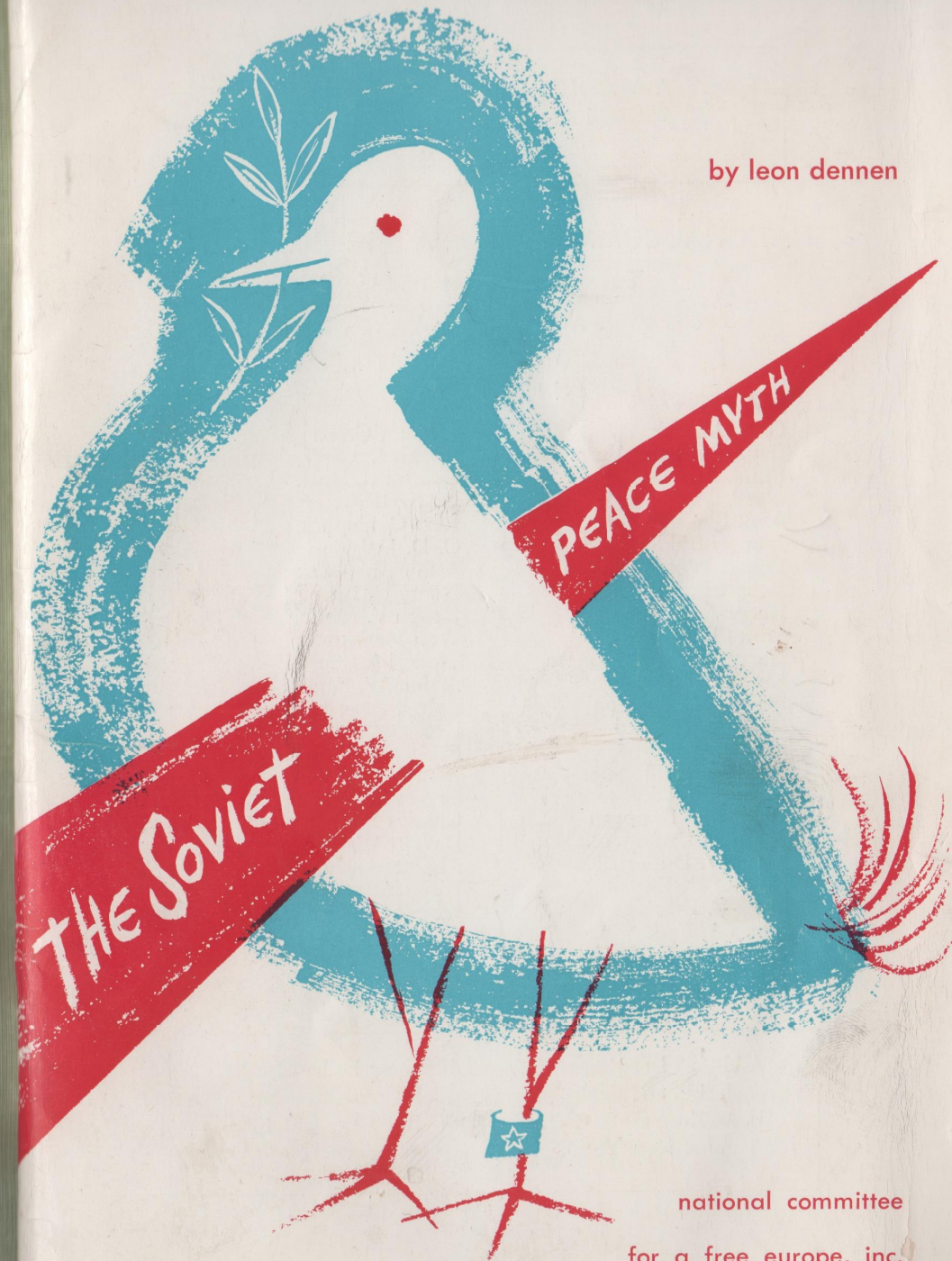


★
THE LIBRARY
OF
THE UNIVERSITY
OF TEXAS
AT
AUSTIN



by leon dennen

national committee
for a free europe, inc.

ONLY A WORLD BUILT ON THE IDEALS
OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY CAN LIVE
IN PEACE.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A FREE EUROPE, INC.

301 Empire State Building
350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.

MEMBERS

C. L. Adcock	William Green
Raymond Pace Alexander	Joseph C. Grew
Frank Altschul	Charles R. Hook
Laird Bell	Palmer Hoyt
A. A. Berle, Jr.	John C. Hughes
Francis Biddle	C. D. Jackson
Robert Woods Bliss	Arthur Bliss Lane
Robert F. Bradford	Henry R. Luce
Harry A. Bullis	Joseph V. McKee
James B. Carey	Web Maddox
Harry Woodburn Chase	Frederick Osborn
Lucius D. Clay	Arthur W. Page
William L. Clayton	Robert P. Patterson
Clark M. Clifford	DeWitt C. Poole
Cecil B. DeMille	Reuben B. Robertson
Frank R. Denton	John A. Sibley
Frederic R. Dolbeare	Spyros Skouras
William J. Donovan	Charles P. Taft
Hugh A. Drum	DeWitt Wallace
Allen W. Dulles	Abbott Washburn
Dwight D. Eisenhower	W. W. Waymack
Mark F. Ethridge	Walter H. Wheeler, Jr.
James A. Farley	Matthew Woll
Virginia C. Gildersleeve	Mrs. Quincy Wright
Darryl F. Zanuck	

Additional copies, while available, may be had for 5¢ each by addressing the National Committee for a Free Europe, 301 Empire State Building, 350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.

HRC 024

THE SOVIET PEACE MYTH

by LEON DENNEN

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A FREE EUROPE, INC.

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
INTRODUCTION	3
CHAPTER 1: DISTORTION OF HISTORY	5
CHAPTER 2: THE SLOGAN OF PEACE — WEAPON FOR WAR	10
CHAPTER 3: INNOCENTS AND VICTIMS	15
CHAPTER 4: THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL	21
CHAPTER 5: THE BATTLE FOR FREEDOM AND PEACE	29

ABOUT THE AUTHOR . . .

Leon Dennen has long been a keen observer of the political scene in Europe. He is the author of *TROUBLE ZONE* (Ziff-Davis Company, 1945). He has written numerous articles on international affairs, politics, and labor in national magazines and newspapers. Mr. Dennen has also lectured extensively on European events in this country. At present he is foreign correspondent for the Newspaper Enterprise Association in Europe.

INTRODUCTION

LESS than a decade after the defeat of Hitler and his allies, fear of another war and the extension of totalitarian slavery, stalk through the world. Economies are being geared for war. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is mobilizing its vast physical and moral resources to repel a threatened Soviet attack on its freedom and independence.

Civilized society hopes that the folly and horror of an atomic conflict can be avoided. Humanity everywhere longs for peace and security. Certainly the entire history of the American people points to its deep love for peace and an aversion for militarism. As Americans we equally abhor slavery. We realize only too well that totalitarian enslavement and war are twin brothers. Where there are slaves there are masters — leaders with unlimited power to plunge their people into war.

War is not inevitable. A profound change in international events and of the world's intellectual climate may deter aggression. But following the Soviet-backed invasion of South Korea by North Korean and Chinese communists, it would indeed be unrealistic, if not foolhardy, to indulge in wishful thinking, refuse to face issues squarely — to ignore the reality of our tragic era.

The problems confronting us today are similar in many respects to those we faced in World War II. The last war was not merely a conflict backed by tanks, guns, ships and airplanes, but also a war of fundamental ideas. Some of our present-day social philosophers, political leaders and diplomats steer in wide circles around the fact that the war had a moral and sheerly human content. They evade the memory of the fact that basically a contest between democracy and totalitarianism was involved —

that because this conflict was not resolved with the defeat of Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese militarists, world peace is now again in jeopardy. But the common people of the world have not forgotten the simple moral and political goals for which they suffered and sacrificed in World War II. They remember the thrilling promises of a better world as embodied in the Atlantic Charter, the United Nations and in the oratory and poetry of World War II. They yearn for a world that will provide safeguards from the three deadly evils — war, tyranny and poverty.

Civilized society passionately desires peace yet it is being drawn towards an atomic war. Why? Who is to blame for the present chaotic and tragic state of international affairs? A careful analysis of existing world tensions will provide at least part of the answer. Peace can be secured only if all governments, especially the Big Four, deliberately strive to achieve the widest possible cooperation between nations, based on the principles of liberty, equality and human decency. But it has long been evident that the desperate efforts of the United Nations and the Western Powers to secure peace have been constantly frustrated by Soviet Russia and the Cominform parties. The Soviet leaders have clearly been working on the principle that they have more to gain by fostering fear, confusion and chaos than by working for world cooperation. The universal anxiety created by the Kremlin's conspiratorial and ever-shifting policies represents the greatest single danger to world peace. The widespread existence of communist fifth columns and the Cominform's clandestine well-armed and well-disciplined commando detachments operating everywhere outside the Iron Curtain, is another grave threat to the security of the non-communist world.

Soviet leaders clearly consider peace as but a phase of the constant conflict which they are waging against democratic society. Their active support of any "peace movement" must consequently be viewed as a strategy for gaining the maximum support for Soviet Russia from groups which are generally not in sympathy with communist goals. Indeed, the periodic and well-publicized "peace campaigns" of the Kremlin Politburo and the Cominform are but a camouflage for a totalitarian policy of militarism and imperialist expansion.

Let us examine the record.

DISTORTION OF HISTORY

JOSEF STALIN, Premier of the Soviet Union, in one of his most important pronouncements on foreign policy in recent years, charged on February 17, 1951, as he has done on other occasions for the past three decades, that it was the "billionaires and millionaires" and our "reactionary Governments" who were frantically preparing to launch an atomic war. He accused the "warmongers" and "capitalists" of the United States, Great Britain and France of harboring aggressive aims in order to obtain super-profits, and to plunder other countries. He criticized the United Nations for having become "a weapon of aggressive war." At the same time, Stalin reiterated Russia's desire for peace. "As for the Soviet Union," he said, "it will continue in the future as well, unswervingly to pursue a policy of averting war and preserving peace."

A similar charge was leveled against western intellectuals by Ilya Ehrenburg, another influential communist spokesman. The Soviet writer and ace propagandist had invited leading Western writers, scientists and educators to sign the Cominform-sponsored *Stockholm Appeal* for outlawing the atom bomb. Among the vast majority who declined were 109 Norwegian writers who replied that, "Ehrenburg did not find on his five-page letter a single space to mention at least once the word peace." They pointed out that the *Stockholm Appeal* deliberately omitted any provisions for the enforcement of any degree of general disarmament. It was restricted to atomic weapons and silent as to any over-all limitation in standing armies, submarines,

airplanes, non-atomic bombs, warships and poison gas, to say nothing of bacteriological warfare.

Though the Stockholm Appeal was directed against the atom bomb, the Norwegian writers said in reply to Ehrenburg, "it was not against war as an evil of all things."

Ilya Ehrenburg waxed indignant: reaching into the stacks of official Soviet propaganda, he soon "discovered" that the Norwegian writers were "warmongers" who sympathized "with the policy of America" and approved "of their own government's action of concluding a war-alliance with the United States."

Even more uncomplimentary to the western intellectuals — "the pitiful and despised renegades who claim to be writers" — was the *Literaturnaia Gazeta*, official Soviet literary organ.* In an angry editorial, the *Literaturnaia Gazeta* berated such world-famous literary and cultural figures as Francois Mauriac, Jules Romain, Andre Malraux, J. B. Priestley and scores of others, not forgetting the recalcitrant Norwegian writers, for their refusal to sign the Stockholm Appeal. It warned these intellectual "enemies of peace" that the "people of the world hate the instigators of war . . . the enemies of freedom and enemies of life itself." There was even a threat implied against President Truman, Winston Churchill, Britain's Prime Minister Attlee, Jules Moch, French socialist Minister of Defense, and the leading French daily newspaper, *Figaro*: "Beginning with the Fuhrer in Washington," wrote the *Literaturnaia Gazeta*, "to the drunks of the Ku-Klux-Klan, from the old hangman Churchill to the Laborite Cannibal, from Jules Moch to the *Figaro* these criminals will one day be judged before a court of nations."

Equally violent was the "Hate-America" diatribe by P. N. Pospelov, a top ideological leader of Bolshevism and president of Moscow's Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute. Speaking on the twenty-seventh anniversary of Lenin's death, Pospelov "proved" that the United States was always an enemy of Russia and the Russian people. Completely perverting historic truth, he even accused President Woodrow Wilson of having been "one of the main inspirers of world imperialism's armed intervention against the young Soviet Republic."

* *Literaturnaia Gazeta*, Moscow, August 1, 1950.

In the presence of Stalin and other members of the all-powerful Soviet Politburo, Pospelov drew a continuous parallel between the "American imperialists" and the Hitlerite barbarians, their common preparations for war, and their common plans to dismember Russia. He made the completely fantastic charge that "American troops murdered and tortured scores of thousands of Russians" and that "the hands of American imperialists are stained with the blood of the Russian people."

These wholesale distortions of historical facts (particularly about the traditional friendship between the American and Russian peoples) are, of course, not new in the history of Bolshevism. From the first day of their seizure of power in Russia in 1917, leading Soviet spokesmen sought to put the onus of fomenting war on Western capitalists, statesmen and intellectuals. The works of Lenin, the founder of Russian Bolshevism, and Stalin, his heir and faithful disciple, are replete with such charges. Indeed, from Lenin to Stalin to the lowliest communist agitator, whether operating in the United States or in the remote regions of the African Congo, Bolsheviks have always regarded the industrial, political and cultural leaders of the western democracies, as "warmongers" and "enemies of peace."

The objective historian of tomorrow will indeed have to probe deeply and diligently into the mountain of contradictory evidence to find the essential facts about our tragic era. Propaganda has become a fine art in our epoch. The nation with an effective propaganda apparatus can conceal, distort and impose its own version of the truth. It can mold public opinion through willing agents and unwilling dupes. The Russians are, of course, masters at propaganda. It is, thus, altogether likely that many Soviet public relations fables of the moment will go down as facts in the history books.

But propaganda is a dangerous substitute for truth. In the long run, humanity will pay dearly for illusions, self-deceptions, and a fear of confronting unpleasant truths squarely.

Winston Churchill once referred to Bolshevik policy as a "riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma." Few in the West have been able to fully comprehend the aims and plans of Leninist-Stalinist dialectics or see through communist manoeuvres.

To normal men and women reared under Western standards of morality, Bolshevism, which rejects reason, decency and freedom as nothing more than "a bourgeois myth", is indeed a mystery and an enigma. It need not be: as in the case of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, a careful study of the Soviet counterpart as written by Lenin and Stalin would soon reveal the true aims and plans of Stalinism. For in these turgid volumes the communist theoreticians and spiritual guides make it clear beyond a doubt, that according to the basic tenets of Leninism-Stalinism, the overthrow of western civilization, which communists regard as weak and decadent, and Soviet mastery of the world are the *final* goals of Bolshevism. These goals, in turn, can be achieved only through armed revolution.

Leon Trotsky, one of the early leaders of Bolshevism, and subsequently a mortal enemy of Stalin, once proclaimed the *permanent revolution*. Stalin, in effect, now proclaims the *permanent war*. In pursuit of the permanent war which, the Soviet leaders believe, must inevitably result in the disintegration of the West, Bolshevism has repudiated as a matter of doctrine all western standards of morality. It has made a science of mendacity and is using, in Lenin's words, "any ruse, cunning, unlawful method, evasion and concealment of the truth" to gain what it believes to be its revolutionary destiny.

During the famous Congress of Vienna, Prince von Metternich, the shrewd Austrian statesman of the nineteenth century, was said to have replied to the news of the sudden death of a contemporary Russia diplomat with the thoughtful question: "What was his real intention?" This anecdote illustrates the suspicion with which the world then viewed the moves of Russian diplomacy, no less puzzling under the Czars in 1815 than it is today under Stalin.

The belief that Communism and Russian imperialism can be separated is one of the dangerous fallacies of our time. Russian history under the Bolshevik regime is, in more than one sense, an extension of traditional Czarist policy. Just as Pan-Slavism was an instrument of Czarist expansion, so is Communism an instrument of Soviet imperialism.

What, then, is Soviet Russia's real policy and how does the Kremlin plan to carry it out? We are still guessing. The world is still pondering the seemingly imponderable.

Do the Soviet rulers want war as actively as Hitler wanted it in 1939 after the conclusion of the Stalin-Hitler Pact?

Are the men of the all-powerful Politburo, which controls the destinies of more than one-third of the globe, determined to pick off the weaker members of the non-totalitarian world, one by one, gathering the fruits of war without fighting a general war?

THE SLOGAN OF PEACE -WEAPON FOR WAR

WORLD imperialism," Lenin said, "cannot live side by side with a victorious Soviet Union." This dictum, as all other theoretical precepts of the Father of Bolshevism, has been the guiding principle of Stalin and the Politburo for over three decades. By world imperialism Lenin, of course, meant non-communist Western society.

While, however, declaring a permanent war against the Western world, the Bolsheviks have also proclaimed themselves as the outstanding champions of peace. From time to time, as it suits Soviet foreign policy, they even speak of the "peaceful coexistence of capitalism and communism." The reason for this deception is not far to seek: peace as merely a slogan and peace as a goal of policy are entirely different concepts. To communists, peace is but a phase of the constant conflict which they are waging with the non-communist world. This was made abundantly clear by the Sixth Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow in 1928 (at a time when Stalin was reaching out for power over the corpses of his former colleagues), which declared in a resolution:

"The peace policy of the proletarian state certainly does not imply that the Soviet State has become reconciled with capitalism. . . . It is merely another — and under present conditions — a more advantageous form of fighting capitalism. . . ."

* *International Press Correspondence*, English edition of the official publication of the Comintern, November 28, 1928.

Officially adopted at a congress of the Comintern (now changed to Cominform), the resolution needs no further elucidation. Soviet leaders believe they can further their aims sometimes through war and sometimes through peace. Their strategy depends on the *objective conditions*. The choice of a "peace strategy" simply indicates that the masters of the Kremlin believe that, for a given time, such a strategy is likely to yield the most satisfactory results. The Communist invasion of South Korea, for instance, was launched at the height of Moscow's campaign for the Stockholm Appeal to outlaw the atom bomb.

The Bolsheviks and their followers in the United States and elsewhere throughout the world, early learned the utility of depicting themselves as champions of peace. They continue to use this proved device. Their propaganda seeks to identify the Soviet Union and Communist parties elsewhere, with peace in the minds of the peoples of the world.

In his report to the Fifteenth Convention of the Communist Party of the United States, Gus Hall, National Secretary of the Party, echoing Stalin's line, had many harsh words to say about the "murderous aggression by the profit-greedy, war-mad Wall Street monopolists."* He blamed "American imperialism" for the present war tension. "American imperialism," he told his fellow-communists, "has moved from the stage of war preparations and war talk to open military aggression against the people of Korea and China, and intervention against the peoples of Viet Nam, Indo-China and the Philippines."

Emphasizing again that the *confidence* of the American Communists "is firmly grounded in the world-liberating science of Marxism-Leninism," Mr. Hall outlined his party's tasks. The struggle for "peace" was, of course, the task number one:

"We must do everything possible to mobilize our Party for the central task of defending world peace. Concretely, we must put in motion every force that can help broaden out the peace movement, and use every available channel to achieve this goal. We must assign additional manpower and womanpower to all existing peace movements,

* See Gus Hall's pamphlet entitled "Peace Can be Won", New Century Publishers, New York, January, 1951. The Convention was held in New York City on December 28-31, 1950.

and to speeding the organization of new committees and groups. . . .”

The American follower of Stalin shows little ingenuity, indeed. He does not even attempt to depart from the beaten track.

One of the most important instruments of Soviet foreign policy are “peace” groups, committees and conferences which are “spontaneous” gatherings of diverse groups ostensibly inspired with the sole aim of seeking peace. Such was the “anti-war Congress” held in Amsterdam, Holland in 1932, the “Congress of Intellectuals for Peace” which met in Wroclaw, Poland, in August, 1948, the “Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace” held at New York’s Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in March, 1949 and the numerous Soviet-sponsored “peace” congresses held before and since. Such, too, are the “Peace Partisans” (now known as the “World Peace Movement”) who launched the appeal for outlawing the atom bomb in Stockholm, Sweden, in March, 1950.

The real significance of these “spontaneous” worldwide “peace” ventures was once explained by Palmiro Togliatti (also known as Ercoli), General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party. A close collaborator of Stalin and one of the leading lights of the Cominform, Mr. Togliatti declared at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow in 1935:

“. . . when we struggle tenaciously for peace we wish, in consequence of this struggle, to rally the revolutionary advance guard around the masses of workers and peasants, as well as the masses of the small bourgeoisie whom the proletariat, in case of war, must lead towards the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war against the bourgeoisie.”

For the present the “World Peace Movement” holds the spotlight as Moscow’s main transmission belt for peace propaganda. This movement is directed by a “World Peace Committee” of 138 persons, of whom seventy-two are known Communists, thirty representatives of Russia and the satellite countries — Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania and Eastern Germany — and thirty-six long-established Communist sympathizers. The “Committee”, in turn, following the pat-

tern established by the Bolshevik Party is ruled by a Politburo, or Permanent Committee, of twelve persons of whom seven are known and prominent communists and four are politicians who have consistently supported Soviet policies over many years. The president of the “World Peace Movement” is Joliot-Curie, a prominent member of the French Communist Party recently dismissed as director of France’s Atomic Energy Commission.

The World Peace Movement is intimately linked to a whole galaxy of communist international “fronts” such as the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Union of Students, the Women’s International Democratic Federation, the World Federation of Democratic Lawyers, the International Organization of Journalists, the World Federation of Scientific Workers, and so on. These organizations have affiliates in many countries of the world, including the United States, Great Britain, France and other member-states of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The World Peace Movement is today, by Cominform directive, “the pivot of the entire activity of the communist parties and democratic organizations.” Besides being the chief vehicle of communist world propaganda, it is the “front” organization for direct action, sabotage and subversion in the anti-totalitarian countries.

It was Louis Saillant, one of the French members of the Permanent Committee of the “World Peace Movement” and Secretary-General of the Cominform’s World Federation of Trade Unions who first revealed, however cautiously, the real purpose of this Cominform front. “Propaganda and direct action,” he told the Congress of Peace Partisans in Stockholm in March 1950, “can no longer be separated. . . . One of the essential duties of the defenders of peace is the refusal to work on or produce war material in all capitalist countries.” For this purpose, committees for the defense of peace are to be organized at the places where men and women carry out their daily work. Gus Hall, addressing communists in New York City about a year later, was almost an echo of M. Saillant!

Moscow works fast, indeed! The French Communist *L’Humanité*, one of the leading Cominform newspapers in West-

ern Europe, announced in its issue of September 21, 1950, that an agreement had already been signed by the pro-communist Federation of French Dockers with the Cominform's clandestine German transport workers' unions "to prevent the loading and unloading of war materials in the ports of France and Western Germany." The agreement stipulated that, to render action effective, it was necessary to establish "Peace Committees" on every ship and in every port, and to maintain contact with Peace Committees in Italy, Belgium, Holland, Britain, Norway, Sweden, Finland, the United States and Latin America.

As yet, to be sure, there have been few acts of Cominform sabotage in European ports and the communists have been singularly unsuccessful, despite their well-organized and well-armed secret commando detachments and Peace Committees in preventing either the loading or unloading of United States war equipment.

This is entirely due to the resistance of 20,000,000 European members of the anti-Communist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), a potential anti-Cominform army which sprawls from Berlin to Istanbul, Turkey.

The ICFTU, which also includes a large contingent of trade unionists from the East European and Balkan countries now dominated by Soviet Russia, was formed in January, 1949 with the aid of such prominent American labor leaders as David Dubinsky, George Meaney, Matthew Woll, Philip Murray and others. Though still young as such organizations go, it is already the only force in Europe and Asia that is able to counteract the sabotage efforts of Moscow's puppet World Federation of Trade Unions. Cooperating with the International Transport Workers Federation, the ICFTU has succeeded in checkmating Cominform activity in all major Atlantic and Mediterranean ports.

INNOCENTS AND VICTIMS

BERTRAND RUSSELL, one of the foremost philosophers and political thinkers of our age once wrote that "In English history, as taught to children, there are 'good' kings and 'bad' kings. The oligarchy of Czarist aristocrats was 'bad' but that of the Communist Party is 'good'. This attitude is unworthy of grown-up people." *

Mr. Russell's observation may well be applied to American history as it was taught in the years 1941-47 when Soviet Russia was still regarded as democracy's "greatest ally" and the ruling oligarchy of the Kremlin as the "good kings". So widespread, indeed, was the Soviet *mystique*, so strong its emotional dynamism, that a kind of intellectual terror pervaded our political and intellectual life. It was not only respectable but even "liberal" to criticize American or British or French policy, but to cast the slightest doubt on Soviet Russian policy was to leave oneself open to denunciation as a fascist, a reactionary, and even a war criminal. We even spoke of an absolute dictatorship like Russia (or the satellite People's Democracies under its domination) as "new types of democracy."

Scores of well-meaning men and women throughout the civilized world opposed or indifferent to Communism, who would have been horrified at the thought that they were supporting a dictatorial state where more than 12,000,000 citizens were exploited as slaves in forced labor camps, fell into the trap carefully laid for them by the Kremlin and its agents and propagandists abroad.

* *Power*, by Bertrand Russell, New York, W. W. Norton & Co. Publishers.

A typical victim of the semantic fallacy that the parties directed by the Cominform represented the left and that the so-called People's Democracies were a new type of democracy was O. John Rogge, former Assistant U. S. Attorney General.

Mr. Rogge was probably an "innocent" and not a communist. Because he made no effort to familiarize himself with the Soviet *Mein Kampf* he became an easy prey for the Cominform's *mystique*. For many years he was a spokesman for movements dominated by the Communist Party. Precisely because he was a well-intentioned "liberal" he was able to lead (or mislead) a number of similarly well-intentioned but confused American liberals into the Soviet orbit.

It was not until Mr. Rogge attempted to speak out on behalf of world peace as he understood it, at the Congress of the World Peace Movement held in Warsaw in November, 1950, that it dawned upon him that he was hugging a snake instead of courting a dove of peace. The rest is a matter of recent record:

"O. John Rogge, former Assistant United States Attorney General [cabled the correspondent of the *New York Times* *] today broke the harmony of the second World Peace Congress by declaring that the Cominform countries not the United States had to resort to war 'to give the revolution a violent shove here and there.' He declared he would not now sign the Stockholm Peace Appeal that the Communists have sponsored because attempts by Cominform countries to accomplish changes by violence were a greater threat to peace than the atomic or hydrogen bomb.

"An overwhelming majority of the 3,500 delegates and observers loudly boomed their disapproval of Mr. Rogge's views."

Mr. Rogge charged also that the World Peace Movement displayed its subservience to the Cominform by expelling Yugoslavia which, since Marshal Tito's break with Stalin, has become in the eyes of the Kremlin, the root of all evil.

The former exponent of pro-Soviet policies still believes in world peace, of course. But he wants genuine and not fake peace movements. "Any further peace meetings, to be successful, must

* *New York Times*, November 20, 1950.

not become identified with the foreign policy of any particular country. They must remain objective."*

Even more dramatic was the break with the Cominform of Valdo Magnani and Aldo Cucchi, two leading Italian Communists and members of Italy's National Chamber of Deputies. In their late thirties, both men have been since their youth in the service of Stalin. A university graduate, trained in economics and philosophy, Valdo Magnani was one of the most persuasive and militant communist organizers in the Reggio Emilia province of north-eastern Italy. It was largely due to his tireless efforts that Reggio Emilia has today 67,000 dues-paying communists.

Both Magnani and his close friend and collaborator, Aldo Cucchi, a surgeon by profession and a leader of an Italian partisan unit against Nazis and Fascists in World War II, were as devoted to the "Party Line" as communists can be. But they were also good Italians which, in the long run, is incompatible with Cominform orthodoxy.

In 1950 Magnani was sent for inspiration to the People's Democracies behind the Iron Curtain only to discover that his "honesty has been too much exploited." "Between what I saw in Poland," he said upon his return to Italy, "and what I have been told in the communist propaganda sheets, there is an abyss." Magnani also told a provincial Party congress that it was the duty of Italian Communists to defend the sacred ground of the fatherland from any aggression, no matter whence it came and that Russia must be considered a nation like any other. His friend Aldo Cucchi concurred.

This bit of heresy against the Socialist Fatherland and Comrade Stalin, the Great Father of the Proletariat, was more than the Kremlin would tolerate. Practically overnight, Magnani and Cucchi became, as far as the Cominform was concerned, Titoist traitors, Fascist renegades and, of course, enemies of peace.

Both men sum up their views on Communism and peace in a recent pamphlet in which they write in part:

"There is a widespread opinion in the Communist Party that revolution can take its flag forward only by means of war. This opinion is officially tolerated, though it is one of

* O. John Rogge in the *New Leader* of January 29, 1951.

the things that are not supposed to be said. *The campaign in favor of peace is for some Communists merely a kind of blind.* (emphasis supplied) It is thought, in other words, that in the present stage of the world struggle revolution can win only on the *bayonets of an army that invades our country.* We know that these comrades are thinking of the *Red Army or of the armies of the People's Democracies.* But the opinion that revolution can win only on the bayonets of an army crossing our frontiers, what does it represent today? It means that *war is considered inevitable*, and this is an error that prejudices the whole struggle for peace."

Another tragic victim of the Cominform's peace fraud — one of countless thousands, if not millions — is a thirty-year-old Turkish journalist, Aslan Humbaraci. Black-haired and soft-voiced, Humbaraci looks more like the romantic lead in an oriental film than a militant champion of peace and human rights. Firsthand experience with injustice in many countries of the Middle East, however, prompted him to give up his lucrative job as correspondent for the *New York Times* and embrace the creed of Stalinism.

Hailed by the world communist press, Aslan Humbaraci was appointed by the Cominform as a member of the Permanent Committee of the Partisans of Peace and president of the Union of Progressive Young Turks, a clandestine communist organization with headquarters in Paris. He led the Turkish delegation to the Budapest Congress of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (an affiliate of the World Peace Movement) in August, 1949.

While accredited as Paris correspondent of *The New Central European Observer*, an English publication owned by the Czechoslovak government, Humbaraci's articles were printed in communist publications throughout the world, including *Krasnaia Zvezda*, the official Red Army newspaper. He was constantly quoted over Radio Moscow and Radio Prague as the "man who chose real freedom."

But the young Turkish Communist, passionately honest and tenacious in support of his beliefs, needed only one year of activity behind the scenes of the Cominform, particularly in the Partisans of Peace to discover firsthand that the international communist movement serves the aims of Russian power and not

the people in whose name it speaks. He discovered, too, that there is "no international communism, but only a Russian policy" — that the mask reciting slogans for peace and economic justice hides Soviet Russia's hunger for power, for world domination.

When Aslan Humbaraci could no longer endure communist demands to violate his conscience, he decided to break with the Cominform. It was not an easy thing to do for a man caught in Moscow's clutches. "Should I have given my life for something that I knew to be false?" he asked in the first days of his agony. "I couldn't just forget my mistakes and resign, for I owe a ransom to free men."

In October, 1949, at a Congress of the World Federation of Democratic Youth in Rome, Humbaraci committed the unpardonable crime of voting against the Soviet delegation. That finished him. Then and there he was informed that he had been expelled from the Permanent Committee of the Partisans of Peace as an "enemy of the people." He was subsequently given, at his determined insistence, a "trial" where, as a matter of course, he was also charged with being a "spy" for the Turkish government, despite the fact that at the time he was a passportless exile from his country. The communist judges first outshouted him, then marched from the room rather than listen to proof of the falsity of the accusation.

But let Aslan Humbaraci himself describe the Partisans of Peace:

"True to the Kremlin's super-Machiavellianism, it is by exploiting man's sacred desire for peace that the Russian rulers carry on their war preparations through undermining the West's moral and material strength. For behind the angelical name of Peace Partisans is hidden a great political and military enterprise of Moscow.

"That the Peace Partisans (or the World Peace Movement), is a Moscow-governed body is, undoubtedly, known in the United States. But a great many people in Europe and Asia still believe in the sincerity and usefulness of this 'peace' movement.

"As a former member of the Permanent Committee of the World Congress of Peace Partisans and an activist of the international Stalinist movement, I am in a position to

know the true facts. Policies for the establishment of 'world peace' are supposedly laid down by the Permanent Committee of the Peace Partisans. Yet when this body meets, despite the external trimmings of a respectable international gathering, it is actually for pure propaganda purposes rather than for policy-making. In accordance with the established Stalinist pattern, all the distinguished intellectuals who come to the congresses from various parts of the world are not called upon to make decisions but to put their stamp of approval on what has been decided beforehand in Moscow.

"This is not idle talk but a horrible fact which I discovered first in the Soviet embassy of Paris and then at the secretariat of the 'Partisans of Peace.' It is further ascertained by my being expelled from the Permanent Committee for having dared, during a closed session of the Peace Partisans in Rome, to vote against a Russian resolution."

At his "trial" in Rome, Aslan Humbaraci had a glimpse, if only for a moment, of what Soviet "justice" means and how "confessions" are extracted from innocent people. "I was lucky," he said, "that I decided to revolt in Rome under the protection of a 'decadent Western democracy' and not when I was a delegate in the 'People's Democracy' of Hungary. There I would have been shot for my heresy."

THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL

THE Stockholm Appeal for outlawing the atom bomb was undoubtedly Soviet Russia's most ambitious and successful "peace" offensive of the post-war period. Exploiting general fears of an atomic war, the Cominform, through the World Peace Movement, originally set out to get 400,000,000 signatures from all over the world for this appeal, including 5,000,000 in the United States. Whether this goal, as the communists claim, has already been reached is open to conjecture. But there is no doubt that the Stockholm Appeal was a major Soviet propaganda success which trapped millions of war-jittery and unsuspecting men and women throughout the world.

No technique for gaining signatures of indorsement for the appeal, including a virtual door-to-door canvass by communists and their sympathizers, was left unused. In France and Italy, for instance, those approached for signatures were told that the appeal was as much directed at Soviet Russia as at other countries. To be sure, they insisted that there was not the remotest chance of such a "peace-loving country as Russia" being the first to use the atomic bomb against an enemy. This left the implication that the United States, which had already used the bomb against Japan, was really the criminal country. A similar technique, with some variations, was also used in the United States and Latin America. But different methods were employed behind the Iron Curtain where the communist secret police or the Soviet M.V.D. have persuasive means of "convincing" the recalcitrant and rabidly anti-communist populations.

The technique used in Poland, where the Catholic Church retains the allegiance of the people and exercises authority despite communist persecution, is a case in point.

Communist officials would summon the church officials of a locality and ask them to sign the Stockholm Appeal. If they demurred — as most Roman Catholic priests would do, being aware of the spurious nature of the petition — they were reminded that the church was committed to working for “peace”; that this was a “peace” resolution; and that if they refused to sign it the state would have no alternative but to forbid them to continue teaching the young, as apparently “peace” was no longer their purpose.

“By this technique of coercion and word-twisting, the Warsaw regime has forced not a few priests to sign the petition. It then announces to the local populace that the best proof that the ‘peace’ petition is genuine is that their church leaders have signed it.” *

By such deceptive and coercive means the communists also succeeded in forcing Catholic, Greek Orthodox and Moslem clergymen in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania to sign the Stockholm Appeal. But millions of men and women, both behind and this side of the Iron Curtain, signed the appeal simply because they were unaware of the true identity of the “Peace Partisans” or because they hoped against hope that this was the way to prevent the outbreak of atomic warfare. Others in Western Europe were induced by fear of possible retaliation if the communists, backed by the Red Army, should come to power. With the example of the purge trials and the all-prevailing terror in Soviet Russia’s satellite countries before them, the middle-of-the-road Europeans constantly ask themselves the question: “Who knows? With Russia so close, the same thing may happen in our countries. Is it not better not to be among those suspected of anti-communism?”

The communists are, of course, aware of this universal fear. They are deliberately fostering it. They nurse it. Through fear they still hope to split the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Fear and deception are their stock in trade.

* *Christian Science Monitor*, August 8, 1950.

It was the outstanding Swedish Liberal daily *Dagens Nyheter* that first shed some light on the Stockholm Appeal and its sponsors. Sweden, like Switzerland, is Europe’s traditional neutral country, and its government usually seeks to avoid controversies with other powers, especially with a great power like Russia which is but a stone’s throw across the Baltic Sea. But the *Dagens Nyheter*, like Sweden’s Prime Minister Mr. Erlander, was “disgusted” with the way Moscow was brandishing the name of their capital in international communist propaganda. The Stockholm Appeal, Mr. Erlander said in a speech on July 16, 1950, had no more connection with Stockholm than similar earlier appeals “emanating from so-called peace conferences.”

In an angry and outspoken editorial entitled “Warning for Swindlers,” the *Dagens Nyheter* stated: “This peace movement is, as a matter of fact, directed by agents of the most pronounced military power in the world — a power which does not hesitate to resort to the crudest means of terror even in peace time and which, by its actions and its imperialist aims, is threatening the whole democratic world.”

A similar evaluation of the Stockholm Appeal was given by informed men and women in other parts of Europe this side of the Iron Curtain and in the United States. Thirteen American leaders in religious, fraternal, veterans’, labor and patriotic organizations branded it as “a phony peace petition to disarm the United States.”

The circulation of the Stockholm Appeal under the direction of the American Communist Party, they declared, was intended “to disarm the United States in keeping with their [the communists’] historic procedure of infiltrating and later paralyzing a nation which they wish to invade.”

Dean Acheson, United States Secretary of State, warned, at the same time, that the Soviet Union was trying to center attention on the use of atomic weapons in order to distract attention from communist aggression in other forms. “The real crime against humanity,” he said, “is aggression and, in particular, the deliberate resort to armed aggression in defiance of the United Nations. The war criminals are the people who sanction such action. The weapons used are quite incidental to the crime. Thus, the communists throughout the world have given the lie to the Stockholm proposal in their support of North Korean aggression.”

Speaking on behalf of Western writers, scientists, educators and trade unionists, the Congress for Cultural Freedom declared:

"The atom bomb is a horrible weapon. So are flame throwers, incendiary bombs and mustard gas. The aim of communist propaganda is to hypnotize the public into focusing all its passion and emotion on one type of weapon, and making it forget that others exist. The Stockholm brand of 'pacifism' has no objection to dog fighting cat, provided that biting is permitted, clawing forbidden." Disarmament, they said, must extend to *all* weapons. Any government which commits an act of aggression by using atomic, or *any other weapons*, is to be regarded as a war criminal.

A secret document which has recently come into my possession sheds additional light on what Moscow hopes to achieve with its periodic "peace" offensives, especially with the Stockholm Appeal. It is part of a speech delivered by Mikhail Suslov, a private secretary to Josef Stalin and a secretary of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, at a secret Cominform meeting held in Berlin on July 21, 1950.*

Mikhail Suslov, as revealed by this document, assailed the western communist leaders for having made practically "no effort to rally those who signed the petitions for outlawing the atomic bomb into any sort of organization." While conceding that most of those who signed the Appeal could no longer be located or organized, he, nevertheless, insisted that 20 to 25 per cent of the signers could be persuaded to join the communist ranks.

The "widespread campaign against the atomic bomb," Suslov said, "has succeeded in attracting young workers who represent a valuable revolutionary element." They are the Cominform's "assurance of successful revolutionary and insurrectionary action."

The Cominform leader further pointed out that the Stockholm Appeal had enabled many communists to infiltrate workers' factory councils, in western European countries, which are re-

* Mikhail Suslov was accompanied to the secret Cominform session in Berlin by P. N. Pospelov, Soviet "ideological leader" and president of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute. Other world communist leaders there were Palmiro Togliatti of Italy, Jacques Duclos of France, Wang Chia-hsiang of the Chinese Communist Party, Harry Pollitt of Great Britain, and a host of Cominform figures from Iron Curtain countries.

garded by the Kremlin as "the economic counterpart of the local Soviet in the general frame of revolutionary strategy." He disclosed also that the Cominform hereafter would pay greater attention to outlying regions in countries like France and Italy, instead of focusing on big cities; that it would work to elect communists to municipal governments and councils in these areas. In event of war, the councils, trained by and taught by communists, would form a basis for organizing local soviets, Russian style.

Mikhail Suslov's speech at the Berlin meeting of the Cominform is of historic significance. It is the first disclosure by a leading figure of the Cominform and the Russian Communist Party of the aims and purposes of Moscow's periodic and widespread peace offensives. Reproduced here in full is the part dealing with the Stockholm Appeal.

EXCERPTS FROM MIKHAIL SUSLOV'S SPEECH

"The Stockholm Appeal:

"It is now the task of the West European parties to absorb the tremendous social gain accumulated by our campaign to ban the atom bomb. We all know what a great diversity of social strata was touched upon in the course of the campaign. But no one has as yet undertaken an analysis of the results gained. There has been practically no effort to rally those who signed the petitions for outlawing the atom bomb into any sort of organization.

"This, of course, was a great mistake. The overwhelming majority of those who signed our petitions can no longer be located or organized. But 20 to 25% of the persons contacted can be gotten to join our organizations. That is why we should concern ourselves, in the first place, with organizing these 20 to 25%. Who are they?

"The overwhelming majority of them are workers, peasants, urban and rural middle class people, professionals, intellectuals, housewives, young men and women, war victims, veterans, etc. They are extremely valuable elements to be organized. But how are they to be organized precisely in view of their great social diversity?

"To some degree they cannot be organized since they are

not interested in any political movement. But they are always interested in their own safety, in their own protection and are likely to vote in local and municipal elections for officials who have their safety at heart.

"It is thus clear that these elements are likely to exert certain pressure on municipal authorities and county officials. Such authorities and officials seeking election or reelection would most likely receive a majority of votes on a platform which calls for outlawing the atom bomb — which means the protection of the civilian population against the ravages of the bomb.

"It is therefore quite evident that even the unorganized and unorganizable part of the urban and agricultural population would help us to win municipal and county councils which would be politically homogeneous and united in their determination to outlaw the atom bomb and probably all other forms of Anglo-American aggression and warmongering.

"A relentless effort, an intensification of the campaign to condemn the atom bomb and Anglo-American imperialism would also result in the election of municipal and county councils which could be considered as reliable organs of local resistance. Under conditions of war, the militant resistance of these councils — if properly politicalized by [communist] party fractions — would also form the basis for the formation of local Soviets. It is therefore correct to recommend to the Combatants de la Liberté in France and Italy — or, for that matter, to all other local organizations of the Peace Partisans — to concentrate, in the first place, on municipal and county councils.

"The great peace movement created by the Stockholm Appeal can also be used for other ends. We can penetrate the yellow trade unions and other organizations with our appeal for safeguarding the peace. We can penetrate organizations of war veterans, war victims, peasant and worker societies which are not yet on our side. Cultural societies, lovers of art and literature can help us organize the unorganized mass of people in favor of the Stockholm Appeal. To gain this end, our purpose should be to organize as many local societies as possible.

"Although all such activities must be entrusted to local Party [communist] fractions, who can undertake them most effectively, an inter-federation must centralize all such local bodies

organized in order to provide for unified guidance and political direction.

"A special chapter in this work is the organization of new workshop contacts. Strange though it may seem, it is, nevertheless, a fact that some workshops are inaccessible to militant trade unionism. Catholic workers or working women may not respond to wage demands raised by the revolutionary trade union movement. But they will respond to peace appeals and especially to the Stockholm Appeal for outlawing the atom bomb.

"An analysis of the campaign for the Stockholm Appeal provides extraordinary examples of backward categories of workers joining with us in the demand for the outlawing of the atom bomb. We must therefore treat with special care such contacts in workshops which had been hitherto inaccessible to us. They are a valuable element. They are a valuable edition to our workshop councils which must be the forerunners of local Soviets.

"Now I want to underline the most significant aspect of our campaign for the Stockholm Appeal. Through our widespread campaign against the atom bomb we have succeeded in attracting young men who represent a valuable revolutionary element. They are joining our military sections. They are our assurance of successful revolutionary and insurrectionary action.

"These young men, this new element which comes to us from the factories and workshops is healthy because it is not infected with nationalism and Trotskyism-Titoism. At a time when in the most important countries of Western Europe — France, Italy as well as Germany — our main task is to rid our ranks of nationalist and Trotsky-Titoist trends, these new elements, the young workers from the workshops are our most important source of revolutionary action.

"I do not mean to say by this that I expect to obtain our most important contacts with the factory, plant and workshop through our peace campaign. No, comrades, such contacts will always be forthcoming through the trade unions and the factory councils. But, as I pointed out, a significant number of workers can be contacted through our peace campaign. Our factory councils will be immeasurably strengthened through the infusion of this new healthy element. And please remember that it is the factory council (shop steward organization) that is the economic

counterpart of the local soviet in the general frame of our revolutionary strategy.”

This document speaks for itself. It is another affirmation of the well-established fact that the employment of the “peace” campaign as camouflage for strengthening the Cominform and furthering Soviet Russia’s aims for world mastery, by enlisting “innocents,” groups and people indifferent or even antagonistic towards Communism, has been a cardinal Soviet principle since the Bolsheviks overthrew by armed force the democratic Kerensky Government in 1917.

THE BATTLE FOR FREEDOM AND PEACE

WE have come to a turning point in the history of Western civilization. As yet, to be sure, we cannot evaluate completely the far-reaching events now taking place in Asia and the West or define the point to which they will go. However, though a major atomic conflict may develop from the impetus of present tensions, *war is not inevitable*. It will become inevitable if we do not understand Soviet Russia. We shall, indeed, be building our future on quagmires if we build it on ignorance of Soviet reality — the economic, social, moral and political contradictions between Soviet totalitarianism and Western democracy.

Soviet Russia is a totalitarian state dynamically engaged in a totalitarian process of expansion. The *realpolitik* of its leaders is based on a total disregard of Western concepts of ethics. Bolshevism, as has been indicated, regards our moral criteria as superfluous ballast, little more than a bourgeois myth. In the Leninist-Stalinist perversion of Marx, “capitalism” — i.e. Western civilization with all its political, social and cultural institutions — is doomed to perish. Thus, the Kremlin leaders may alternately raise the slogans of peace and war. They will discard peace when it will no longer suit their revolutionary strategy.

In the permanent struggle between totalitarianism and freedom, dictatorship has, for the moment, the upper hand. For totalitarianism derives much of its strength from the simplicity of the ideas it espouses. Amid postwar doubts, fears and unsettled cravings, the Stalinist creed offers its adherents the boon of cer-

tainty, a faith for living. Its thesis is simple: Western civilization stands between man and happiness. It is the old and well-tried totalitarian technique of the Big Lie.

For the Russian Revolution, whatever merit it had, died long ago. Its basic concepts were betrayed by stunted minds reaching out for more and more power. Only the myth survives. In Soviet Russia today, liberty is a meaningless word no less for the artist, the literary man, the scientist, than for the worker. Forced labor and a ruthless bureaucracy prevail on a scale inconceivable to normal men and women reared under Western conditions. Even equality, one of the fundamental tenets of Communism, has given place to a new system of caste, the caste of the ruling communist oligarchy.

Dictatorship, too, has another advantage over freedom: unlike a democracy, it can manipulate opinion and switch policy overnight. Thus, on May 9, 1949, Marshal V. Sokolovsky, one of the most prominent Soviet war leaders, informed the Russian people — and the West — that Soviet Russia was preparing for war. "The lessons of the Second World War," he said, "are graphic proof that only a state which is stronger than its opponent economically, militarily and in a moral-political sense, . . . is capable of winning a modern war." But in his significant declaration issued on February 17, 1951, Stalin told the unhappy Russian people, and again the West, that Russia, as a matter of fact, had already begun to "demobilize" its armed forces back in 1946.

Meanwhile, taking advantage of a gullible West totally unprepared psychologically to counteract the Kremlin's propaganda barrage, the Soviets have annexed over 200,000 square miles since 1939. They have increased the Russian empire to dimensions undreamed of by the Czars. Once independent states like Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria were completely subjected to Soviet rule. Only Yugoslavia succeeded in extricating itself from Moscow's web.

To be sure, as in the case of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, the corrosive element of self-destruction is always potent in a totalitarian state. The Kremlin's periodic "peace" campaigns, while designed to sow confusion, uncertainty and disruption in the West, are also concerned with the mood of the Russian people whose restive behavior is being recorded by the Soviet press

from Moscow to the distant regions of Kazakhstan. The Russian people need a great many things; but more than anything else they want peace. Indeed, the Western world has no quarrel with the Russian people who have been groaning under the yoke of dictatorship for more than three decades. There is certainly a vast abyss between the power-hungry Communist dictators and the peoples they rule. This is as true of Russians as of the peoples of the satellite countries.

The Kremlin's overextended empire may yet prove to be its Achilles' heel. No satellite population inside the Iron Curtain is friendly to Moscow. Only force and terror have thus far prevented the anti-Soviet forces behind the Iron Curtain from throwing off the Kremlin's yoke. But there is ample evidence that from the Baltic to the Black Sea, these forces await the call to revolt. In Poland, Czechoslovakia and the annexed Baltic States underground military units are continuously battling, under insurmountable odds, against Moscow's picked MVD troops. Elsewhere, especially in Hungary and Bulgaria, they engage in industrial sabotage, stage lightning wildcat strikes and fight MVD terror.

Nationhood, like personal freedom, is an absolute value. It is not destroyed or "abolished" by suppression but merely driven underground. For nations, like individuals, have a stubborn will to survive. Stalin has long been aware of this — even if the West has not. European experts on Russia have long been of the opinion that next to the atomic bombs, the Kremlin fears this anti-communist front more than anything else it now faces.

Indeed, though they are consulted little, though decisions are made by the rulers on the assumption that they will bow their necks meekly to any yoke, the ordinary people are keeping alive their dream of freedom. They are democracy's staunchest allies. We must not let them down again. In peace as in war, we cannot afford to ignore the great basic hungers of mankind for freedom and human decency. We must exert every effort to maintain peace. But this peace will have meaning only if it is maintained with freedom and justice.

To avoid war, Western civilization must be strong. But it must also be wise. The time has come for our thoughts to become bold and imaginative. Only a clear and definite peace aim will

successfully counteract Moscow's phony "peace" campaigns and give us the strength to prevent the Kremlin's creeping war. Only the belief that the civilized world is indeed fighting for a great cause, for a true universal democracy, will consecrate the new sacrifices and give us the strength and will to preserve peace.



THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A FREE EUROPE, INC., is a group of private citizens who have drawn together to carry out concrete and direct action to restore and strengthen man's most valued possession — freedom.

The Committee has as its active allies numerous exiled democratic leaders who have found haven in the United States from the Communist tyranny of Eastern Europe. Radio Free Europe, of the National Committee for a Free Europe, is setting up facilities that will enable these trusted patriots to be heard again by their own people. Not only does Eastern Europe hear the exiles' impressions of the United States, but American messages of hope and encouragement are transmitted, and, above all, the truth which totalitarian governments forbid their enslaved peoples to hear.

Freedom or the enslavement of men's minds and souls, is the vital issue. What shall we pass on to our children—their rightful heritage of freedom, or the spiritual devastation of Communism? At this very moment the kind of world they will inherit hangs in the balance. The issue is for you to decide. In the vital conflict for the preservation of freedom, the National Committee for a Free Europe offers every single citizen the opportunity to throw in his weight.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A FREE EUROPE, INC.

301 Empire State Building
350 Fifth Avenue
New York 1, N. Y.

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN
THE GENERAL LIBRARIES

DUE

RETURNED