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SARNOFF SUBMITS PROGRAM FOR POLITICAL OFFENSIVE
AGAINST WORLD COMMUNISM TO WIN "COLD WAR"

A firm and open decision "to win the Cold War," as the "surest way to prevent a Hot War," was urged upon our Government by Brig. General David Sarnoff, Chairman of the Board of the Radio Corporation of America, in a Memorandum presented to the White House on April 5, 1955, and made public today.

Pointing out that the Kremlin's fixed goal is world dominion by means short of an all-out war -- propaganda, fifth-column subversion, civil strife, terror and treacherous diplomacy -- General Sarnoff declared:

"Logically we have no alternative but to acknowledge the reality of the Cold War and proceed to turn Moscow's favorite weapons against world Communism. Our political counter-strategy has to be as massive, as intensive, as flexible as the enemy's.

"The question, in truth, is no longer whether we should engage in the Cold War. The Soviet drive is forcing us to take counter-measures in any case. The question, rather, is whether we



should undertake it with a clear-headed determination to use all means deemed essential, by governments and by private groups, to win the contest."

General Sarnoff's Memorandum, entitled "Program for a Political Offensive Against World Communism," grew out of his discussion of the subject with President Eisenhower in Washington on the morning of March 15, and announced at the time by James Hagerty, White House Press Secretary.

The same afternoon, at the President's request, General Sarnoff conferred with Nelson Rockefeller, Special Assistant to the President on psychological warfare, and officials from the U. S. Information Service and the Central Intelligence Agency. At the end of the meeting he undertook to submit his views on the subject and a suggested program of action.

The result was this Memorandum, in which he emphasized that "we must go from defense to attack in meeting the political, ideological, subversive challenge. The problem," he said, "is one of attaining the requisite magnitude, financing, coordination and continuity of action. The expanded offensive with non-military means must be imbued with a new awareness of the great goal and a robust will to reach it."

People everywhere, and especially behind the Iron Curtain, General Sarnoff recommended, should be told that "America has decided, irrevocably, to win the Cold War; that its ultimate aim is, in concert with all peoples, to cancel out the destructive power of Soviet-based Communism."



General Sarnoff declared that his proposals "should not be construed as a substitute for adequate military vitality," both in the newest weapons and balanced conventional forces.

"But short of a blunder that ignites the Third World War which nobody wants," he added, "the immediate danger is the debilitating, costly, tense war of nerves that is part of the Cold War. The primary threat today is political and psychological."

If we allow ourselves to be defeated in the cold struggle, he warned, "we will have bypassed a nuclear war -- but at the price of our freedom and independence. We can freeze to death as well as burn to death."

Existing organization for fighting and winning the Cold War must be "adjusted and strengthened in line with the expanded scale and intensity of operations," General Sarnoff said. He proposed a "Strategy Board for Political Defense, the Cold War equivalent of the Joint Chiefs of Staff on the military side," functioning "directly under the President, with Cabinet status for its head."

The conflict on the political front, he said, "is not a preliminary bout but the decisive contest, in which the loser may not have a second chance. It must therefore be carried on with the same focused effort, the same resolute spirit, the same willingness to accept costs and casualties, that a Hot War would involve."

The specific activities cited as examples in the Memorandum would be carried out not only by official agencies but by private groups such as labor unions, veterans' organizations,



churches, youth and women's groups. The Soviet-controlled countries, it showed, are extremely vulnerable to precisely the kind of psychological pressures the Communists are using against free nations.

In outlining a vastly enlarged propaganda effort, General Sarnoff drew attention to opportunities opened up by new technical developments in communications. For instance, "mobile big-screen television units in black-and-white and in color" would be effective in non-Communist regions where "their very novelty will guarantee large and attentive audiences."

"Vast regions in Asia and elsewhere, where illiteracy bars the written word and lack of radios bars the spoken word," General Sarnoff explained, "could thus be reached."

His plan also included mass distribution of "cheap and lightweight receivers tuned to pick up American signals." In addition, "a simple, hand-operated phonograph device costing no more than a loaf of bread" and "records made of cardboard and costing less than a bottle of Coca-Cola" could be made available by the million in critical areas.

"Propaganda, for maximum effect, must not be an end in itself -- it is a preparation for action," the Memorandum stated. "Words that are not backed up by deeds, that do not generate deeds, lose their impact."

The arena of action is the whole globe, General Sarnoff believes. We must aim, he said, "to achieve dramatic victories as swiftly as possible, as token of the changed state of affairs."



He saw great possibilities for encouraging and guiding "passive resistance" by individuals, with a minimum of risk, in the Soviet empire.

At the same time he took note of the fact that "pockets of guerilla forces remain in Poland, Hungary, the Baltic states, China, Albania and other areas." These "must be kept supplied with information, slogans and new leadership where needed and prudent."

"We must seek out the weakest links in the Kremlin's chain of power," General Sarnoff declared. "The country adjudged ripe for a break-away should receive concentrated study and planning. A successful uprising in Albania, for instance, would be a body blow to Soviet prestige and a fateful stimulus to resistance elsewhere."

Among the specific activities discussed in the Memorandum were intensive collaboration with emigres and escapees from communist countries and special schools to train personnel for political-psychological warfare.

(NOTE: The full text of the Memorandum is attached. See especially the Summary of proposals on pages 40-42 and the 8 "Guidelines for Political Offensive" on pages 20-21).

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**PROGRAM FOR A POLITICAL OFFENSIVE
AGAINST WORLD COMMUNISM**

A MEMORANDUM BY DAVID SARNOFF

APRIL 5, 1955



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INTRODUCTION

Our best and surest way to prevent a Hot War is to win the Cold War. Individual democratic leaders have long been aware of this truth, but it has not yet been fully grasped by the free world.

Because the label is of recent coinage, many people assume that the Cold War is a new phenomenon. Actually it has been under way ever since the Bolsheviki, entrenched in Russia and disposing of its resources, launched the Third or Communist International.

World Communism has been making war on our civilization for more than three decades. And the term "war" is not used here in a merely rhetorical sense. It has been a war with campaigns and battles, strategy and tactics, conquests and retreats. Even the postwar years, it should be noted, have seen Red retreats—in Greece, Iran, Berlin, for instance—as well as victories; but such retreats have occurred only when the West acted awarely and boldly.

Soviet films are rated high in the Communist propaganda plans. Pure entertainment in films, of course, is almost non-existent. The result is that any and all pictures made in the Soviet sphere, however disguised as art, contain a "message" which contributes to their cumulative effort to brainwash the non-Soviet world.

2. INFILTRATION AND SUBVERSION:

Through Communists, fellow-travelers and assorted sympathizers, there is a systematic "colonization" of governments, labor unions, educational and scientific institutions and social organizations. The goal is to weaken the infiltrated bodies or to use their leverage to influence public opinion and official policy in the Kremlin's direction; to undermine traditions and subvert loyalties which block the road to Communist thinking.

In the infiltration of government agencies, espionage is by no means the chief purpose. Far more important to the Soviets is the subtle pressure an infiltree can bring to bear upon the shaping of national policy and the influencing of national moods. The theft of secret documents is routine. The subversion of a government's self-interest, the sowing of disunity, the careful sabotage of policies unfavorable to Soviet interests—these require and receive more polished methods.

3. FIFTH COLUMNS AND FALSE FRONTS:

Communist Parties, whether legal or proscribed, are the primary fifth column. They function under direct instructions from Moscow headquarters, usually under leaders assigned from outside.

But this is the beginning, not the end, of the apparatus of power reaching into every corner of the free world. Innumerable committees, congresses, leagues are set up—outwardly devoted to legitimate and even noble causes like peace, race equality, anti-fascism, but actu-

ally controlled and manipulated by Communists for strictly Communist objectives.

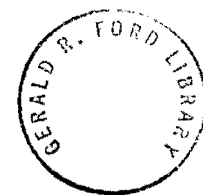
These false-front outfits are spawned continually, discarded when their purpose has been served. In the United States, where this technique has been widely practiced, they have run into scores. Every new situation produces its organizational instrument. At times a front started for one purpose is shifted overnight to its opposite: thus fronts for keeping America out of the war during the life of the Moscow-Berlin pact were converted into fronts for putting America into the war after the Germans attacked Soviet Russia.

Besides creating these fifth-column devices, the Communists also are expert at "capturing" organizations started by others. By joining some existing society or committee, acting as a disciplined minority bound by caucus decisions, a dozen persons have frequently succeeded in taking effective control of organizations with thousands of members.

4. SABOTAGE AND TERROR:

The use of these weapons in time of war is familiar, but its systematic use in peace-time is the great Communist innovation. In all free countries the main targets of infiltration are defense industries, communications, transport and police systems—all of which offer ample opportunity for mischief affecting a nation's security. Strikes at strategic points and strategic times, as well as overt physical sabotage, can slow up a country's preparations for defense or actual war-making capacity.

In regions where it is useful and feasible, the Communists do not disdain raw terror: incendiarism, kidnapping, assassination. A special research section of the MVD (Soviet secret police) is devoted to developing murder weapons, poisons and the like.



5. CIVIL STRIFE:

Internal discontents and economic crises are stimulated and then systematically exploited to produce inner disunity, chaos and actual civil insurrection. Guerilla forces under professional military leaders are frequently reinforced by "volunteers" from outside.

Para-military formations, underground organizations of every variety in line with local conditions and opportunities, are standard techniques. Genuine grievances are channeled and exploited through local "nationalist" or "anti-colonial" and "anti-imperialist" movements, either started by the Communists or infiltrated and captured.

6. PREPARATION OF "CADRES":

In Soviet Russia and now in its colonial states there are schools and universities of revolution. Students, drawn from all countries, are taught the theory and practice of political warfare, sabotage, guerilla operations, propaganda methods.

Virtually all heads of Red Satellite states and insurrectionary movements in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America are products of such institutions. Tito, Dictator of Yugoslavia; Ho Chi Minh, number one Communist of Indo-China; Rakosi, the top leader in Red Hungary; Bierut, President of Red Poland; Liu Shao-Chi, Vice President of Communist China, and General Liu Po-Cheng, one of the foremost military leaders of Red China. The same is true of many leaders of Communist Parties in non-Soviet countries.

The job of preparing *cadres* to implement the Cold War and to provide generalship for civil conflicts and other revolutionary actions has been going on since the 1920's. Even during the last war, while the Kremlin ostensibly was on terms of friendship with its allies, the

training of leaders for revolutions in the allied countries was not slackened.

7. PREPARATION OF RESERVES:

The Communist high command does not depend only on the faithful Communists. It attaches great value to its peripheral "reserves"—groups of sympathizers or innocent collaborators willing to travel along the Communist road part of the distance. These are mobilized and brainwashed through the false-front organizations, United and Peoples Fronts, the spread (as required) of pacifist or neutralist sentiment, doctrines of class struggle, belief in the "inevitable" collapse of capitalism and free societies.

In advanced countries like the United States, Britain, France, some segments of the so-called "intelligentsia" have proved especially vulnerable to Communist indoctrination. Not only their self-doubts and frustrations but their most generous idealistic instincts have been canalized and perverted to promote victory for the Soviets in the Cold War.

The turnover in these "reserves" is of course high. Fellow-travelers by the thousand are likely to become disillusioned with every new Soviet policy zigzag. But expert manipulation of public opinion serves to retrieve such losses.

8. TREACHEROUS DIPLOMACY:

In its Cold War operations the Kremlin enjoys the advantage of working on two levels—as a conventional State dealing with other states and as a conspiratorial movement embracing the whole globe. In its guise of "just another government" the Politburo can make promises and engagements which world Communism is under orders to violate.

Soviet diplomacy takes full advantage of the moral code and "political naiveté" of some free countries and

especially of their eagerness for peace, sometimes peace at any price. It uses the threat of war as a species of blackmail, and is past master at playing off one country against another. It appeals to the profit motives of competitive economies, and in general exploits what it refers to as the "inner contradictions" of the free world.

It can make the most of amorphous slogans like "peaceful coexistence"—a phrase coined by Lenin, repeatedly used by Stalin and candidly defined in Communist literature as a "tactic" or "stratagem" to gain time, deploy forces, undermine enemy vigilance.

In the arena of foreign relations the Kremlin can blow hot or cold, inflame our fears or our hopes to any required temperature, and use trickery to induce its enemies to drop their guard. Its announcements of policy, negotiations and talk of negotiations, tourists to Red areas, artistic and cultural missions abroad—everything is grist for the Cold War mills.

The Communist high command recognizes no restraints, no rules of fair play, no codes of civilized behavior. It regards its great "historical mission" as a mandate which cancels out traditional values in the relations between man and man or country and country. In pursuance of that commitment it considers any cost in life and substance to be justified. A system of power which has not hesitated to "liquidate" millions of its own citizens cannot be expected to hesitate to wipe out lives anywhere else.

Moscow has brought one-third of the human race under its iron control by means short of a Hot War—by shrewd diplomacy, deception, propaganda, the blackmail of threats, fifth-column subversion, guerilla forces and, where expedient, localized shooting wars. These political and psychological methods—the Cold War—have paid off, at smaller risk and infinitely lower cost than a Hot War would entail.

Accordingly they are being applied without stint to the conquest of the rest of mankind. For world Communism, with its high command in the Kremlin in Moscow, the Cold War is not a temporary or holding operation, nor a prelude to a Hot War. It is the main bout, the decisive offensive, conducted on an unlimited scale, with total victory as its goal.

In a decision of the U. S. Supreme Court (Vol. 339, May 8, 1950) an opinion written by the late Justice Robert H. Jackson stated the case against Communism in language that is clear and penetrating. He said:

"The goal of the Communist Party is to seize powers of government by and for a minority rather than to acquire power through the vote of a free electorate. . . .

"... It purposes forcibly to recast our whole social and political structure after the Muscovite model of police-state dictatorship. It rejects the entire religious and cultural heritage of Western civilization, as well as the American economic and political systems. This Communist movement is a belated counter-revolution to the American Revolution, designed to undo the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and our Bill of Rights, and overturn our system of free, representative self-government.

"Goals so extreme and offensive to American tradition and aspiration obviously could not be attained or approached through order or with tranquility. If, by their better organization and discipline, they were successful, more candid Communists admit that it would be to an accompaniment of violence, but at the same time they disclaim responsibility by blaming the violence upon those who engage in resistance or reprisal. It matters little by whom the first blow would be struck; no one can doubt that an era of

violence and oppression, confiscations and liquidations would be concurrent with a regime of Communism.

"Such goals set up a cleavage among us too fundamental to be composed by democratic processes. Our constitutional scheme of elections will not settle issues between large groups when the price of losing is to suffer extinction. When dissensions cut too deeply, men will fight, even hopelessly, before they will submit. And this is the kind of struggle projected by the Communist Party and inherent in its program.

"...

"*Violent and undemocratic means are the calculated and indispensable methods to attain the Communist Party's goal. . . .* In not one of the countries it now dominates was the Communist Party chosen by a free or contestable election; in not one can it be evicted by any election. The international police state has crept over Eastern Europe by deception, coercion, *coup d'etat*, terrorism and assassination. Not only has it overpowered its critics and opponents; it has usually liquidated them."

II

WE DARE NOT LOSE THE COLD WAR

If we ignore these facts, or do not counteract them effectively in good time, we shall lose the Cold War by default. For the United States and other free nations, defeat of this sort would be as catastrophic and as final as defeat in a shooting war. *Whether we freeze to death or burn to death, our civilization would be equally finished.*

Were the Communists willing to settle for a permanently divided world, each half pledged not to interfere with the other, they could readily arrange it. But they are not interested in a stalemate. In the nature of their ideology and world-wide apparatus of action, they must continue to drive relentlessly toward their ultimate objective. They are irrevocably dedicated to *winning* the Cold War. They *prefer* to attain world dominion by non-military means because:

(a) They consider themselves masters of Cold War techniques pitted against those whom they regard as amateurs; their chances of victory seem to them incomparably greater than in a conventional military showdown.

(b) Political warfare does not directly endanger their own territories, industry, manpower and above all, their mechanism of dictatorial power.

(c) Clear-cut victory in the Cold War would give them access to our technology and resources, our great cities and treasures, *intact* and ready for exploitation; whereas a military victory would give them only the ruins of nuclear devastation.

Now as in the past, they proceed in the conviction that they can gain world hegemony by methods that, in the phrase of Leon Trotsky, constitute "neither war nor peace." For Moscow, the real alternative to a nuclear showdown is not "peace" but political-psychological warfare of a magnitude to weaken, demoralize, chip away and ultimately take over what remains of the free world.

III

TO PREVENT A HOT WAR, WE MUST WIN THE COLD WAR

Political psychological offensives are not new. They have frequently been employed in war-time, to supplement ordinary military action. We used them ourselves in both world wars. Their purpose has been to soften up the enemy's will to resist, to win friends and allies in hostile areas, to drive wedges between belligerent governments and their citizenry.

The democracies are familiar with war-making in the normal military sense and hence do not hesitate to make huge investments and sacrifices in its name. They do not shrink from the prospect of casualties. All of that seems "natural." But they are startled by proposals for effort and risk of such dimensions in the life-and-death struggle with non-military means.

Under these circumstances it has become incumbent upon our leadership to make the country aware that non-military or Cold War is also terribly "real"—that the penalty for losing it will be enslavement.

Hot War is always a possibility. It may come through force of circumstances even if no one wants it. Limited, localized wars are also a continuing threat. Nothing in this memorandum should be construed as a substitute for adequate military vitality. On the contrary, superior physical force in being is the indispensable guarantee for effective non-military procedures.

We must maintain our lead, and accelerate the tempo of progress, in the race for ascendancy in nuclear weapons, guided missiles, air power, early warning systems, electronic know-how, chemical and bacteriological

methods of warfare. We must maintain adequate and well balanced forces for the ground, sea and air. These conventional military forces must be ready and capable of deterring or meeting an outbreak of peripheral or small-scale wars this side of a general showdown. They will be indispensable in a general war, if one should be fought without nuclear weapons. We must stockpile and protect the sources of vital strategic materials.

But short of a blunder that ignites the Third World War which nobody wants, the immediate danger is the debilitating, costly, tense war of nerves that is part of the Cold War. Because there is no immediate sense of overwhelming menace, no thunder of falling bombs and daily casualty figures, we are apt to think of this period as "peace." But it is nothing of the sort.

The primary threat today is political and psychological. That is the active front on which we are losing and on which, unless we reverse the trend, we shall be defeated. Its effects are spelled out in civil wars in parts of Asia, legal Communist Parties of colossal size in some European countries, "nationalist" movements under Communist auspices, "neutralism" and rabid anti-Americanism in many parts of the world—in pressures, that is to say, of every dimension and intensity short of a global shooting war.

Unless we meet this cumulative Communist threat with all the brains and weapons we can mobilize for the purpose, the United States at some point in the future will face the terrifying implications of Cold War defeat. It will be cornered, isolated, subjected to the kind of paralyzing fears that have already weakened the fibre of some technically free nations. We will have bypassed a nuclear war—but at the price of our freedom and independence. I repeat: *we can freeze to death as well as burn to death.*

OUR COUNTER-STRATEGY:

Logically we have no true alternative but to acknowledge the reality of the Cold War and proceed to *turn Moscow's favorite weapons against world Communism.* We have only a choice between fighting the Cold War with maximum concentration of energy, or waiting supinely until we are overwhelmed. Our political counter-strategy has to be as massive, as intensive, as flexible as the enemy's.

We must meet the Cold War challenge in our own household and in the rest of the world, and carry the contest behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains. We must seek out and exploit the weak spots in the enemy's armor, just as the Kremlin has been doing to us these 30-odd years. We must make our Truth as effective and more productive than Moscow's Lie.

Our political strategy and tactics should be in terms of a major enterprise, on a scale for victory, with all the inherent risks and costs. We cannot fight this fight with our left hand, on the margin of our energies. We have to bring to its resources, personnel and determination to match the enemy's. This is a case where, as in a military conflict, insufficient force may be as fatal as none at all.

If obliged to make tactical retreats, moreover, we must not bemuse ourselves that they are enduring solutions. To do so would be to disarm ourselves and open ourselves to new and bigger blows. This is a principle of particular importance during intervals when negotiations with Moscow or Peking are being discussed or are in progress.

The question, in truth, is no longer *whether* we should engage in the Cold War. The Soviet drive is forcing us to take counter-measures in any case. The question, rather, is whether we should undertake it with a clear-headed determination to use all means deemed essential,

by governments and by private groups — to win the contest.

Our counter-measures and methods must be novel, unconventional, daring and flexible. They must, moreover, be released from the inhibitions of peace-time, since it is peace only in outer forms.

Almost against our will, in point of fact, we have launched more and more Cold War activities. But they have been piecemeal, on an inadequate scale and often without the all-important continuity of action. Worst of all, they have not been geared for total victory, being treated as extras, as harassment operations while hoping against hope that there will be no outbreak of war or that there will be a miraculous outbreak of genuine peace.

Our current posture shares the weakness inherent in all defensive strategy. The hope of a real compromise is a dangerous self-delusion. It assumes that Soviet Russia is a conventional country interested in stabilizing the world, when in fact it is the powerhouse of a dynamic world movement which thrives on instability and chaos.

Our duty and our best chance for salvation, in the final analysis, is to prosecute the Cold War—to the point of victory. To survive in freedom we must win.

THE ENEMY IS VULNERABLE:

The free world, under the impact of Moscow's Cold War victories, has tended to fix attention on Soviet strengths while overlooking or discounting Soviet weaknesses.

The Communists expertly exploit all our internal tensions, injustices and discontents. Yet within the Soviet empire the tensions are incomparably greater, the injustices and discontents more vast. Our opportunity, which we have failed to use so far, is to exploit these in

order to undermine the Kremlin, exacerbate its domestic problems, weaken its sense of destiny.

The nature of a malady can be deduced from the medicine applied. In its fourth decade of absolute power, the Soviet regime is obliged to devote a major portion of its energies, manpower and resources to keep its own subjects and captive countries under control, through ever larger doses of terror. There we have the proof that the Communists have failed to "sell" their system to their victims.

Even a ruthless police-state does not maintain gigantic secret-police forces, special internal security armies, colossal networks of forced-labor colonies just for the fun of it. These are measures of self-defense against actual or potential internal oppositions. After all discounts are made for wishful thinking and error, ample evidence remains that in the Soviet sphere the West has millions of allies, tens of millions of potential allies.

Whether the potential can be turned into actuality, whether the will to resist can be kept alive and inflamed to explosive intensity, depend in the first place on the policies of the non-Soviet world. Our potential fifth columns are greater by millions than the enemy's. But they have yet to be given cohesion, direction and the inner motive power of hope and expectation of victory.

No one knows whether, let alone when, the internal Soviet stresses can reach a climax in insurrectionary breaks. It would be frivolous to count on such a climax. But we have everything to gain by promoting a spirit of mutiny, to keep the Kremlin off balance, to deepen existing rifts, to sharpen economic and empire problems for them.

For the purposes of our Cold War strategy it suffices that the potential for uprisings exists. Soviet economic conditions are bad, particularly in the domain of food

production. Nations which used to be exporters of bread (Hungary, Poland, Russia itself) now lack bread for themselves. As Secretary of Agriculture Benson said recently: "Failure of the Soviet system to provide for the basic needs of its own people could be one of the most important historical facts of our time."

The Soviet peasants, still the overwhelming majority of the Kremlin-held populations, are everywhere bitter and restive. The Politburo knows that it cannot count implicitly upon the loyalty and allegiance of its subjects. At the same time it has failed utterly to assimilate the captive countries, so that it has no allies but only sullen colonial puppets.

In the last war the USSR fought on two fronts—against the foreign invaders and against its own people. There is reason to believe that Hitler's psychological blunders, in insulting and alienating the Russian peoples, helped save the Stalin regime from destruction by its own subjects. In the present Cold War, too, the USSR must maintain its fight against the Soviet citizenry, and at the same time deal with seething dissidence in the subjected countries.

The basic conditions for successful Cold War counter-strategy thus exist.

GUIDELINES FOR POLITICAL OFFENSIVE:

Our guiding objectives in an all-out political offensive are fairly obvious. They must include the following:

1. To keep alive throughout the Soviet empire the spirit of resistance and the hope of eventual freedom and sovereignty. If we allow that hope to expire, the Kremlin will have perpetuated its dominion over its victims.

2. To break the awful sense of isolation in which the internal enemies of the Kremlin live—by making them aware that, like the revolutionists in Tsarist times, they have devoted friends and powerful allies beyond their frontiers.

3. To sharpen by every device we can develop the fear of their own people that is already chronic in the Kremlin. The less certain the Soviets are of the allegiance of their people, the more they will hesitate to provoke adventures involving the risks of a major showdown.

4. To provide moral and material aid, including trained leadership, to oppositions, undergrounds, resistance movements in satellite nations and China and Russia proper.

5. To make maximum use of the fugitives from the Soviet sphere, millions in the aggregate, now living in free parts of the world.

6. To appeal to the simple personal yearnings of those under the Communist yoke: release from police terror, ownership of small farms and homes, free trade unions to defend their rights at the job, the right to worship as they please, the right to change residence and to travel, etc.

7. To shatter the "wave of the future" aura around Communism, displacing the assumption that "Communism is inevitable" with a deepening certainty that "the end of Communism is inevitable."

8. To inspire millions in the free countries with a feeling of moral dedication to the enlargement of the area of freedom, based on repugnance to slave labor, coerced atheism, purges and the rest of the Soviet horrors.

This inventory of objectives is necessarily sketchy and incomplete. But it indicates the indispensable direction of the Cold War effort.

IV

THE MESSAGE OF FREEDOM

We must be quite certain of our destination before we can begin to figure out means of transportation. There is little point in discussing the *how* of it until a firm decision for an all-out political-psychological counter-offensive is reached.

In Hot War, you need a *weapon* and means of *delivering* it to the target. The same is true in Cold War. The weapon is the *message*; after it has been worked out, we can develop the facilities for *delivering* it to the world at large and to the Communist-captive nations in particular.

The essence of that message (and its formulation is the critical first step) is that America has decided, irrevocably, to win the Cold War; that its ultimate aim is, in concert with all peoples, to cancel out the destructive power of Soviet-based Communism.

Once that decision is made, some of the means for implementing it will become self-evident; others will be explored and developed under the impetus of the clear-cut goal. Agreement on the problem must come before agreement on the solution.

"To be effective," as one student of the problem has put it, "our decision must be as sharp-edged and uncompromising as the Kremlin's; it must be spelled out as unequivocally as the Communists have done in the works of Lenin and Stalin and the official programs of the Comintern and Cominform."

Adjustment of our thinking in accord with such a decision to win the Cold War demands clarity on at least the following points:

1. The struggle by means short of general war is not a preliminary bout but the decisive contest, in which the loser may not have a second chance.

2. It must therefore be carried on with the same focused effort, the same resolute spirit, the same willingness to accept costs and casualties, that a Hot War would involve.

3. In order to establish credence and inspire confidence, our conduct must be consistent. Our philosophy of freedom must embrace the whole of mankind; it must not stop short at the frontiers of the Soviet sphere. Only this can give our side a moral grandeur, a revolutionary *elan*, a crusading spirit not only equal to but superior to the other side's.

4. We must learn to regard the Soviet countries as *enemy-occupied* territory, with the lifting of the occupation as the over-all purpose of freedom-loving men everywhere. This applies not only to areas captured since the war, but includes Russia itself. Any other policy would turn what should be an anti-Communist alliance into an *anti-Russian* alliance, forcing the Russians (as Hitler forced them during the war) to rally around the regime they hate.

5. The fact that the challenge is global must be kept clearly in view. Red guerillas in Burma, Communists in France or the U. S., the Huks in the Philippines, Red agents in Central America — these are as much "the enemy" as the Kremlin itself.

6. We must realize that world Communism is *not* a tool in the hands of Russia — Russia is a tool in the hands of world Communism. Repeatedly Moscow has sacrificed national interests in deference to world-revolutionary needs. This provides opportunities for appeals to Russian patriotism.

7. Though the Soviets want a nuclear war no more than we do, they accept the risk of it in pushing their political offensive. We, too, cannot avoid risks. (It might become necessary, Mr. Dulles said recently, "to forego peace in order to secure the blessings of liberty.") The greatest risk of all, for us, is to do less than is needed to win the Cold War. At worst that would mean defeat by default; and at best, a situation so menacing to the survival of freedom that a Hot War may become inevitable.

Our present lead in the possession of nuclear weapons and the ability to use them may be matched by the Communists in the next few years. This is the view expressed by competent statesmen, scientists and military experts. If and when nuclear parity is reached, the enemy's fanatics (and there may be a powerful madman — a Hitler — among them) might be tempted to use them against us by throwing a sneak punch. Since our policy is not to throw the first nuclear punch but only to retaliate if it is thrown against us, we may find as more horror-weapons are unfolded, that to yield to the enemy the initiative of the first offensive punch, is tantamount to national suicide. All this further emphasizes the vital need for winning the Cold War and preventing a Hot War.

V

TOWARD COLD WAR VICTORY

1. ORGANIZATION:

An organizational framework for fighting the Cold War already exists. It needs to be adjusted and strengthened in line with the expanded scale and intensity of operations.

A Strategy Board for Political Defense, the Cold War equivalent of the Joint Chiefs of Staff on the military side, is suggested. It should function directly under the President, with Cabinet status for its Head. Top representatives of the State Department, the Defense Department, the Central Intelligence Agency, the U. S. Information Agency, should sit on this Board. Liaison on a continuous basis should be maintained with all other agencies which can play a role in the over-all effort.

There will be various operations which the Board would undertake in its own name, with its own facilities. But its primary function should not be operational. It should be to plan, initiate, finance, advise, coordinate and check on operations by other groups and agencies, whether already in existence or created by the Board for specific undertakings.

One cannot, however, be too specific at this point about the organizational forms. John Foster Dulles wrote in 1948:

"We need an organization to contest the Communist Party at the level where it is working and winning its victories. . . . We ought to have an organization dedicated to the task of non-military defense,

In all categories the arena of action is the whole globe. Our Cold War targets are not only behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains, but in every nation, the United States included. *In the battle for the minds of men, we must reach the Soviet peoples, our allies, and the uncommitted peoples.*

The agencies involved will be both official and private. The objectives must aim to *achieve dramatic victories* as swiftly as possible, as a token of the changed state of affairs. While the Kremlin has suffered some setbacks and defeats, its record in the Cold War has been strikingly one of success piled on success. This trend must be reversed, to hearten our friends, dismay the enemy, and confirm the fact that Communist Power is a transient and declining phenomenon.

4. PROPAGANDA:

If the weapon is our Message, one of its basic elements is propaganda. It is the most familiar element, but we should not underestimate its inherent difficulties. Hot War is destructive: the killing of people, the annihilation of material things. Cold War must be constructive: it must build views, attitudes, loyalties, hopes, ideals and readiness for sacrifice. *In the final check-up it calls for greater skills to affect minds than to destroy bodies.*

Propaganda, for maximum effect, must not be an end in itself. It is a preparation for action. Words that are not backed up by deeds, that do not generate deeds, lose their impact. The test is whether they build the morale of friends and undermine the morale of foes.

No means of communication should be ignored: the spoken word and the written word; radio and television; films; balloons and missiles to distribute leaflets; secret printing and mimeographing presses on Soviet controlled soil; scrawls on walls to give isolated friends a sense of community.

5. COMMUNIST TARGETS:

The Communist sphere must be ringed with both fixed and mobile broadcasting facilities, of a massiveness to overcome jamming. The Voice of America will acquire larger audiences and more concentrated impact under the new approach. *Its name, it is suggested, should be expanded to "Voice of America — for Freedom and Peace."* This slogan added to the name will, through constant repetition, impress the truth upon receptive ears.

Besides the official voice, we have other voices, such as Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberation. There are other popular democratic voices that should make themselves heard: those of our free labor movement, American war veterans, the churches, youth and women's organizations.

Already there is a minor flow of printed matter across the Iron Curtain, especially aimed at the Red occupation forces. The volume and effectiveness of this effort can be enormously enlarged. Magazines and newspapers which outwardly look like standard Communist matter, but actually are filled with anti-Communist propaganda, have brought results.

A greater hunger for spiritual comfort, for religion, is reported from Soviet Russia and its satellites. Programs of a spiritual and religious character are indicated. They should preach faith in the Divine, abhorrence of Communist godlessness, resistance to atheism. But in addition they can offer practical advice to the spiritually stranded — for instance, how to observe religious occasions where there are no ordained ministers or priests to officiate.

The enslaved peoples do not have to be sold the idea of freedom; they are already sold on it. The propaganda should wherever possible get down to specifics. It should expose the weaknesses, failures, follies, hypocrisies and internal tensions of the Red masters; provide proof of

the existence of friends and allies both at home and abroad; offer guidance on types of resistance open even to the individual. It should appeal to universal emotions, to love of family, of country, of God, of humanity.

6. FREE-WORLD TARGETS:

The fighting front is everywhere. The program of the U. S. Information Agency should be reappraised with a view to improvement and expansion. "The Voice of America — for Freedom and Peace" has tasks to perform in many nations of the free world second in importance only to those in the unfree world.

Merely to point up the inadequacy of our present effort, consider Finland — a country on the very edge of the Red empire and under the most concentrated Soviet propaganda barrage. Soviet broadcasts beamed to Finland total over 43 hours weekly. A television station is now being built in Soviet Estonia which will be directed to a million potential viewers in nearby Finland. To maintain their morale under this pressure, the Finnish people, still overwhelmingly pro-West and pro-American, have desperate need of our encouragement. Yet the Voice of America in 1953 was compelled to discontinue its daily half-hour broadcast to Finland to save \$50,000 annually.

We need in every country, newspapers; magazines; radio and TV stations, consciously and effectively supporting our side. Those that exist should be aided materially to increase their range and vitality; others should be started with our help. The strongest individual anti-Communist voices must be provided with better facilities for making themselves heard in their own countries.

Mobile film units are already penetrating backward areas. The operation should be enlarged, its message and appeal perfected. In addition, mobile big-screen television units in black-and-white and in color can carry our message. Their very novelty will guarantee large

and attentive audiences. Vast regions in Asia and elsewhere, where illiteracy bars the written word and lack of radios bars the spoken word, could thus be reached. To quote the Chinese saying: "One picture is worth ten thousand words."

The so-called backward parts of the world, particularly Asia, are under the most concentrated Communist psychological attacks. Of necessity the counter-offensive must take this into account, and develop special techniques for reaching both the masses and the elite of those areas.

7. RADIO RECEIVERS AND PHONOGRAPHS:

Mass production of cheap and light-weight receivers tuned to pick up American signals are now feasible. They should be made available by the million at cost or gratis, as expedient, to listeners in critical areas and behind the Iron Curtain.

There are millions of persons in the world who do not have electric power receptacles, electron tubes, batteries or any of the electrical and mechanical marvels which the free world has and takes for granted. A simple, hand-operated phonograph device costing no more than a loaf of bread, could be produced in quantities and supplied gratis to millions of persons living behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains and in other critical areas.

An unbreakable and intelligible record, made of cardboard and costing less than a bottle of Coca-Cola, could carry our messages to these people. Such records could be dropped from the sky like leaflets and the messages they carried could not be jammed.

8. USE OF FACILITIES IN FRIENDLY COUNTRIES:

Nearly all European and many Asian countries possess broadcasting facilities. We should seek to enlist their use to supplement and intensify American broadcasting on a world-wide scale.

In some cases this could be negotiated on a *quid pro quo* basis where we are providing military or economic aid; in other cases we may have to buy the necessary time for transmitting our message. Our friendly allies, such as Great Britain, have vast short-wave facilities of world-wide scope and range and have the same reasons as we have for seeking to win the Cold War. *We need their help in this field. We are fully justified in asking for such help and ought to receive it.*

Propaganda is a large concept. In a sense it includes and exploits all other activities. Its successful use calls for imagination, ingenuity, continual technical research and, of course, effective coordination with all other operations that bear on the problems of the Cold War.

9. PASSIVE RESISTANCE:

Pending the critical periods when active resistance in one or another Soviet country is possible and desirable, full encouragement and support must be given to passive resistance. This refers to the things the individual can do, with minimum risk, to create doubt and confusion in the ranks of the dictatorship, to gum up the machinery of dictatorship government.

The worker in the mine and factory, the farmer, the soldier in the barracks, the office worker are able to do little things that in their millionfold totality will affect the national economy and the self-confidence of the rulers. It is the method that comes naturally to captive peoples, especially in countries with a long historical experience in opposing tyrants.

Our opportunity is to give the process purposeful direction. In this concept the individual opponent of the regime becomes a "resistance group of one." He receives, by radio and other channels, specific suggestions and instructions. The tiny drops of resistance will not be haphazard, but calculated to achieve planned results.

Special action programs of the type that do not require large organization — or at most units of two or three — would be worked out and transmitted. Our sympathizers in the Soviet orbit would feel themselves part of an invisible but huge army of crusaders. Symbols of protest would appear on a million walls. The rulers' morale would be deliberately sapped by a multitude of actions too small, too widespread, to be readily dealt with.

The special value of passive resistance, aside from its direct effects, is that it nurtures the necessary feeling of power and readiness for risk and sacrifice that will be invaluable when the passive stage is transformed into more open opposition.

10. ORGANIZED RESISTANCE:

Pockets of guerilla forces remain in Poland, Hungary, the Baltic states, China, Albania and other areas. There is always the danger of activating them prematurely. But their existence must be taken into the calculations and, in concert with exiles who know the facts, they must be kept supplied with information, slogans and new leadership where needed and prudent.

Many of these resistance groups are so isolated that they do not know of each other's existence. The simple realization that they are not alone but part of a scattered network will be invaluable; methods for establishing liaison, for conveying directions, can be developed.

11. INSURRECTIONS:

The uprisings in East Germany, the strikes and riots in Pilsen, Czechoslovakia, the dramatic mutinies inside the concentration camps of Vorkuta in the Soviet Arctic, are examples of revolutionary actions that failed. But they attest that insurrection is possible.

We must seek out the weakest links in the Kremlin's chain of power. The country adjudged ripe for a break-



away should receive concentrated study and planning. A successful uprising in Albania, for instance, would be a body blow to Soviet prestige and a fateful stimulus to resistance elsewhere. (That little country is geographically isolated, ruled by a handful of puppets; able leadership is available in the Albanian emigration.)

Eastern Germany is among the weakest links. Its revolt would ignite neighboring Czechoslovakia and Poland. The time to prepare for such actions is now — whether the time to carry them out be in the near or distant future. Meanwhile we must not allow the Soviet propaganda to make unification appear as the Communist's gift to the Germans. It is a natural asset that belongs to West Germany and her allies.

12. COLLABORATION WITH EMIGRES AND ESCAPEES:

Tens of thousands of self-exiled fugitives from Communist oppression emerge eager to plunge into movements for the freeing of their homelands. When they fail to find outlets for their zeal, disillusionment and defeatism set in.

Maximum exploitation of this manpower and moral passion is indicated. They must be drawn into specific, well-organized, well-financed anti-Communist organizations and activities; utilized for propaganda and other operations; enabled, in some cases, to return to their native lands as "sleeper" leaders for future crises.

Officers' corps of emigres can be formed: perhaps groups of only a score to a hundred, but available for emergency and opportunity occasions. The existence of such nuclei of military power — a fact that will be widely known — should help generate hope and faith among their countrymen back home.

13. PLANNED DEFECTION:

Escapees have come, and will continue to come, spontaneously, now in trickles, other times in rivers. Beyond

that the need is to stimulate defection on a selective basis. Individual "prospects" in Soviet missions and legations, in Red cultural and sports delegations, can be carefully contacted and developed. Types of individuals needed to man Cold War undertakings will be invited to escape, assured of important work. Special approaches can be worked out to encourage defection of border guards, Army officers, secret-police personnel disgusted by their bloody chores, scientists, important writers, etc.

Escapees today are often disheartened by their initial experience. They are taken into custody by some foreign Intelligence Service, pumped for information, and sometimes then left to shift for themselves. Their honest patriotism is offended by the need to cooperate with foreigners before they are psychologically ready for it.

It is suggested that emigre commissions be set up, composed of trusted nationals of the various countries. The fugitive would first be received by the commission of his own countrymen. Only when found desirable and prepared for the step, would he be brought into contact with American or British agencies.

14. TRAINING OF CADRES:

The immediate and prospective activities of the Cold War offensive will require ever larger contingents of specialized personnel for the many tasks; to provide leadership for resistance operations; to engage in propaganda, subversion, infiltration of the enemy; even to carry on administrative and civic work *after* the collapse of Communist regimes in various countries, in order to stave off chaos.

Already, limited as our political efforts are, there is a shortage of competent personnel. Meanwhile thousands of younger men and women among the emigres are being lost to factories, farms, menial jobs. This amounts to squandering of potentially important human resources.

We need a network of schools and universities devoted to training *cadres* for the Cold War. The objective is not education in a generic sense, but specific preparation for the intellectual, technical, intelligence and similar requirements of the ideological-psychological war.

This training, of course, should not be limited to people from the Soviet areas. A sort of "West Point" of political warfare — analogous to the Lenin School of Political Warfare in Moscow — might be established. Staffed by the ablest specialists obtainable, it would seek out likely young people willing to make the struggle against Communism their main or sole career.

The present "exchange of persons" program is clearly valuable. Hundreds of foreign students go back home with a better and friendlier understanding of America. But beyond that, it is possible and necessary to educate invited young people from abroad, carefully selected, along lines of more direct and specialized value to the Cold War effort.

In a sense these shock troops of democracy would be like the "professional revolutionaries" on the Communist side. They would be equipped to operate openly or as secret infiltrates wherever the enemy's assaults need to be neutralized. Trained anti-Communists from Asian areas, dedicated and knowledgeable, would be available for countries under Red pressure, as today in Southeast Asia; Latin Americans, Europeans, would serve similar functions in their respective regions.

Thus, from a largely amateur enterprise, our counter-offensive would gradually be transformed into a professional undertaking.

15. CAMPAIGNS BY SPECIAL GROUPS:

An American trade union in the clothing field played a major role in preventing Communist victory in the Italian elections in 1948. The International Confedera-

tion of Free Trade Unions (in which both the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. are active) is conducting important psychological drives in many countries and offsetting the mischief worked by the Moscow-controlled labor international.

Speaking as workers to workers, trade unionists have a legitimate approach to the laboring masses in the Soviet sphere. They have a special justification for exposing and publicizing forced labor, onerous laboring conditions and laws, phony totalitarian "trade unions."

In many countries — France and Italy, for instance — there are competing Communist-controlled and democratic unions. Free labor of all countries can throw its moral and material support to the anti-Communist federations. It can take the lead in breaking Moscow's grip on influential segments of world labor.

Corresponding political campaigns should be mounted on a telling scale by other non-official, popular groups: farmers' organizations and peasant unions would concentrate on the evils of Red collectivization; great church groups on the immoral and atheistic aspects of Communist theory and practice; youth organizations on the perversion of youth under Communism, etc.

The scope of such focussed group and class appeals is enormous. Some of them are being made already, but without the coordination of effort and continuity of impact that is called for.

What a specialized group can achieve has been demonstrated by the society of Free Jurists in West Berlin, which indicts and condemns *in absentia* persons guilty of Communist crimes. Its work is sowing the fear of retribution in East Germany. Radio Free Europe has made successful forays of the same order — identifying brutal officials, exposing Red agents, etc. But the surface has only been scratched in this type of psychological pressure.

VI

DIPLOMACY IS A WEAPON

The Kremlin treats foreign affairs as a primary arena of ideological and psychological effort. It makes moves on the diplomatic chessboard for their propaganda impact: to rally its friends in the outside world, to win over a particular element in some country, to embarrass its opponents. In the measure that democratic diplomacy fails to do likewise, it is defaulting in a vital area of the Cold War. Let us bear in mind:

1. Day to day conduct of foreign affairs is pertinent to the struggle for men's minds. The rigid observance of protocol, in dealing with an enemy who recognizes none of the traditional rules, can be self-defeating. We must make proposals, demands, exposés, publications of official documents, etc. that are carefully calculated to show up the true motives of the Kremlin, to put a crimp in Moscow political campaigns, to mobilize world opinion against Soviet crimes and duplicities.

For ten years we have made one-shot protests against Soviet election frauds in satellite countries, against violations of treaties and agreements, against shocking crimes in the areas of Human Rights as defined by the U.N. Charter. The archives are packed with these documents. These should be followed up through consistent publicity, renewed protests, etc.

Even when nothing practical can be immediately accomplished, the facts of slave labor, genocide, aggressions, violations of Yalta, Potsdam and other agreements must be kept continually before the world. Diplomacy must champion the victims of Red totalitarianism without let-up. At every opportunity the spokesmen of free

nations should address themselves to the people in the Soviet empire over the heads of their masters; to the people of free countries in terms of universal principles of morality and decency.

2. The measures of reciprocity should be strictly applied to Soviet diplomats, trade and other representatives. These should enjoy no more privileges, immunities, access to information than is accorded to free-world representatives in Communist lands. Even socially they should be made aware of their status as symbols of a barbarous plexus of power. The desire to belong, to be respectable, is by no means alien to Red officialdom.

3. Economic leverages, too, must be applied. Trade can be turned into a powerful political weapon. The stakes are too high to permit business-as-usual concepts to outweigh the imperatives of the Cold War. Where acute distress develops in a Communist country, our readiness to help must be brought to the attention of the people as well as their bosses. If and when food and other relief is offered, it must be under conditions consistent with our objectives — to help the victims, not their rulers.

4. In virtually all countries outside the Communist sphere there are large or small organizations devoted to combatting Communism, at home or abroad or both. There is little or no contact among such groups — no common currency of basic ideas and slogans, no exchange of experience. Without at this stage attempting to set up a world-wide anti-Communist coalition, or Freedom International, we should at least facilitate closer liaison and mutual support among anti-Soviet groupings already in existence.

VII

SUMMARY

No claim is implied that the foregoing outline is complete, or that all of it can or ought to be launched at once. The program here suggested should not be judged on the basis of this or that specific proposal but on the over-all concept and its underlying philosophy. As a practical matter, methods flow from correct policies, the availability of funds and trained manpower, the existence of leadership and organization prepared to take advantage of unfolding events.

Summarized, my observations and conclusions are:

1. We are in the midst of a Cold War which the Communists are prosecuting vigorously on all fronts in an unswerving determination to win.

2. We dare not lose this Cold War, because defeat may be as fatal as would defeat in a Hot War. We can freeze to death as well as burn to death.

3. Our best and surest way to head off a Hot War is to win the Cold War which is already in full blast all over the world. But for the reasons mentioned, such as insufficient funds and inadequate tools, our efforts in this decisive field are strikingly little compared with the enemy's and are wholly inadequate to achieve victory. We must meet the political-psychological challenge of world Communism fully and on a scale geared to winning the struggle.

4. We should organize our efforts to win the Cold War on a basis comparable to our organization for winning a Hot War which we seek to prevent. To this end it is recommended that a Strategy Board of Political Defense (or some other

suitable name) be set up to function as the Cold War equivalent of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, on the military side. Top representatives of the State and Defense Departments, C.I.A. and U.S.I.A., should be members of this Board. Its activities must be effectively coordinated with all Departments and Agencies of our Government concerned with this effort. This new Strategy Board should function directly under the President and its Head should have Cabinet status.

5. Our decision to win the Cold War should be communicated to the entire world as a fixed goal of American policy. This will not rule out conventional relations on the governmental level, where the Kremlin, too, functions despite its clear commitment to world revolution.

6. The American public should be made promptly and fully aware of the nature of the present Cold War, the importance of our winning it, the costs and sacrifices that this may entail. The significance and urgency of the problem should be conveyed to the American people, through discussion over Radio, TV, and in the Press.

7. The idea of our determination to win the Cold War must be presented for what it actually is: a project that can be carried through successfully and thereby prevent a general war that could force a devastating nuclear showdown. Once grasped, this prospect would help to offset the fears and frustrations generated in the public mind by constant emphasis on the horrors of Atomic War. The alternative presented, is understandable and hopeful. Instead of concentrating on the perils of defeat, we can dwell on the prospects for victory.

8. Key leaders in Congress should be drawn into the philosophy and purposes of the Cold War counter-offensive from the outset. No program of the scope suggested here can be undertaken and executed without adequate funds that only Congress can appropriate. In addition to legislative support the Congress can aid immeasurably by stimulating united, patriotic effort as complete and non-partisan as in a Hot War.

9. To wrest from the Communists the advantages they gain through constant use in their propaganda of the appealing word "peace" — while casting us in the role of "war-mongers" — it is recommended that the present name of the "Voice of America" be extended to the "Voice of America — for Freedom and Peace."

10. Our Diplomacy should be used as a weapon against World Communism and our Message to their captive peoples should contain the hope for their eventual freedom. Our Message of Truth should tell the world the truth about Communist objectives, methods and practices as well as the truth about ourselves.

