objective is to weaken the national economies of each American state. A nation ridden by the disease of inflation, torn by domestic quarrels, is a far better target for communist subversion than is one whose economy is sound. People who are progressing confidently toward achievement of their national aspirations

of industrialization, commerce and rising standards of life are poor targets for communist propaganda. The third objective in each of our countries is the final overthrow of the government by revolution or subversion and its replacement by one which is willing to play its colonial part among the other captives who exist to further the imperialistic aims of Soviet Russia.

What are the specific techniques used to achieve these three objectives? They involve, of course, the activities of the local branch of the international Communist Party, and those of clandestine organizations and "fronts" in each country. They include the well-recognized fields of revolutionary violence, political and economic subversion, espionage and propaganda.

The overthrow of governments by violent revolution has been, of course, the classical and basic communist technique. The strong reaction throughout the world against such international crimes has forced communism to develop and apply alternate measures. However, its leaders have never abandoned their basic faith in methods of violence, and they occupy an important place in the international programs of the communist conspiracy. The hemisphere has been shocked to read of the exposure in Brazil of communist maintained schools teaching methods of organizing and conducting revolutions and mob violence. Just this past January, the Brazilian press reported that police seized a large quantity of arms and instructions on the conduct of street fighting, along with quantities of subversive propaganda, in the Communist Party headquarters in Recife, Brazil. A few weeks later, a communist arms cache was discovered in a private home in Rio de Janeiro, including machine guns, rifles, grenades, revolvers, shells and ammunition plus the usual communist propaganda.

In recent years, adapting itself to the alertness of governments generally to the communist danger, leaders of the conspiracy have emphasized

the development of techniques to capture foreign governments by stealthy subversion rather than by open violence. In Guatemala the hemisphere saw a case where this technique had progressed far toward its ultimate objective.

The pattern is usually the same. The communists first try to obtain recognition as just one more local political party. In the early stages they usually try to identify themselves with other groups whom they quickly capture and convert into front organizations. Once they achieve representation in the local government they immediately work their way into the key positions which can assure the success of a general strike. These include the police and information services, the ministry of labor and education. Simultaneously, and with the help of their beachheads in the government they drive for control of the key unions in the fields of communication and transportation, particularly those relating to food. Every effort is made to plant their agents as teachers in schools and colleges.

When these objectives are attained the stage is set to seize the reins of government by any of several alternative devices -- a threat of civil war, a general strike or a deliberately planned period of calculated mob violence against key points of opposition. At this stage of disorder and confusion a small, but highly organized group disguised as a labor action committee can achieve control of newspapers, radios and other information media to authorize only the news approved by it and to undertake a campaign of villifying all opposition. The opposition is tied by mass arrests, forfeiture of property and deliberately planned acts of violence. Non-communist teachers are eliminated from the educational system; the courts are converted into instruments of terror and persecution; freedom of travel is eliminated.

Does this sound fanciful to you? With slight changes, depending on the local situation, it is the pattern that has converted the once proud

peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, East Germany, Albania, the Baltic provinces, China, North Korea, North Vietnam and others into colonial areas of the greatest imperialistic power in the world -- Soviet Russia. It is a pattern that was far advanced in Guatemala.

The spy and the spy ring are the forerunners of revolutionary and subversive movements. Working through local branches of the international communist party, through front organizations and, as experience has demonstrated, through Iron Curtain embassies and commercial establishments, the spy system of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union extends into all of our countries. Here and there some frightened defector seeking asylum, some alert government officer uncovers a bit of its tangled web.

You may remember the spy ring exposed in Canada in 1945 when Igor Gouzenko, a code clerk in the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa, Canada, set off a series of exposures which revealed how the Soviet Union was able to steal atom secrets during World War II.

Later, in 1954, Vladimir Petrov, a third secretary in the Soviet Embassy in Canberra revealed how for more than 10 years the Soviet Union had operated an espionage network in Australia, a network which operated out of the Soviet Embassy and which reported directly to Moscow.

More recently, alert representatives of the Iranian government captured a Major Kuzentsov, the Deputy Soviet Military Attaché of the Soviet Embassy in Teheran in the very act of receiving secret Iranian air force documents for copying and transmission to Russia.

You will observe that each of these spy rings was being operated out of the Soviet Embassy. This accounts for the intense interest of the governments of the Soviet bloc in locating new diplomatic establishments in as many of the capitals of the world as possible.

There is another type of subversion which is particularly dangerous to the nations of this hemisphere. This is subversion in the economic field, the ceaseless efforts to local branches of the international communist organization to weaken the economies of the American states. How is this campaign conducted? Again we see a similar pattern in each of our countries.

First, the communists recognize that the United States is an important factor in economic progress in the hemisphere and is making its contribution to the great and successful efforts of the Latin American peoples to industrialize the rest of the hemisphere, to build strong national economies throughout the Americas. We are the principal market for exports and supplier of imports. Inter-American commerce is growing steadily. We supply large amounts of private and public capital, of technical knowledge and training. Therefore, anything that drives a wedge between the United States and Latin America, anything that undermines the confidence of United States investors and businessmen in Latin America, obstructs sound economic development throughout the area. This gives the communist a wide field of action. They enthusiastically support the extreme protectionists, both in the United States and Latin America, who try to raise trading barriers that will obstruct the growth of inter-American commerce. They work tirelessly to persuade Latin Americans that new industries and new businesses established by United States investors are somehow harmful to the local economy, although they mean new employment and new sources of income, both in dollars and in local currency. On the other hand, they try to create fears among United States investors, fears that will undermine their confidence in Latin America as an area for new investment.

The communists realize that strong, independent organized labor movements not only contribute greatly to economic progress, but are inexorably opposed to communism. So, in Latin America as in our own country, communism

tries to dominate and control the labor movement, tries to prevent the establishment of vigorous free unions dedicated to the welfare of the working men. Leaders of the organized labor movement long ago recognized that communists in organized labor represent Russia and do not represent the workmen themselves. Communists in labor work to provoke strikes and conflicts and then to prevent their settlement. So today communism has no stronger enemies than the leaders of free, independent organized labor.

Inflation, that disease which robs our currencies of buying power and cancels out the benefits of wage increases, is the darling of international communism. One can look about the hemisphere and see how local communist organizations oppose all sound anti-inflation measures proposed by governments. Effective exchange regulations, economies in national budgets, wholesome credit controls, sound taxing procedures, all automatically meet shrill, demagogic opposition from the communist propaganda machine.

Communism recognizes a mortal enemy in modern, socially conscious private enterprise. The most sacred principle of the communist philosophy is that capitalism will inevitably destroy itself. Yet here is a new kind of capitalism, one that Marx and Engels never saw, a capitalism that is deeply interested in the rights and the welfare of the working man. And, what is worse for communism, it is creating sound, lasting economic progress for all classes of society while preserving the personal freedoms of citizens. It is easy to understand why every propaganda weapon accessible to the international communist organization is constantly directed against private enterprise--to eliminate the private businessman and the private investor, to replace him with government enterprise which in our own country and every other proves clumsy, inefficient and expensive.

I have reviewed with you rather extensively those activities of the international communist conspiracy that constitute intervention in the

domestic affairs of our countries, intervention of the most criminal and imperialistic nature, intervention designed to foment revolutions, intervention directed to the subversion of our Governments, to the destruction of our national economies. What should our Governments and our peoples do to protect their national sovereignty and integrity against this criminal conspiracy? The task is not easy, but we have all seen that it can be done successfully.

In the first place, our people and our Governments must understand the nature of the threat, must understand the international, world-wide scope of the communist conspiracy, must understand that in the fields of violence, subversion and espionage we are not simply dealing with exponents of a political or economic system that conflicts with our own. Instead, we are resisting a highly organized international conspiracy. Some of its segments are deliberately exposed to view. Others are deeply buried in profound secrecy. It includes highly trained and experienced agents expert in the arts of subversion, espionage and violence.

To protect our way of life and the futures of our children from the degradation that communism brings we must raise the standards of living of our people. We must spread education. But we must do more. These are wholesome, long-term goals we would seek if there were no communist menace. They do not block an enemy agent who at this moment is secretly gathering arms or training his fellows in the methods of mob violence. They do not obstruct the communist courier who, armed with forged documents is hurrying behind the iron curtain with the secrets of our Governments or who is attempting to subvert some government official to betray his public trust.

Defense against these activities of the international communist conspiracy requires protection by experts as highly trained as are those of

the enemy. It requires the kind of coordinated constant vigilance that can best be supplied by trained organizations specializing in counter-espionage and counter-subversive techniques.

Finally, it requires close cooperation between our various Governments. The enemy has many weaknesses. One is that its international character makes it dependent on maintenance of dependable communications between its segments in our different countries. The communist conspiracy relies heavily on the ability to transfer money, information and agents from one country to another, on the ability to maintain records, often of an international character. It must have access to media of propaganda and the ability to continue its huge importations of propaganda material from behind the iron curtain.

All of these chains of communication and transportation are extremely vulnerable to coordinated attacks by our government. The need for such international cooperation between the American states is clearly contemplated by Resolution 93 of the Tenth Inter-American Conference which specifically recommends that the American governments give special attention to:

"1. Measures to require disclosure of the identity, activities, and sources of funds of those who are spreading propaganda of the international communist movement or who travel in the interest of that movement, and of those who act as its agents or in its behalf; and

"2. The exchange of information among governments to assist in fulfilling the purpose of the resolutions adopted by the Inter-American Conferences and Meetings of Ministers of Foreign Affairs regarding international communism."

Each of our Governments has its individual responsibility to its citizens so to organize and strengthen its own security mechanisms as to

be able to exploit these vulnerabilities. Together, they have a collective responsibility to render each other such assistance and cooperation and to exchange such information as may be required to make this hemisphere an impregnable bulwark of liberty and progress, free of the evil influence of communism. Some progress has been achieved; much more must be done. The United States, conscious of its duty to itself and to the Inter- American family, offers its cooperation to our sister Republics. There is not the slightest doubt but that a well planned and coordinated defense can frustrate communist subversive activity in the hemisphere and cripple the conspiratorial apparatus responsible for it.