

SPEECH OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

BEFORE THE ANNUAL DINNER

INTERNATIONAL PEASANTS UNION

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This convention of the International Peasants Union is a hopeful occasion. It is hopeful because you know the truth about communist rule. It is hopeful because you have organized and met to free your countries from its iron grasp. It is hopeful because you are telling more and more people, all over the world, about your experience. The peoples of India, Indo-China, and the Middle East are learning from you. They are hearing the truth about communism. They are flinching from the hollow, dissonant sound of false promises. You have suffered -- suffered deeply; but you are saving others from the same fate.

The free world is now locked in a struggle with the greatest tyranny of all time. In our generation, in our lifetime, will be decided whether mankind is finally emancipated from political and economic slavery or whether the long night of tyranny will again close down all over the world. This is the challenge which faces us. This is the challenge which has led the free nations to unite. This is the challenge which requires all the forces at our command. This is the challenge in which we should enlist our most powerful potential allies: the peoples of the enslaved nations themselves.

We must make it crystal clear, again and again, that we have no quarrel with the Russian people; with the other peoples of the Soviet Union; or with the unfortunate peoples of the satellite nations. We are their friends. We would like to defend their freedom as well as our own. Our hearts go out not only to the recent victims of communism; they go out to the original victims -- these noble fighters of czarist oppression whose revolution was betrayed by the Bolsheviks and who are now the victims of a tyranny far worse than the wildest dreams of the

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Romanovs. The peoples of the Soviet Union are in fact the first victims of Communist totalitarianism and aggression.

It is ironic that here in America we can enjoy Russian traditions far better than the present inhabitants of that unhappy country. Here in America we can read Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy and other great authors without hinderance or danger of disloyalty. Here in America we can listen to the music of Tschaikowsky, Rimsky-Korsakow, and the Russian moderns, without regard to its acceptability to the commissars in the Kremlin or its doctrinal significance.

In America we know the real challenge and excitement of developing new areas, of tilling barren land, of building new cities and doing so within the democratic tradition. In America, free men developed a virgin continent without concentration camps, secret police or the other trappings of a totalitarian state. Here in America, all nations, races, and creeds, are represented. We have no natural enemies -- we have only natural friends. The Russian people have long been among those friends.

Let us look at the record. Never in our history as a nation have the United States and Russia fought against each other. Often we have fought together. During our revolutionary war, Empress Catherine II organized the Armed Neutrality of the North, which materially weakened the sea power of England. During the War of 1812, the United States accepted a Russian offer to mediate -- an offer which the British rejected. Then, as Americans began to hear of the brutality and oppression of the Czars their sympathy went out to the Russian people. In 1861, Americans, ready to fight to abolish slavery in their own country, rejoiced at the news that the Czar had abolished serfdom. In 1863 the Russian fleet put in at New York and San Francisco in a gesture of support to the North. Cordiality between the two nations was further cemented by the purchase of Alaska in 1867 for \$7,200,000. In short -- we were fast friends.

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But Americans cannot remain friends of despotism. Refugees from Czarist oppression came to our shores and told of the true conditions there. We heard of arrests, exiles, and executions. We read, in Russian literature and in our own reports, of the brutality of the Russian government and the suffering of the people. In the abortive revolution of 1905 our sympathies were with the people. American indignation at the Czarist reaction mounted with the years, as promised reforms proved fruitless. Finally, in 1911, popular demand forced the termination of our trade agreement with the Czar.

Although we were at odds with the Czar's government, our feelings for the Russian people during this time never varied. They were always friendly. And in 1907 this friendship was cemented by a great gift. A Siberian merchant (Gennedius Vasilievich) Yudin, allowed the Library of Congress to purchase his library of 80,000 volumes for less than one-third of its original value. He had intended making it an outright gift, but hard times in Siberia decreed otherwise. So huge was Yudin's collection that it required three months just to crate it for shipment. The Russian authorities then cleared the rail lines to give it the right of way. The acquisition of the Yudin collection was one of many signs of friendship between Russians and Americans.

Scholars working in the Library of Congress today can thank Yudin for the bulk of its outstanding Slavic collection.

The sympathy of America for the hardships of the Russian people was best expressed during the early days of the Russian Revolution. The United States was the first country to recognize the provisional government which replaced the Czar. We rejoiced with the Russian people at the prospect of their democracy. Our great President, Woodrow Wilson, expressed that support in his war message to Congress on April 2, 1917.

The moderate Kerensky regime which was in power was assured of our support. Material aid and loans to meet the appalling needs of the people were granted

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immediately. But the turmoil of revolution did not subside until the iron hand of Bolshevik dictatorship swung it to reaction. What had begun as a struggle for freedom in which all elements of society participated, ended in a bitter mockery; the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin and his bolsheviks, through agitation, subterfuge, and armed force, seized a shaky government and transformed it into the most complete tyranny the world has ever known. But in spite of Lenin's betrayal, in spite of the sad events of 1917 and 1918, the hand of American friendship was not withdrawn. Again President Wilson, this time in the sixth of the famous fourteen points, expressed the friendship of our people with the Russian people.

Yet, in the face of this clear record, a certain Comrade Pospelov, Director of the Mary - Engels - Lenin Institute, devoted a Lenin's birthday speech to our "imperialistic" record in "opposing" the Russians. Nor was he alone. A story in the New York Times this past weekend reports that a Soviet "Hate America" propaganda campaign has reached a new crescendo of violence and volume during the past month. Today the Soviet government and its organs persist in maliciously distorting the truth. Therefore it is well to set the record of our actions clear. We had no sympathy with the developing Bolshevik tyranny. That would have been impossible. But we never lost our friendship for the people of Russia.

In the years 1920 and 1921, crops failed in the Volga region. In 1920 an American offer of relief was refused by the Soviet government. But by 1921 some 25 million people were starving. The situation was so appalling that the government reversed itself. The noted Soviet author, Maxim Gorki, appealed to "all honest people" for help. We answered promptly and with no strings attached. We responded to the human need. Under Herbert Hoover's direction, the American Relief Administration was organized and gave immediate aid under the ever-watchful eyes of the Soviet officials. In the ensuing two years, some fifty million dollars of American aid had kept millions of people alive. When the Hoover mission left in 1923, the Soviet Government expressed its thanks with a farewell banquet. Yet today, what do the

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Soviets say of this humanitarian act? Let me quote from an official textbook for high school seniors: "The capitalist world tried to take advantage of these new difficulties and saboteurs and spies set fire to and blew up Soviet enterprises. The American Relief Administration adapted its operations to this hostile, subversive work."

Many Americans still hoped that the Soviet regime would bring a new dispensation. Others, regardless of their political feelings, wanted to give it a chance to justify itself. Many traveled to the USSR. Others went as technicians or experts to assist the Soviets in their industrialization projects. American equipment powered the great Knieperstroy Dam and rebuilt it after the war. An American reorganized the Soviet transport system. The Ford Motor Company built the tractor and automobile industries. American equipment and processes were used in the petroleum industry. So extensive was our help that in 1944 Stalin himself told Eric Johnston that about $2/3$ of all the large industrial enterprises in the Soviet Union had been built with American technical or material aid. And, though officially scorning "bourgeois capitalism," Stalin and his henchmen confessed to a certain admiration for the Americans. Thus Stalin chose Packard for his official car, and patterned the Russian Zis after it.

Even more revealing was the reaction of Anastes Mikoyan, a member of the Politburo, to his prewar visit to America. In addition to expressing his admiration of American production methods, he set up ice cream factories and meat packing plants with imported American machinery and started a vigorous campaign to add hot dogs and tomato juice to the Russian diet! Though the fad never took hold, Russian housewives would be happy to get some of those hot dogs today to vary their diet of black bread and tea with a little meat.

Given this admiration of American life, it was not surprising that the Soviet Government accepted an American invitation to discuss recognition. The time had come, we thought, to endeavor to be friendly with the Soviet regime. But the agreements made in 1933 were honored more in the breach than in the observance.
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In late 1939 a final blow was struck to our hopes of Soviet-American friendship. Stalin and Hitler signed an alliance, and paved the way for the attack on Poland and the beginning of World War II. Not only was a ten-year non-aggression pact between the two nations signed, but a secret protocol divided up Eastern Europe into Russian and German spheres. Russia, as happened soon afterward, was to get the Eastern half of Poland, a free hand in the Baltic States, and the Rumanian province of Bessarabia. The other Balkan states were left unmentioned and were to be, in a short time, the cause of Germany's attack on her ally.

The madness of a Hitler was required to ally the United States and Soviet regimes against a common enemy. But the choice to aid Stalin, though perhaps bitter, was obvious. Immediately -- six months before we ourselves entered the war-- we began lend-lease shipments to the Soviet Union. From that time until the war ended in Japan, we shipped over \$11 billion of equipment to Russia.

Not only did we spend our money; we gave our lives. Scores of Americans perished in the icy waters of the Arctic Ocean in vain efforts to bring supplies to Murmansk. Ports, roads and railroads were built to open the supply routes through the Persian gulf -- good the year round. No effort was too great, no hardship too insuperable to keep our allies supplied with sorely needed equipment. Let me review the roster of our aid:

We sent,

more than 14 thousand planes, and

7 thousand tanks.

130,000 machine guns, and

8 thousand anti-aircraft guns.

We sent 19 hundred locomotives --

400 more than the USSR had in

operation in 1935!

We sent torpedo boats,

submarine chasers,

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merchant ships,
motor vehicles,
tractors,
freight cars,
machine tools,
engines and generators,
food, clothing, shoes, and even buttons --
more than \$1 million worth.

\$11 billion dollars of the best America could produce.

Nor was that all.

After the war was over, lend-lease officially ended. But not American generosity. Another quarter billion of industrial and transportation equipment -- already ordered under lend-lease -- was sent over by our Government. Meanwhile, UNRRA, supported largely by American funds, moved into devastated areas and spent close to \$250 million in the Ukraine and White Russia alone.

Nor was that all. Americans themselves dug into their pockets to help the victims of war. They gave unstintingly, and by 1949 private contributions to Russian relief totaled \$103 million. During the period 1921-1947, no other nation supplied more commodities to the Soviet Union. This, and common cause against Nazi aggression, should have guaranteed friendship -- if friendship were possible.

How did the Russian people respond to this aid? Ask a soldier at the front, fighting with American arms. Ask a mother behind the lines, finding the once-empty stores stocked with American food for her children. They remember American generosity, even through the maze of propaganda. Ask even the officials of the Soviet Government -- but ask them at the right time. Let us hear what Ambassador Andrei Gromyko said at Madison Square Garden in 1944, on the 11th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between our countries:

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"It is not necessary to speak in similar detail of the tremendous significance of the successful cooperation, in the past and in the future, of two such great countries as the US and the USSR. Our countries have still greater potential opportunity for strengthening the bonds of friendship, political cooperation, and development and expansion of trade. There is a basis for presuming that the cooperation of our countries, which grew strong in time of war, will serve as a firm foundation for still stronger bonds between them in the future -- in the interests of preserving the common peace and the well being of the people."

And what did Ambassador Nikolai V. Novikov say in 1947 to the Miami Council of American-Soviet Friendship?

"The Soviet people.....highly appreciate and will never forget the help and the splendid military efforts of the American people. The friendship of our peoples, which played such an important role in the achievement of victory over the common enemy, can and must play a far greater role now, in time of peace, when mankind is laying the foundation for a universal, durable peace."

Nor should we forget that General Eisenhower, who lead the opening of the second front in Europe and, as Supreme Commander, planned the successful sweep across Germany, was honored by the Soviets as a sign of appreciation for our war effort. In August 1945, right after the Potsdam Conference, the General spent 5 days in Moscow as guest of the Soviet Government. He was recieved in an atmosphere of cordiality; given a public ovation at the Moscow stadium, and dined and toasted by Stalin himself. No, my friends, during the war and while its memory was still

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bright, there was no lack of appreciation or acknowledgement of American's part in winning it.

But we did not stop with the war, we continued to hope for Soviet friendship and good faith. And we bent over backwards -- too far backwards -- to obtain it.

Our people failed to understand the true nature of the Soviet regime. Knowing of our own neighborliness and desire for peace, we naively assumed that our aspirations were shared by the Soviet Union. We failed to appreciate that the voice of the Russian people was not heard within the walls of the Kremlin.

Let me list, very briefly, the major American concessions to Soviet wishes in our endeavor to cement friendship and secure peace. At Yalta we agreed to the cession of the Kurile Islands and the southern part of Sakhalin to the USSR; we agreed to recognize the independence of Outer Mongolia; we agreed that Soviet interests should be paramount in Port Arthur, Dairen, and the Manchurian railways; we agreed to the Curzon line as the Soviet Union's western border, thus regretfully providing Stalin with a huge chunk of prewar Poland; we agreed to give the Soviet Union three votes in the United Nations by admitting the Ukraine and Byelorussia; and we agreed to the exchange of citizens liberated by our armed forces -- thus sending literally hundreds of thousands of unwilling Soviet citizens from Germany and Western Europe to their native land and almost certain imprisonment or death.

We also, in dividing Germany up into occupation zones, agreed to let the USSR administer a large area which was originally taken by British and American Troops. Certainly if any assurance was needed of our good faith, our evacuation of their zone of Germany should have given it. The American people desired peace.

At Potsdam our concessions were continued: We agreed to let the USSR annex the northern part of East Prussia; we agreed to the provisional Polish administration of Eastern Germany -- and those lands, from which millions of Germans were forcibly expelled, have been incorporated into Poland now and a "treaty" signed with the rump government of Eastern Germany; we agreed to the modification of the Montreux

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Convention with respect to the Dardanelles; and we agreed to give the Soviet Union preferential reparations from Western Germany.

Our "soft" policy did not stop there. In the Italian Treaty, we conceded Soviet claims to reparations and compromised on the administration of Venezia Giulia and Trieste. We offered the Soviet Union a 25-year mutual assistance pact against Japanese and German aggression. Nor did we stop there. Both officially and privately we tried to arrange for greater cultural contact between the two countries. We invited a Red Army chorus to visit this country, suggested student exchanges and visiting professorships. Conductor Serge Koussevitsky repeatedly offered to pay out of his own pocket for a visit of the Boston Symphony to the USSR for a series of benefit concerts. He also invited the conductor of the Leningrad Symphony to be a guest at Boston. Neither offer was even so much as acknowledged.

Now let us look at the other side of the slate, the Soviet response to these gestures.

Though grudging recognition was given to lend-lease aid during the war, there was no reciprocity in the exchange of military and technological information, nor was any publicity given to the contributions of the American private and church groups. And although we offered to negotiate a recovery loan with the Soviets, they refused to consider discussion of other economic questions in connection with the negotiations. Meanwhile, their propaganda sirens were screaming that American economic collapse would soon lead us to beg them to accept our generosity.

The Soviet government made no gestures to observe its part of the Yalta Agreement. Free elections were never granted in Poland, Rumania or Bulgaria; the rest of Eastern and Central Europe was saddled with puppet regimes who defied the West at the Kremlin's bidding.

The Comintern was resurrected, this time with the more euphonious title of "Cominform." But no one was deceived as to its purpose.

Non-cooperation in Germany and Austria was climaxed in 1948 by the blockade of Berlin for more than a year, and partial blockades recurrently thereafter. East
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Germany has now been organized as a separate state, the ironically named "German Democratic Republic." Soviet ravages of Eastern Europe, Manchuria and Korea all but prevented industrial production in those areas for some years.

I do not need to tell you here of the other Soviet outrages in your nations. The Soviet Union strung out negotiations on the Italian and Balkan peace treaties for 15 months, and has turned the Austrian negotiations into a farce, where 258 Big-Four meetings have brought no semblance of agreement.

Joint negotiations on Japan and Germany are out of the question -- with Japan already resuming peaceful relations with us and West Germany becoming an ally in Western Europe.

This list is necessarily incomplete. I don't want to be here all night. But comb the record as you will, you find no evidence of serious Soviet intentions to cooperate with the West. Even the Marshall Plan was rejected out of hand, and has been castigated since its beginning as an imperialistic move. Poland and Czechoslovakia apparently did not think so, though, and joined the initial discussions until summoned home by Moscow. But since it became a reality, the Communist Parties of Western Europe have missed no opportunity to disgrace it, sabotage it, or otherwise interfere with recovery. Why? Because a strong -- free -- Europe would never fall prey to Communist villany.

Since the United Nations started functioning, what has been the Soviet record? Repeatedly the veto has been used to thwart the will of the majority -- 47 times in all. Repeatedly, UN meetings have been used as sounding boards for Soviet propaganda. Mr. Vishinsky's horse-laugh of last fall was indicative of the seriousness with which the Soviet delegation has approached our offers of disarmament or UN control of atomic energy. We cannot and will not cease our efforts to reach international agreements. We also cannot ignore the fact that the Kremlin and its puppets have constituted themselves a permanent opposition to the will of the rest of the world.

The Soviet Union has not been satisfied with recalcitrance within the UN. It
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has spurned invitations to join the specialized agencies, or withdrawn after a short period of nominal membership. UNESCO, WHO, FAO, ICAO and the International Bank and Fund are ignored completely. Yet these are the organizations which are carrying out the creative work of the United Nations. These are the organizations which are beginning to meet the terrible problems of poverty, disease, and starvation. These are the organizations which are demonstrating every day that men can work together for a better world.

But the Soviet Union has not only stayed away, it has refused the offer of their help. Surely everyone knows how valuable technical assistance would be to the Soviet Union -- the problems of the five-year plans prove that. Yet Soviet borders remain sealed. And China, the latest satellite, has suffered even more from this policy. With thousands dying of the plague in North Korea and Manchuria, China recently refused the offer of the World Health Organization to help combat this dread disease. With the facilities at its disposal, WHO could wipe it out in a number of days. Yet what is the Communist response? Rather sacrifice thousands of lives to the Black Death than lift the Iron Curtain. Surely if any action could expose the falseness of communist concern for the welfare of the people, this one could.

Look at the record where you will, one thing is clear. The Kremlin had and has now, no intention of living peacefully with the rest of the world. Between all the lies and the double-talk, this should stand out plainly. The real tragedy of today does not lie in the struggle we are engaged in. The real tragedy lies in the distortions and perversions of the issues. The real tragedy lies in the claim of the Soviet Union to be the democratic, peace-loving country. But Soviet peace is the peace of the grave, and Soviet freedom is the freedom of the police state.

Behind the distortions, behind the lies, are the grim realities. The reality of a people ruthlessly exploited by a power-mad regime. The reality of an imperialism that has made satellites of some of the proudest, freest nations in Europe. The

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reality of a brutal anti-Semitism -- paralleling in many respects the anti-Semitism of the Nazis. Jewish cultural life is being systematically blotted out. But Soviet religious persecutions are not confined to the Jews. Moslems and Christians, especially Roman Catholics, have also been subjected to the tortures of an avowedly athiestic regime.

We of the United States can stand before the bar of world opinion with clean consciences. And we should not hesitate to tell our story to the world. We bent over backwards to allay Soviet suspicion, but it was not possible because totalitarian regimes carry within themselves the seeds of their own destruction. And when those seeds are exposed to the sunlight of freedom they begin to bear fruit. And so Stalin and his cohorts cannot leave the darkness of tyranny for the sunlight of freedom. Engels and Lenin were wrong: under communism it is not the state but the people that withers away!

I do not need to tell you of conditions in the Soviet Union or in the satellite countries today. I do not need to describe the slave-labor economy of communism, where millions of people are in forced labor camps and other millions, nominally free, are subjected to brutal speed-ups, where labor unions are an arm of the government, and where the penalty for being 20 minutes late is dismissal. I do not need to tell you of the collectivization of the peasantry in which, by Stalin's own admission, 10 million kulaks in the Soviet Union alone were liquidated. Now this tragic process is repeated in the rest of the Soviet orbit. I do not need to tell you of thought control so rigid that not only literature and economics but music and biology are subject to rigid censorship and many who unwittingly cross the party line are heard from no more. I do not need to tell you of a provincialism so complete that not only is direct communication with the outside world forbidden, but the very word "cosmopolitan" has become an epithet. I do not need to tell you of the terror of ever-present secret police; of bribery, corruption or false accusations. I do not need to tell you of the tremendous military preparations the Soviet Union

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is making or of the puppet armies of the satellites. I do not need to repeat the vicious, malicious attacks on the United States which have filled the newspapers and airways and characterized the literature of the USSR almost since the war ended. You know the facts too well.

Anyone who can think, who has ideas and principles of his own, anyone who is loyal to his religion or to the humanist tradition can be sure of one thing: under communism he is doomed. We remember not only the purges of the '30's, we remember the Katyn massacre, we remember the "liberation" of Poland, where the Soviets systematically shot, not the collaborators with Nazism but those who resisted it -- men and women with the spirit and courage of freedom.

Under Soviet rule, no one is safe, not even the most loyal supporters. What, for example, has happened to the original revolutionaries, the men who put over the Bolshevik coup? Only four members of the original politburo are still alive, Stalin, Molotov, Voroshilov, and Andreyev. The others: 5 executed, 1 assassinated, and 1 persuaded to commit suicide. The people's Commissar's and members of the Central Committee fared no better. 28 were executed, 7 committed suicide, 2 were poisoned, 2 disappeared in prison, and 12 were shot. Nor was the military exempt from the blood-bath. Over 40 marshalls, generals, admirals and vice admirals have been shot. The gory list does not stop here. It includes diplomats, leaders of the Comintern, writers, historians, artists -- people from all walks of life. The purge still goes on. Look at the score for high officials in the satellite countries in 1951 alone: Bulgaria 11; Czechoslovakia, 25; Hungary, 10; Poland, 10; and Roumania, 10. These officials were not only removed from office; many were jailed or shot.

The Soviet propagandists charge that we are imperialists. But who are the imperialists? The Soviets know. Was it the "imperialists" who freed India, Indonesia and the Philippines? Was it the "imperialists" who re-established the freedom of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Albania, after World War I? The peace-loving men of the Kremlin had other ideas for those unfortunate countries

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after the second World War. Was it the "imperialists" who made a just and honorable peace with Japan, depriving her of none of her territory? No, my friends, but men of the Kremlin who annexed outright over 260,225 square miles and close to 22 million non-Soviet citizens after 1939. It was they who demanded Turkish territories and fomented the civil war in Greece. It is the Communists who are now fighting in Burma, and Malaya, and Indo-China, and invaded Korea.

What a mockery all of this is. How much longer will it go on? We must, again and again, silence the blares of Bolshevik propaganda with the facts. But let me sound a warning here. Every time we shut our eyes to evils in our own half of the world, every time we abstain from hearing the grievances of an African or an Asian in the United Nations; every time we support vestigial colonialism, economic royalists, large landowners or reactionary elements, we are lending credulity to the Communist tale.

And every time a "preventive war" is irresponsibly advocated; every time somebody speaks of the "Russians" instead of Soviet tyranny as our enemy; every time a General loosely keeps a chauvinistic diary; every time we boast of the terror of atomic war, we are lending credence to the Soviet myth that we are warmongers.

I do not need to tell you what you already know: that the Soviets are masters of stretching one half-truth to cover a carload of arrant falsehoods. We must rip off this specious cover, and expose the propaganda carload for what it is.

Of course we cannot claim perfection for ourselves. Who would want to? The greatest challenge of democracy lies in its ever-expanding freedom. We can always improve our country. We can always help other countries to greater freedom and prosperity. That is our way of life, and we must not be deluded into aping our enemies by claiming perfection for ourselves. We must not compete with the Communists to see who can promise the better millenium in the shorter time. We must be realists -- because people will not be fooled.

It is time we Americans stopped talking about our bathrooms, our radios, our televisions, and our automobiles and began talking about our town meetings, our
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community centers, our tradition of cooperation and our respect for the individual. American idealism is needed even more than American technology by the world of today. And not only American idealism, because we have no exclusive claim to it, but the idealism and vision of freedom-loving men and women everywhere.

We must make it clear to the peoples of all the world that we are their allies. We understand sympathize with their aspirations. We respect their dignity and their individuality. We value their culture and their achievements. We desire to impose no "Americanization," no alien pattern of conformity corresponding to the increasing Russification of the 180 nationalities in the Soviet Union. Our aim is to cultivate friends and not force the creation of satellites.

We must make this clear not only by our declarations, but by our actions. We must have the self-control to respect their wishes -- particularly to allow the new nations of the world to develop their own patterns of democratic life. We must, of course, stand ready to protect them from aggression -- not because of altruism, but because in this shrinking world, aggression against free nations anywhere is aggression against the United States.

We must also renew our pledge of sympathy and friendship for those now suffering under communist rule. Our fellow-feeling with the newly-conquered satellites is obvious. But the Russian people are also potential allies, perhaps our strongest potential allies. And the United States is beginning to realize this. It is significant that twice within the last year the people of the United States have explicitly expressed their friendship for the people of Soviet Russia. The Congress of the United States overwhelmingly passed a resolution of friendship for the Russian people, proclaiming our desire for peace and our respect for democratic ideals. And scarcely a month ago, on the 35th anniversary of the Russian revolution of 1917, seventy-two prominent Americans renewed the pledge of friendship with a message broadcast over the Voice of America.

We must continue to find ways to let the peoples of the Soviet Union know that we are their friends, that we feel their needs and share their peril. But as we do
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this we must make it crystal clear that we do not seek another war -- that we do not intend to kill them or lay waste their homes, farms, and factories.

Our policy, and it is a sound one, is to build situations of strength throughout the world, to fill in the power vacuum into which communism rolled in the years immediately after the war. But we cannot afford to give the impression that this is our whole aim. That is only the beginning.

When and where the tide of aggression is stemmed, we must think of the needs of the people. It is not enough to keep communism out of Western Europe, we must see that its still shaky economy is strengthened, and that its fruits are fairly distributed.

It will not be enough to defeat the communists in Korea; we must then bend all our efforts to rebuilding that unhappy country, which has suffered unparalleled destruction.

It is not enough to keep communism out of India, Burma, Malaya, and Indo-China; we must help the governments of those nations to raise their people above the poverty line and to create functioning democracies. It is not enough to keep communism out of Africa and the Middle East; we must help their peoples achieve independence and freedom in fact as well as in name.

Never will I forget the story of an East German refugee -- a girl of about 15 whose family had made their way across the frontier to freedom. Asked about her school, she told of the daily hour of propaganda -- the harangues of her teachers and party leaders. But she added quietly: "We all sit with our heads bowed, to let it go over them." What stark tragedy that is. A classroom; a school; a nation; half a world -- people with their heads bowed, listening in silence, but praying for the strength to believe in and hope for a better day. We in the free world have that faith and that hope. We must share it.

We can take heart from those brave partisans of freedom within the Soviet Union who dare defy the Soviet power by passive and active resistance. I am thinking now of the Ukraine, where the populace welcome the German "liberators" with the

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traditional bread and salt and hundreds of thousands of Red Army troops deserted, hoping for the opportunity to fight Bolshevik tyranny themselves. Even the bitter discovery that Nazism was the same system under a different name did not quench their ardor for freedom. The fight still goes on, as some 30,000 well-trained, well-led guerillas continue their attacks on Soviet authority.

I am thinking too of the smaller partisan movements in satellite countries: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, and China.

I am thinking of the resistance movements in many parts of the Soviet Union: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Caucasia, Turkestan, Kirgizia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and where Stalinists have attempted collectivization and Russification.

We should trumpet the achievements of these gallant men for all to hear, and beam them behind the Iron Curtain. The Voice of America could well follow the example of RIAS, the American radio station in Berlin and one of our most effective weapons against communism in Germany, of broadcasting the real story of what is going on -- the story that the communist press suppresses. We could show the peoples of Soviet Union and the satellite nations that we are with them in their fight by identifying MVD secret police sympathizers as has been done in Germany.

We should also step up our efforts on this side of the Iron Curtain to give asylum and a new chance in life to those who successfully flee from communist tyranny. What better evidence of our sincerity than this simple gesture; and what better friends could we have than those who know Soviet rule at first hand? The recent news that the International Rescue Committee was facing dissolution because of lack of funds must have brought a thrill of hope to the Kremlin -- and a shudder of despair to those who know of its effective work. But, judging by their hysterical reactions, the Kremlin realized we had at last seen an effective weapon, when the Mutual Security Act authorized the expenditure of \$100,000,000 to help resistance and refugee groups. In fact they have appealed to the UN. But this hundred million

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dollars is a paltry sum indeed compared to the amounts the Kremlin is spending to support its Communist Parties abroad.

My friends, I do not need to tell you that this convention has a symbolic as well as an actual importance. You symbolize the hatred of all but a tiny minority of your countrymen for communist oppression. You symbolize the positive devotion to democracy which is shared by freedom-loving people throughout the world. You symbolize the great truth that men who have once tasted freedom will never cease their resistance to slavery. You symbolize something very important and dear to us in America -- the stalwart character and individualism of the man who lives on the land, close to nature and attuned to the realities of life -- the surest, most reliable supporter of democracy. Your number today may be small, but it will increase. You will grow in significance as you near your objective: freedom for your peoples. America welcomes you to her shores as she welcomes all the oppressed. But we extend more than our welcome. We extend our hopes and our pledge to join with you in the struggle to destroy tyranny in any guise.

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once upon a time, not so long ago, felt that Stalin could be won for peace by overfeeding him with concessions. Stalin, the Cobra! You who know Russian history, know what I mean. Imagine a cobra getting meek, weak and sick through being overfed with such juicy morsels as the Ukrainians, Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, Estonians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Croats and other noble people! Ah! The cobra! What a symbol of peace—of Communist peace!

Yes, we must know our enemy if we are ever actually to defeat it.

I call for a positive and constructive approach. I call for decent human relations in this work. There must be no dictation of activities by those of us who provide the material aid. Sound principles and straight people cannot be bought with money. Those who are a little better off or much better off than others, must realize that there are some things that cannot be bought with money. Loyal, courageous, fighting men cannot be bought with money. Sound principles and worthy ideals cannot be bought with money. If anybody sells anything in this realm, he is selling counterfeit ideals, false ideals and fake leaders. These can never provide the life stream of a fighting movement, of a militant democratic movement, of a movement for world peace, human freedom and decency.

Since we here are all agreed on basic principles, since those organizations and committees and institutions helping you are all agreed with us on basic principles, I can confidently say we must rely on the initiative, loyalty, and experience of those who work with us. Our undertakings are not cost-accounting undertakings. We are not working or fighting in a bookkeeper's paradise. Our balance sheet is not one of simple arithmetic, or as we say in America, the score card is not just boxes and crosses. Here is a complicated equation that we must meet and solve.

In order to prevent World War III, we must, among other things, of course, learn from the mistakes which we made leading up to and during World War II. Let me cite one very bad mistake that there is always a danger of our repeating: For instance, I would say that under no circumstances must there be any interference with or domination of your leading bodies—or even yielding to those who insist on dictating as to who shall constitute the leaders of your various national committees. I have here, my good friend Mikolajczyk, at my left, so I can speak to you en famille. This may sound harsh criticism of some people. But if we can't criticize friends, we

should not criticize anybody. As friends we must first of all learn how to disagree without being disagreeable to each other.

It is in this light that I remind you of the catastrophic mistake made by Britain and America in yielding to Russian pressure for "reconstructing" the Mikolajczyk Cabinet in order to meet Moscow's requirements and solidify its predatory interests.

I cannot say to you too forcefully that democratic America must not have such aspirations. Democratic Americans should not use such methods. I say to you: Liberalization, yes; Lublinization—No! In other words, Lublinization is not liberalization, but is the very opposite of it.

This principle holds true for the Far East as well as the Near East, for Central Europe and Germany as well as for Southern Europe and the Baltics.

I advise you my friends never to yield on this question, never to make such concessions. Never compromise with this principle. Don't let the camel stick his dirty nose into your tent. If you do, something will happen to your tent. I am at a loss for words to describe what will happen. I am no expert in this business. But you do know that if you will let the camel stick his nose into your tent, you will no longer be able to live in it. I am now speaking only politically, of course.

I call for a revival and restoration of the lend-lease principle as the guiding line for the relations between the helpers and the helped, between those who are able to give you some material aid and you who conduct the work. You, who are to be the link of life and liberty with the oppressed and suppressed behind the Iron Curtain and those of us who help you are not doing you a favor when we help you. We are only doing our duty. I am speaking from experience in both phases of this relationship. It is often far more difficult to be helped than to do the helping. And all of you know exactly what I mean.

We have a common cause, we have a common aspiration. We must work as equal partners. There must be no high-hatting or talking down or talking at each other. We must work together in a spirit of mutual respect and confidence. It is in this spirit that I call for all of us to work together and to fight together. Only then can we win together.

It is only in this spirit and along the lines I have indicated or on similar paths that we will be able to attain our common goal, to win a resounding victory and to bring about a better, a free, and a truly peaceful world.

THE SPEECH OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

This convention of the International Peasant Union is a hopeful occasion. It is hopeful because you know the truth about communist rule. It is hopeful because you have organized and you meet to free your countries from communism's iron grasp. It is hopeful because you are telling more and more people, all over the world, about your experience. The peoples of India, Indo-China, and the Middle East are learning from you. They are hearing the truth about communism. They are flinching from the hollow, dissonant sound of false promises. You have suffered—suffered deeply; but you are saving others from the same fate.

The free world is now locked in a struggle with the greatest tyranny of all time. In our generation, in our lifetime, will be decided whether mankind is finally emancipated from political and economic slavery or whether the long night of tyranny will again close down all over the world. This is the challenge which faces us. This is the challenge which has led the free nations to unite. This is the challenge which requires the unity of all the forces at our command. This is the challenge in which we should enlist our most powerful potential allies: the peoples of the enslaved nations themselves.

We must make it crystal clear, again and again, that we have no quarrel with the Russian people; with the other peoples of the Soviet Union; or with the unfortunate peoples of the satellite nations. We are their

friends. We would like to defend their freedom as well as our own. Our hearts go out not only to the recent victims of communism; they go out to the original victims—these noble fighters of czarist oppression whose revolution was betrayed by the Bolsheviks and who are now the victims of a tyranny far worse than the wildest dreams of the Romanovs. The peoples of the Soviet Union are in fact the first victims of Communist totalitarianism and aggression.

It is ironic that here in America we can enjoy Russian traditions far better than the present inhabitants of that unhappy country. Here in America we can read Tolstoy and other great authors without hindrance or danger of disloyalty. Here in America we can listen to the music of Tchaikovsky, Rimsky-Korsakof, and the Russian moderns, without regard to its acceptability to the commissars in the Kremlin or its doctrinal significance.

In America we know the real challenge and excitement of developing new areas, of tilling barren land, of building new cities and doing so within the democratic tradition. In America, free men developed a virgin continent without concentration camps, secret police or the other trappings of a totalitarian state. Here in America, all nations, races, and creeds, are represented. We have no natural enemies—we have only natural friends. The Russian people have long been among those friends.



Senator Humphrey Addressing the Delegates and Guests

The sympathy of America for the hardships of the Russian people was best expressed during the early days of the Russian Revolution. The United States was the first country to recognize the provisional government which replaced the Czar. We rejoiced with the Russian people at the prospect of their democracy. Our great President, Woodrow Wilson, expressed that support in his war message to Congress on April 2, 1917.

The moderate Kerensky regime which was in power

was assured of our support. Material aid and loans to meet the appalling needs of the people were granted immediately. But the turmoil of revolution did not subside until the iron hand of Bolshevik dictatorship swung it to oppression and reaction. What had begun as a struggle for freedom in which all elements of society participated, ended in a bitter mockery;—the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin and his bolsheviks, through agitation, subterfuge, and armed force, seized a shaky government and transformed it into the most complete tyranny the world has ever known.

But in spite of Lenin's betrayal, in spite of the sad events of 1917 and 1918, the hand of American friendship was not withdrawn. Again President Wilson, this time in the sixth of the famous fourteen points, expressed the friendship in our people with the Russian people.

Yet, in the face of this clear record, a certain Comrade Pospelof, Director of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, devoted a Lenin's birthday speech to our "imperialistic" record in "opposing" the Russians. Nor was he alone. A story in the *New York Times* this past weekend reports that a Soviet "Hate America" propaganda campaign has reached a new crescendo of violence and volume during the past month. Today the Soviet government and its organs persist in maliciously distorting the truth.

Therefore, it is well to set the record of our actions clear. We had no sympathy nor do have with Bolshevik tyranny. That would have been impossible. But we never lost our friendship for the people of Russia.

In the years 1920 and 1921, crops failed in the Volga region. In 1920 an American offer of relief was refused by the Soviet government. But by 1921 some 25 million people were starving. The situation was so appalling that the government reversed itself. The noted Soviet author, Maxim Gorki, appealed to "all honest people" for help. We answered promptly and with no strings attached. We responded to the human need. Under Herbert Hoover's direction, the American Relief Administration was organized and gave immediate aid under the ever-watchful eyes of the Soviet officials. In the ensuing two years, some fifty million dollars of American aid had kept millions of people alive. When the Hoover mission left in 1923, the Government expressed its thanks with a farewell banquet. Yet today, what do the Soviets say of this humanitarian act? Let me quote from an official textbook for Soviet high school seniors: "The capitalist world tried to take advantage of these new difficulties and saboteurs and spies set fire to and blew up Soviet enterprises. The American Relief Administration adapted its operations to this hostile, subversive work."

Many Americans still hoped that the Soviet regime would bring a new dispensation. Others, regardless of their political feelings, wanted to give it a chance to justify itself. Many traveled to the USSR. Others went as technicians or experts to assist the Soviets in their industrialization projects.

American equipment powered the great Dnieprostroy Dam and rebuilt it after the war. An American reorganized the Soviet transport system. The Ford Motor Company built the tractor and automobile industries. American equipment and processes were used in the petroleum industry. So extensive was our help that in 1944 Stalin himself told Eric Johnston that about 2/3 of all the large industrial enterprises in the Soviet Union had been built with American technical or material aid. And, though officially scorning "bourgeois capitalism," Stalin and his henchmen confessed to a certain admiration for the Americans. Thus Stalin chose the Packard for his official car, and patterned the Russian Zis after it.

Even more revealing was the reaction of Anastas Mikoyan, a member of the Politburo, to his prewar visit to America. In addition to expressing his admiration of American production methods, he set up ice cream factories and meat packing plants with imported American machinery and started a vigorous campaign to add hot dogs and tomato juice to the Russian diet! Though the fad never took hold, Russian housewives would be happy to get some of those hot dogs today to vary their diet of black bread and tea with a little meat.



Dr. Milan Gavrilovic, Dr. Vladko Macek, Ferenc Nagy, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, President Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, Secretary-General Dr. G. M. Dimitrov

Given this admiration of American life, it was not surprising that the Soviet Government accepted an American invitation to discuss recognition. The time had come, we thought, to endeavor to be friendly with the Soviet regime. But the agreements made in 1933 were honored more in the breach than in the observance. In late 1939 a final blow was struck to our hopes of Soviet-American friendship. Stalin and Hitler signed an alliance, and paved the way for the attack on Poland and the beginning of World War II. Not only was a ten-year non-aggression pact between the two nations signed, but a secret protocol divided up Eastern Europe into Russian and German spheres. Russia, as happened soon afterward, was to get the Eastern half of Poland, a free hand in the Baltic States, and the Rumanian province of Bessarabia. The other Balkan states were left unmentioned and were to be, in a short time, the cause of Germany's attack on her ally.

The madness of a Hitler was required to ally the United States and the Soviet against a common enemy. But the choice to aid Stalin, though perhaps bitter, was obvious. Immediately—six months before we ourselves entered the war—we began lend-lease shipments to the Soviet Union. From that time until the war ended in Japan, we shipped over \$11 billion of equipment to Russia.

Not only did we spend our money; we gave our lives. Scores of Americans perished in the icy waters of the Arctic Ocean in vain efforts to bring supplies to Murmansk. Ports, roads and railroads were built to open the supply routes through the Persian gulf—good the year round. No effort was too great, no hardship too insuper-

able to keep our allies supplied with sorely needed equipment. Let me review the roster of our aid:

We sent more than 14 thousand planes, and 7 thousand tanks, 130,000 machine guns, and 8 thousand anti-aircraft guns.

We sent 19 hundred locomotives—400 more than the USSR had in operation in 1935!

We sent torpedo boats, submarine chasers, merchant ships, motor vehicles, tractors, freight cars, machine tools, engines and generators, food, clothing, shoes, and even buttons—more than \$1 million worth. \$11 billion dollars of the best America could produce.

Nor was that all.

After the war was over, lend-lease officially ended. But not American generosity. Another quarter billion of industrial and transportation equipment—already ordered under lend-lease—was sent over by our Government. Meanwhile, UNRRA, supported generously by American funds, moved into devastated areas and spent close to \$250 million in the Ukraine and White Russia alone.

Nor was that all. Americans themselves dug into their pockets to help the victims of war. They gave unstintingly, and by 1949 *private* contributions to Russian relief totaled \$103 million. During the period 1921-1947, no other nation supplied more commodities to the Soviet Union. This, and common cause against Nazi aggression, should have guaranteed friendship—if friendship were possible.

How did the Russian people respond to this aid? Ask a soldier at the front, fighting with American arms. Ask a mother behind the lines, finding the once-empty stores

stocked with American food for her children. They remember American generosity, even through the maze of propaganda.

But we did not stop with the war, we continued to hope for Soviet friendship and good faith. And we bent over backwards—too far backwards—to obtain it.

Our people failed to understand the true nature of the Soviet regime. Knowing of our own neighborliness and desire for peace, we naively assumed that our aspirations were shared by the Soviet Union. We failed to appreciate that the voice of the Russian people was not heard within the walls of the Kremlin.

Our "soft" policy did not stop there. In the Italian Treaty, we conceded Soviet claims to reparations and compromised on the administration of strategic cities and areas. We offered the Soviet Union a 25-year mutual assistance pact against Japanese and German aggression. Nor did we stop there. Both officially and privately we tried to arrange for greater cultural contact between the two countries. We invited a Red Army chorus to visit this country, suggested student exchanges and visiting professorships. The great conductor Koussevitsky repeatedly offered to pay out of his own pocket for a visit of the Boston Symphony to the USSR for a series of benefit concerts. He also invited the conductor of the Leningrad Symphony to be a guest at Boston. Neither offer was even so much as acknowledged.

Now let us look at the other side of the slate, the Soviet response to these gestures.

Though grudging recognition was given to lend-lease aid during the war, there was no reciprocity in the exchange of military and technological information, nor was any publicity given to the contributions of the American private and church groups. And although we offered to negotiate a recovery loan with the Soviets, they refused to consider discussion of other economic questions in connection with the negotiations. Meanwhile, their propaganda sirens were screaming that American economic collapse would soon lead us to beg them to accept our generosity.

The Soviet government made no gestures to observe its part of the Yalta Agreement. Free elections were never granted in Poland, Rumania or Bulgaria; the rest of Eastern and Central Europe was saddled with puppet regimes who defied the West at the Kremlin's bidding.

The Comintern was resurrected, this time with the more euphonious title of "Cominform." But no one was deceived as to its purpose.

Non-cooperation in Germany and Austria was climaxed in 1948 by the blockade of Berlin for more than a year, and partial blockades recurrently thereafter. East Germany has now been organized as a separate state, the ironically named "German Democratic Republic." Soviet ravages of Eastern Europe, Manchuria and Korea all but

prevented industrial production in those areas for some years.

I do not need to tell you here of the other Soviet outrages in your nations. The Soviet Union strung out negotiations on the Italian and Balkan peace treaties for 15 months, and has turned the Austrian negotiations into a farce, where 258 Big-Four meetings have brought no semblance of agreement.

Joint negotiations on Japan and Germany have been stifled and made a mockery by the Soviet—with Japan already resuming peaceful relations with us and West Germany becoming an ally in Western Europe.

This list is necessarily incomplete. I don't want to be here all night. But comb the record as you will, you find no evidence of serious Soviet intentions to cooperate with the West. Even the Marshall Plan was rejected out of hand, and has been castigated since its beginning as an imperialistic move. Poland and Czechoslovakia apparently did not think so, though, and joined the initial discussions until summoned home by Moscow. But since it became a reality, the communist parties of Western Europe have missed no opportunity to disgrace it, sabotage it, or otherwise interfere with recovery. Why? Because a strong—free—Europe would never fall prey to communist villany.

Since the United Nations started functioning, what has been the Soviet record? Repeatedly the veto has been used to thwart the will of the majority—47 times in all. Repeatedly, UN meetings have been used as sounding boards for Soviet propaganda. Mr. Vishinsky's horse-laugh of last fall was indicative of the seriousness with which the Soviet delegation has approached our offers of disarmament or UN control of atomic energy.

We cannot and will not cease our efforts to reach international agreements. We also cannot ignore the fact that the Kremlin and its puppets have constituted themselves a permanent opposition to the will of the rest of the world.

The Soviet leaders have not been satisfied with recalcitrance within the UN. It has spurned invitations to join the specialized agencies, or withdrawn after a short period of nominal membership. UNESCO, WHO, FAO, ICAO and the International Bank and Fund are ignored completely. Yet these are the organizations which are carrying out the creative work of the United Nations. These are the organizations which are beginning to meet the terrible problems of poverty, disease, and starvation. These are the organizations which are demonstrating every day that men can work together for a better world.

But the Soviet Union has not only stayed away, it has refused the offer of their help. Surely everyone knows how valuable technical assistance would be to the Soviet Union—the problems of the five-year plans prove that. Yet Soviet borders remain sealed. And China,



the latest satellite, has suffered even more from this policy. With thousands dying of the plague in North Korea and Manchuria, China recently refused the offer of the World Health Organization to help combat this dread disease. With the facilities at its disposal, WHO could wipe it out in a number of days. Yet what is the communist response?

Rather sacrifice thousands of lives to the Black Death than lift the Iron Curtain. Surely if any action could expose the falseness of communist concern for the welfare of the people, this one could, and should.

Look at the record where you will, one thing is clear. The Kremlin had and has now, no intention of living peacefully with the rest of the world. Between all the lies and the double-talk, this should stand out plainly.

The real tragedy of today does not lie in the struggle we are engaged in. The real tragedy lies in the distortions and perversions of the issues. The real tragedy lies in the claim of the Soviet Union to be the democratic, peace-loving country. But Soviet peace is the peace of the grave, and soviet freedom is the freedom of the police state.

Behind the distortions, behind the lies, are the grim realities. The reality of a people ruthlessly exploited by a power-mad regime. The reality of a cruel imperialism that has made satellites of some of the proudest, freest nations in Europe. The reality of a brutal anti-Semitism—paralleling in many respects the anti-Semitism of the Nazis. Jewish cultural life is being systematically blotted out. But Soviet religious persecutions are not confined to the Jews. Moslems and Christians, especially Roman Catholics, have also been subjected to the tortures of an avowedly atheistic regime.

We of the United States can stand before the bar of world opinion with clean consciences! And we should not hesitate to tell our story to the world. We bent over backwards to allay Soviet suspicion, but it was not possible because totalitarian regimes carry within themselves the seeds of their own destruction. And when those seeds are exposed to the sunlight of freedom they begin to bear fruit. And so Stalin and his cohorts dare not leave the darkness of this tyranny for the sunlight of human freedom. Engels and Lenin were wrong: under communism it is not the state but the people that withers away!

I do not need to tell you of conditions in the Soviet Union or in the satellite countries today. I do not need to describe the slave-labor economy of communism, where millions of people are in forced labor camps and other millions, nominally free, are subjected to brutal speed-ups, where labor unions are an arm of the government, and where the penalty for being 20 minutes late is dismissal. I do not need to tell you of the collectivization of the peasantry in which, by Stalin's own admission, 10 million kulaks in the Soviet Union alone were liquidated.

Now this tragic process is repeated in the rest of the Soviet orbit. I do not need to tell you of thought control so rigid that not only literature and economics but music and biology are subject to rigid censorship and many who unwittingly cross the party line are heard from no more. I do not need to tell you of a provincialism so complete that not only is direct communication with the outside world forbidden, but the very word "cosmopolitan" has become a term of yesterday. I do not need to tell you of the terror of ever-present secret police; of bribery, corruption or false accusations. I do not need to tell you of the tremendous military preparations the Soviet Union is making or of the puppet armies of the satellites. I do not need to repeat the vicious, malicious attacks on the United States which have filled the newspapers and airways and characterized the literature of the USSR almost since the war ended. You know the facts too well!

Anyone who can think, who has ideas and principles of his own, anyone who is loyal to his religion or to the humanist tradition can be sure of one thing: under communism he is doomed. We remember not only the purges of the '30's, we remember the Katyn massacre, we remember the "liberation" of Poland, where the Soviets

systematically shot, not the collaborators with Nazism but those who resisted it—men and women with the spirit and courage of freedom. We remember the sabotage of Czechoslovakia, the annexation of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania.

Under Soviet rule, no one is safe, not even the most loyal supporters. What, for example, has happened to the original revolutionaries, the men who put over the Bolshevik coup? Only four members of the original politburo are still alive, Stalin, Molotov, Voroshilov, and Andreyev. The others: 5 executed, 1 assassinated, and 1 persuaded to commit suicide. The people's Commissars and members of the Central Committee fared no better. 28 were executed, 7 committed suicide, 2 were poisoned, 2 disappeared in prison, and 12 were shot. Nor was the military exempt from the blood-bath. Over 40 marshals, generals, admirals and vice admirals have been shot. The gory list does not stop here. It includes diplomats, leaders of the Comintern, writers, historians, artists—people from all walks of life.

The purge still goes on. Look at the score for high officials in the satellite countries in 1951 alone: Bulgaria 11; Czechoslovakia, 25; Hungary, 10; Poland, 10; and Roumania, 10. These officials were not only removed from office; many were jailed or shot.

But the Soviet propagandists charge that we of the free nations are imperialists. But who are the imperialists? The Soviets know. Was it the "imperialists" who freed India, Indonesia and the Philippines? Was it the "imperialists" who re-established the freedom of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Albania, after World War I?

The "peace-loving" men of the Kremlin had other ideas for those unfortunate countries after the second World War. Was it the "imperialists" who made a just and honorable peace with Japan, depriving her of none of her territory? No, my friends, but men of the Kremlin who annexed outright over 260,225 square miles and close to 22 million non-Soviet citizens after 1939. It was they who demanded Turkish territories and fomented the civil war in Greece. It is the communists who are now fighting in Burma, and Malaya, and Indo-China, and invaded Korea.

What a mockery all of this is. How much longer will it go on? We must, again and again, silence the blares of Bolshevik propaganda with the facts. But let me sound a warning here. Every time we shut our eyes to evils in our own half of the world, every time we abstain from hearing the grievances of an African or an Asian in the United Nations; every time we support vestigial colonialism, economic royalists, large landowners or reactionary elements, we are lending credulity to the communist tale.

And every time a "preventive war" is irresponsibly advocated; every time somebody speaks of the "Russians" instead of Soviet tyranny as our enemy; every time a General loosely keeps a chauvinistic diary; every time we boast of the terror of atomic war, we are lending credence to the Soviet myth that we are warmongers.

I do not need to tell you what you already know: that the Soviets are masters of stretching one half-truth to cover a carload of arrant falsehoods. We must rip off this specious cover, and expose the propaganda carload for what it is.

Of course we cannot claim perfection for ourselves.

Who would want to? The greatest challenge of democracy lies in its ever-expanding freedom. We can always improve our country. We can always help other countries to greater freedom and prosperity. That is our way of life, and we must not be deluded into aping our enemies by claiming perfection for ourselves. We must not compete with the Communists to see who can promise the better millenium in the shorter time. We must be realists—because people will not be fooled.

It is time we Americans placed less emphasis on our bathrooms, our radios, our televisions, and our automobiles and began talking about our town meetings, our community centers, our farms, our unions, our schools, our tradition of cooperation and our respect for the individual. American idealism is needed even more than American technology by the world of today. And not

only American idealism, because we have no exclusive claim to it, but the idealism and vision of freedom-loving men and women everywhere.

We must make it clear to the peoples of all the world that we are their allies. We understand and sympathize with their aspirations. We respect their dignity and their individuality. We value their culture and their achievements. We desire to impose no "Americanization," no alien pattern of conformity corresponding to the increasing Russification of the 180 nationalities in the Soviet Union.

Our aim is to cultivate friends and not force the creation of satellites.

We must make this clear not only by our declarations, but by our actions. We must have the self-control to respect their wishes—particularly to allow the new nations of the world to develop their own patterns of democratic life. We must, of course, stand ready to protect them from aggression—not because of altruism, but because in this shrinking world, aggression against free nations anywhere is aggression against freedom everywhere.

We must also renew our pledge of sympathy and friendship for those now suffering under communist rule. Our fellow-feeling with the people of the newly-conquered satellites is obvious. But the Russian people are also potential allies, perhaps our strongest potential allies. And the United States is beginning to realize this. It is significant that twice within the last year the people of the United States have explicitly expressed their friendship for the people of Soviet Russia. The Congress of the United States overwhelmingly passed a resolution of friendship for the Russian people, proclaiming our desire for peace and our respect for democratic ideals. And scarcely a month ago, on the 35th anniversary of the Russian revolution of 1917, seventy-two prominent Americans renewed the pledge of friendship with a message broadcast over the Voice of America.

We must continue to find ways to let the peoples of the Soviet Union know that we are their friends, that we feel their needs and share their peril. But as we do this we must make it crystal clear that we do not seek another war—that we do not intend to kill them or lay waste their homes, farms, and factories.

Our policy, and it is a sound one, is to build situations of strength throughout the world, to fill in the power vacuum into which communism rolled in the years immediately after the war. But we cannot afford to give the impression that this is our whole aim. That is only the beginning. We seek to liberate—we must offer a haven for the oppressed. We must give hope to those who despair. We must continuously differentiate between government and the people.

When and where the tide of aggression is stemmed, we must think of the needs of the people. It is not enough to keep communism out of Western Europe, we must see that Europe's still shaky economy is strengthened, and encourage a fair distribution of the fruits of a revitalized European economy.

It will not be enough to defeat the communists in Korea; we must then bend all our efforts to rebuilding that unhappy country, which has suffered unparalleled destruction.

It is not enough to keep communism out of India, Burma, Malaya, and Indo-China; we must help the governments of those nations to raise their people above the poverty line and to create functioning democracies. It is not enough to keep communism out of Africa and the Middle East; we must help their peoples achieve independence and freedom in fact as well as in name.

Never will I forget the story of an East German refugee—a girl of about 15 whose family had made their way across the frontier to freedom. Asked about her school, she told of the daily hour of propaganda—the harangues of her teachers and party leaders. But she added quietly: "We all sit with our heads bowed, to let it go over them." What stark tragedy that is. A class-

room; a school; a nation; half a world—people with their heads bowed, listening in silence, but praying for the strength to believe in and hope for a better day. We in the free world have that faith and that hope. We must share it.

We can take heart from those brave partisans of freedom within the Soviet Union who dare defy the Soviet power by passive and active resistance. I am thinking now of the Ukraine, where the populace welcomed the German "liberators" with the traditional bread and salt and hundreds of thousands of Red Army troops deserted, hoping for the opportunity to fight Bolshevik tyranny themselves. Even the bitter discovery that Nazism was the same system under a different name did not quench their ardor for freedom. The fight still goes on, as some 30,000 well-trained, well-led guerrillas continue their attacks on Soviet authority.

I am thinking too of the partisan movements in satellite countries: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania and China.

I am thinking of the resistance movements in many parts of the Soviet Union: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Caucasus, Turkestan, Kirgizia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and the many parts of the U.S.S.R. where Stalinists have attempted collectivization and russification.

We should trumpet the achievements of these gallant men for all to hear, and beam them behind the Iron Curtain. The Voice of America could well follow the example of REAS, the American radio station in Berlin and one of our most effective weapons against communism in Germany, of broadcasting the real story of what is going on—the story that the communist press suppresses. We could show the peoples of the Soviet Union and the satellite nations that we are with them in their fight by identifying MVD secret police sympathizers as has been done in Germany.

We should also step up our efforts on this side of the Iron Curtain to give asylum and a new chance in life to those who successfully flee from communist tyranny. What better evidence of our sincerity than this simple gesture; and what better friends could we have than those who know Soviet rule at first hand? The recent news that the International Rescue Committee was facing dissolution because of lack of funds must have brought a thrill of hope to the Kremlin—and a shudder of despair to those who know of its effective work. But, judging by their hysterical reactions, the Kremlin realized we had at last seen an effective weapon, when the Mutual Security Act authorized the expenditure of \$100,000,000 to help resistance and refugee groups. In fact they have appealed to the UN. But this hundred million dollars is a paltry sum indeed compared to the amounts the Kremlin is spending to support its communist parties abroad.

My friends, I do not need to tell you that this convention has a symbolic as well as an actual importance. You symbolize the hatred of all but a tiny minority of your countrymen for communist oppression. You symbolize the positive devotion to democracy which is shared by freedom-loving people throughout the world. You symbolize the great truth that men who have once tasted freedom will never cease their resistance to slavery. You symbolize something very important and dear to us in America—the stalwart character and individualism of the man who lives on the land, close to nature and attuned to the realities of life—the surest, most reliable supporter of democracy. Your number today may be small, but it will increase. You will grow in significance as you near your objective: freedom for your peoples. America welcomes you to her shores as she welcomes all the oppressed. But we extend more than our welcome. We extend our hopes and our pledge to join with you in the struggle to destroy tyranny in any guise—anywhere. We dedicate our lives, our fortunes to the noble cause of freedom, equality, and fraternity.



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