The goals of communism are not difficult to define. They can be summed up in a single concept — world dominion. The techniques, however, are manifold and effectively orchestrated for that purpose. I propose in this lecture to deal with only one aspect of this many-sided drive for world dominion, namely the Communists’ use of the usual media of human communication and to show how they employ these media, scientifically as they think, in order to further the ends of their world strategy.

Our thinking will be clarified considerably if we examine the kind of society with which we are dealing in the communist system and recognize it for what it is, namely, an oligarchical system in which government is definitely “of the many,” possibly “for the many,” but equally clearly “by the few,” and not “by the many.” In the U.S.S.R. the population of 215 million is controlled by the 10 million party members and candidates of the party, and as a result of their control of all media of public communication—press, radio, movies, printed books, and television, the great mass of the population learns very little indeed; in fact, only as much as the leadership of the party and state wishes it to learn.

The effects of such control of the people of the U.S.S.R. are difficult to comprehend by those who have not lived within the system as I did when I was press attaché at the U. S. Embassy during 1947-49, the last years of Stalin’s reign. But even more difficult to understand is how the knowledge gained by practicing such control becomes an important weapon in influencing public opinion outside the U.S.S.R., especially in uncommitted and neutralist areas, and in spreading, even in the Free World, the ideology of communism.

The best method of getting across to Americans the concept of the “ideological struggle,” as the Communists call their drive on world opinion, is to borrow a title from Walter Cronkite’s Twentieth Century Series on television. He called one of these “The Communist Sell,” a concept known to all Americans as the “Madison Avenue” technique. Mr. Khrushchev during his 1959 visit to the U. S. appeared in the role of visiting salesman to sell the idea of “peaceful coexistence,” and in essence the Presidium is practicing a highly effective sales campaign on the rest of the world. I should like to point out three aspects of the
system which considerably sharpen up the keenness of that salesmanship, and further I would like to remind you of four basic ground rules in the communist campaign.

The three aspects of communism which contribute an edge to communist salesmanship are as follows:

1. Communism is first of all an ideology, a definite philosophy complete in its concept of man, life, history, society, and the state.

2. It is also a religion and a militant church, with a faith that presents itself as a religion resting on rational bases claimed to be scientific. Dialectic materialism is not only a dogma, it is also truth scientifically demonstrated by history.

3. It is finally an ideological world army with its commander-in-chief, its headquarters staff, its officers and other ranks, its strategy and tactics.

The perfect salesman of communism is, therefore, at one and the same time the disciple of a doctrine, the follower of a faith, the servant of a science, and the warrior of an idea. Never underestimate the strength of an enemy.

The rules of the game are four:

1. Communists have made clear that they are operating on the assumption that peace between them and us is impossible; that hostility must exist; that this hostility is unending; that it will continue until either they or we have triumphed.

2. The Soviet rulers have made it clear that they consider it necessary to struggle constantly against us. Soviet doctrine holds that immutable laws of history will bring about certain conditions which will make possible ultimate communist triumph. Soviet doctrine holds that triumph can come only if the faithful go out and force it to come. The apple will fall only if the tree is shaken. While Marxists do believe that the laws of history will necessarily create conditions that are favorable to their triumph, they emphasize that to capitalize on these conditions, the party and its allies must drive forward and through action force victory out of the favorable situation. Lenin repeated this point over and over again. Like Stalin, the present members of the Presidium give it equal emphasis.

3. The Soviet leaders have made clear that in struggling against the noncommunist world they consider as legitimate any weapon, any activity, whether it involves armed force, dissemination of information, a diplomatic parley, strikes and sabotage, or what not—if it will help them in establishing their position.
4. The Soviet rulers have made crystal clear that their aim is to create a crisis condition in the Free World, a crisis condition which will enable them to strike against it a series of "decisive blows" that will in the end lead to communist triumph.

In the days when he was drawing up the blueprints for the new society which was to replace the Tsarist system, Lenin, long before "Madison Avenue" or the U. S. Information Agency had used the term "target groups," was analyzing the main forces of public opinion that were on the side of the revolution. Along with Plekhanov, a philosopher, a co-worker, he found two main targets, (1) the masses and (2) the few, or the intelligentsia in Tsarist society, and sought to put into language the proper approach to each audience. Plekhanov came up with the proper definitions—for the masses, agitation, which he defined as "the presentation of one idea to a mass of people"; for the intelligentsia, propaganda, defined as "the presentation of many ideas to one or a few people."

When the revolution was accomplished, Lenin established control over all the existing media of communication and realized that the radio and the movies were new instruments for agitation at his command, the new mass media. At the same time he placed under party censorship all published materials in the U.S.S.R. Education in the party's views was established through an all-embracing net of propaganda and agitation schools which assured that everyone according to his lights was at some point in his life exposed to the party ideology. Lenin established agitators in every Russian apartment house in order to reach the masses throughout the land and sent party members back to school constantly to learn the rationale for new shifts in the party line. Finally, through the daily press closely following the model which he set up for a party newspaper, he maintained a pipeline to the people. It can be shown that in this setting up a conditioning atmosphere for public opinion he was seeking to apply the scientific concepts of the great Russian physiologist, Pavlov.