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October 9th, 1947.

World's Security Workshop
c/o Station W J Z
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York City

Gentlemen:

I listened to Mrs. Roosevelt's program on Sunday last. It was a great program, very timely and exceedingly constructive.

It is too bad that we do not have a few more Mrs. Roosevelts to convince quite a number of Americans that bread and freedom are inseparable; that a censored press is for automatons, slaves and prisoners; and that a Vishinsky, Stalin, Foster, Truman, Dewey or Taft is not qualified to censor our newspapers, books and other publications. No human being is qualified to be such censor. It is also necessary to convince quite a number of people that a piece of paper containing a single list of candidates approved by a perpetual dictator, even when thrown into a Soviet box, does not become an election ballot and "that unless we are opposed to all dictators, we are opposed to none".

Congratulations! Please keep up this excellent program.

Very truly yours,

NATHAN D. SHAPIRO

NDS:HE
ccs: Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt

Stalin-Hitler Agreements

Divided Central Europe Between Themselves

By Julius Epstein NEW LEADER, New York City, June 8, 1946

Author of "The Nonsense of Autarchy," "Japan on the Threshold" and "Sources of Anarchism"

The full details became known on May 22, 1946, when the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* published an article by its correspondent at Nuremberg, Richard L. Stokes. The complete text of two secret Soviet-Nazi agreements of August 23, and September 28, 1939, was quoted.

SINCE THE DEATH OF HITLER, COMMUNISM IS MORE DANGEROUS THAN FASCISM

JOVIAL MOOD IN BERLIN—THE STALIN-HITLER PACT SIGNED!

N.Y. TIMES ANALYSIS OF STALIN-HITLER PACT

Editorial - June 28, 1941

STALIN'S BANKRUPT DIPLOMACY

When the Nazi war machine rolled into Russian territory a week ago the house of cards that Stalin's diplomacy had so laboriously built up over several years collapsed. Most people denounced that policy, while it was revealing itself, for its double-dealing, its mendacity and treachery. But it is curious that few people thought to denounce it for its sheer stupidity. On the contrary, even many of those who professed to abhor it on moral grounds declared it to be a series of brilliant strokes from the standpoint of Russia or Stalin. Actually, however, as the event has now proved beyond doubt, Stalin's diplomatic policy, in Fouché's famous phrase, was worse than a crime; it was a blunder.

By his non-aggression pact with Hitler in 1939 Stalin, in effect, gave the signal for the war that has finally turned upon him. But it is not Poland alone that he has since lost as a potential ally, but a whole group of states. Among possible allies, neutrals or buffer states, let us move roughly from north to south to see what Stalin's policy did for him. His brutal attack on Finland gained him very little territory but made an implacable enemy. It also fatally exposed his military weakness. His virtual seizure of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania gained him territory at the excessive cost of a population ready to turn against him at the first opportunity.

By offering to guarantee their independence if they were willing to guarantee that of each other, he had numerous opportunities to make allies of the Balkan states, of Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Greece. He had opportunities to strike the German flank while Hitler was fighting in the Balkans and the British had a foothold there. But he made an actual enemy of Rumania, left each Balkan state in turn to Hitler's mercy, and refused to support even Turkey (which had reason to fear not long ago that if Germany attacked from the west Russia might, as in the case of Poland, march in from the east). This was certainly a factor in the non-aggression pact which Turkey finally signed with Hitler.

Stalin, in short, by his timidity and perfidy, systematically allowed to be detached from Russia each one of the nations that could have been used as buffers or won as allies. At the end, he left Russia naked, exposed to the German war machine along a front of 2,000 miles; and it was Hitler who chose the most favorable moment to strike.

MRS. F.D. ROOSEVELT'S OPINION OF THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST

World-Telegram
June 22, 1945

"I hope the Communist Political Association will forgive me if I am frank with them. What I object to in the American Communists is not their open membership, nor even their published objectives. For years, in this country, they taught the philosophy of the lie. They taught that allegiance to the party and acceptance of orders from party heads, whose interests were not just those of the United States, were paramount.

* * *

"But because I have experienced the deception of the American Communists, I will not trust them. That is what I mean when I said that I did not think the people of this country would tolerate the type of American Communists who say one thing and do another."

* * *

WHAT DO THE COMMUNIST FIFTH COLUMNS WANT IN FRANCE, ITALY, CHINA, GREECE, U.S. ETC.?

IS COMMUNIST INTERFERENCE IN "OTHER COUNTRIES" CONDUCIVE TO WORLD PEACE?

EXCERPTS FROM THE "COMMUNIST MANIFESTO"

The Communist Bible - Published 1848

"Law, morality, religion, are to him so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests."

"Society can no longer live under this bourgeoisie; in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society."

"On what foundation is the present family, the bourgeois family, based? On capital, on private gain. In its completely developed form this family exists only among the bourgeoisie. But this state of things finds its complement in the practical absence of the family among the proletarians, and in public prostitution.
The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital."

"The bourgeois clap-trap about the family and education, about the hallowed correlation of parent and child, become all the more disgusting, the more, by the action of Modern Industry, all family ties among the proletarians are torn asunder and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labor."

"Bourgeois marriage is in reality a system of wives in common, and thus, at the most, what the Communists might possibly be reproached with, is that they desire to introduce, in substitution for a hypocritically concealed, an openly legalized community of women."

"The Communists are further reproached with desiring to abolish countries and nationalities.
The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they don't possess. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation, it is so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word."
The supremacy of the proletariat will cause them to vanish still faster. United action, of the leading civilized countries at least is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat."

"The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas."

"We have seen above that the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy."

"The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie."

"Of course, in the beginning, this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production;

"Political power, properly so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled by the force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class, if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of productions, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonism, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class."

"The Soviet Union, as everybody who has the courage to face the fact knows, is run by a dictatorship as absolute as any other dictatorship in the world." Franklin D. Roosevelt - Feb. 10, 1940.

"The government is a dictatorship not "of the proletariat", as professed, but "over the proletariat." It is completely dominated by one man." Joseph E. Davies in "Mission to Moscow", revised 1943 edition, page 352.

Prologue to World War 3?

By Dorothy Thompson

I AM sorry, if I really see what I think I see. I hope I am wrong. I hope I am suffering from aberrations, doublevision, myopia, and all the other things some of my readers accuse me of. I hope it's a nightmare and I shall wake up. I don't want to be proved right. And I am not absolutely sure I am right.

But some nine years ago I had similar aberrations; myopias, and nightmares, and they turned out to be real. "Similar" doesn't describe it. They were exactly the same.

* * *

THERE was a totalitarian state, east to center of Europe. It began by liquidating all internal opposition and rearming while preaching peace. It had only a few demands, all concerning neighboring states and what it called "Lebensraum," or Security Sphere. It claimed to be threatened by surrounding small countries—Czechoslovakia, Poland, etc.—which might be "outposts of hostile forces," and must have "friendly governments." It consciously fostered external hostility—by the ruthless persecution of racial and political minorities—in order to convince its people that they were threatened from without. Anyone who called attention to some peculiarities in its behavior was called a "warmonger." It planted, in all countries, a fifth column, instructed to work for "peace." It absorbed a neighboring state (Austria) by diplomatic means forcing the existing government to give way to another and staged a great celebration of welcome to the liberator. It absorbed a second neighboring state by demanding rectification of frontiers, and, having accomplished that peaceably, it took the entire country and installed its own government (Czechoslovakia). It then demanded concessions from a third neighboring state (Poland) and when they were refused, marched in its armies against "reactionary warmongers." All that it was doing was for the "rectification of past injustices," and peace.

No one wanted war. All that Hitler wanted was to put himself, step by step, in a position where no nation could make war against him, whereas he could, at any time, blackmail or attack the rest of the world.

His strategists understood geography. They had read Mackinder and improved him by Haushofer. The strategy was the domination, not immediately of the world, but of the "Great Island," the Eastern Hemisphere, where dwell eight-twelfths of humanity and the bulk of resources. To do this one must knock out France, weaken and sow dissension in China, disintegrate the British Empire and drive it out of the Near East and Asia, isolate the United States, control a solid bloc of territory from the Channel to Siberia, be able to close the Suez Canal and control the Dardanelles, and mass troops on the northern border of India.

To do this successfully, it was necessary to make the original moves without opposition, and, in fact, with the consent of the future victims, originally settling with them on "spheres of influence" only to absorb them all when the moment came.

To do this successfully, it was also necessary to have ideological allies within all the countries which were to be kept quiet until it was too late—peace and friendship parties, as it were. And accompanying all was a virulent press and radio "war of nerves."

To cap it all, the organizer of all this wrote it down and told the world in advance.

That is the prefaze to World War II. And for the life of me I cannot but see it is being repeated step by step today.

There is the same technique of the fifth column crying "warmonger" at every one who even tries to call attention to what is apparently going on—but it is a far more effective and fanatical fifth column than Hitler could make out of racialism plus peace. There are the same strategic moves, by the same means, and in the identical places.

There are all the devices of open or veiled aggression, and there is the same war of nerves, going on interminably in all languages over the air and in "friendly" newspapers.

And as far back as Lenin, it was all predicted—the "inevitable" series of clashes until all "capitalist states"—whether fascist, or "bourgeois" democratic, or democratic socialist—should be subjected under one master-plan.

If all this is not going on, I want to be corrected as to *fact*. To be convincingly corrected would certainly cheer me up.

New Leader - N.Y. May 4, 1946.

SOVIET TERRITORIAL ACQUISITIONS

The territories thus far acquired de facto by Soviet Russia were summarized by the *NY Times* as follows:

	Square Miles	Population
Lithuania	24,058	3,029,000
Latvia	20,056	1,950,000
Estonia	18,353	1,120,000
Eastern Poland	68,290	10,150,000
Bessarabia and Bukovina	19,360	3,748,000
Moldavia	13,124	2,200,000
Carpatho-Ukraine	4,922	800,000
East Prussia	3,500	400,000
Karelo-Finland	16,173	470,000
Petsamo, Finland	4,087	4,000
Tannu Tuva	64,000	65,000
Southern Sakhalin	14,076	415,000
Kurile Island	3,949	4,500
Total	273,947	24,355,500

This list does not include such countries as Poland, Yugoslavia and Mongolia which are in varying degrees under Soviet control. Such a list would bring the total to almost 700,000 square miles inhabited by at least 125,000,000.

The vicious Hitler-Stalin pact for the division of Europe was supported by Communists in the U.S. and all other countries through strikes and propaganda until Hitler broke with Stalin. The U.S. is once more an "imperialistic country". So our Communists on their fronts.

Hunger does not breed Communism, but Communism breeds hunger. This was shown by investigating the "abundance" in Russia before and after World War II.

Penal Servitude, Russian Model

Book Review - N.Y. Times - August 31, 1947

LABOR IN SOVIET RUSSIA. By David J. Dallin and Boris I. Nicolaevsky. 331 pp. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. $3.75.

By BROOKS ATKINSON

BY collating the known facts and many personal accounts of penal servitude in Soviet Russia, David J. Dallin and Boris I. Nicolaevsky have reconstructed a somber and ominous portrait of daily life inside a police state. The system they describe forms the angry cloud that hangs over the whole course of existence in Russia today. Since the early 1930's, when the original humanitarianism of Bolshevism began to give way to coercion and terror, the Soviet Government has not published much about the millions of people exiled, deported or thrust into concentration camps and condemned to hard labor in the forests, mines, peat bogs or on the railroads and Siberian farms. For this is a hideous aspect of Soviet life—in fact, the most hideous because it represents the most brutish arm of Soviet power. Moreover, it indicates, on the one hand, how much latent opposition there must be to totalitarian socialism in Russia, and, on the other hand, how insecure the Government itself and how little it trusts its own principles.

But out of the millions driven into the concentration camps a few have escaped to tell their grisly stories. The complicated and ironic politics in the early years of the war resulted in a large number of additional disclosures. When Russian foreign policy was on the side of Germany, more than a million Poles were deported to the camps: they were granted amnesty two years later when, as a result of one of those bitter paradoxes of politics, the Russians and the Poles became allies against Germany. About 270,000 Poles had died during the interval. That suggests something of the harshness and inhumanity of penal servitude for political prisoners. But the release of those who were still alive has also released a good deal of first-hand information about the kinds of work the prisoners do, their animal-like existence and the savage nature of the security police system.

In the first decade of the Bolshevik revolution, the Government published a good deal about the prison system. For one of the principles of Marxism is that crime is motivated by economic conditions and that it will "wither away" if the economic system breeds justice for all the people. Since many of the original Bolsheviks joined the revolution idealistically, they sincerely looked forward to creating a society that would be completely in the interests of the people and in which crime would automatically disappear. They applied a good deal of their idealism to what they regarded as progressive experiments in penology.

But, on the testimony of the authors of this book, the experiments failed. And with the introduction of the five-year plans, the Government no longer had time to temporize either with the common criminals or with dissident groups among the people. Even those suspected of opposition to the plans—in some cases, even those merely related to people suspected of opposition—had to be summarily removed from society, packed off into penal camps and set to hard labor. From the early Thirties on, the Government has said very little about this terrible flaw in the system and the information is scattered and general.

ALTHOUGH Mr. Dallin and Mr. Nicolaevsky have collected a large mass of information about penal servitude, they cannot report accurately the number of Russians and foreigners who are now in confinement or deported to remote and undeveloped regions under the control of the security police. Estimates run all the way from eight million to forty million. Kravchenko reports that the officials with whom he was associated in Soviet Russia accepted the figure of twenty million as approximately right. That seems to be more authoritative than any of the other estimates the authors have discovered. Whatever the accurate number may be, it is obvious that the penal system is a very large part of the Government's gigantic administrative problem.

The authors argue that forced labor by dissident members of society is inevitable in a state that has unlimited power and a universal state economy and that maintains constant and militant proselytism. Forced labor under those conditions is inevitable according to the laws of sociology, the authors believe. They also seem inclined to believe that the security police arrest people for the specific purpose of keeping the concentration camps well stocked with labor: "There is not the least doubt," they say, "that whenever an important measure of suppression is being discussed and prepared, the NKVD never forgets its great economic function—to fill the perpetual need for replacements for the dwindling population of the labor camps."

THIS point involves the speculation about the motives of the security police which, in the absence of official statements, are difficult to define. Nor is it necessary to define them. Since a police state is always in danger from within, the need for more coercion or the people constantly increases, and the area of crime constantly widens as the political system requires more and more subservience to the state. Accordingly, stalinism will never run short of prisoners, exiles or transplanted populations.

But whatever the basic motive may be for rounding up people and shipping them off to labor camps, the system has been very profitable to the government. Apart from many instances of industrial and communications construction on a large scale, the state has accumulated a rich treasure of gold by the use of forced labor. The sections of the book devoted to the mining of gold in the Kolyma area are the best documented and the most complete. The authors believe that forced labor, at frightful cost in lives, in the terrible Kolyma area has increased the Russian production of gold by four to six times; and that Russia now produces 50 per cent of the world's annual gold supply. But again the Kremlin keeps to itself the essential secret, for estimates of Russia's current gold reserve run all the way from two billion to ten billion dollars. No wonder Soviet Russia could not sign the Bretton Woods agreement, which required countries to report gold reserves.

HAVING collected their material Mr. Dallin and Mr. Nicolaevsky have analyzed it with care; they write moderately about a subject that could be presented emotionally. The system of forced labor, with its cruel disdain for human beings, has many ramifications. The tragedy of Soviet Russia is that economic determinism has not freed men, as the early Bolsheviks believed, but enslaved them; and instead of losing nothing but their chains as the original Communist theory predicted, the people have acquired chains that are better forged than ever. For a police state cannot develop in the direction of freedom. The more efficient the police become, the more they find to do and the wider their control spreads throughout the lives of the people. And as long as the police have the weapons, the trained personnel, the organization and the backing of the Government, the hopes for a better life are illusory.

Yarnol

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, on February 10, 1940 said:

"The Soviet Union as everybody who has the courage to face the fact knows, is run by a dictator as absolute as any other dictatorship in the world."

"UNLESS WE ARE OPPOSED TO ALL DICTATORSHIPS, WE ARE OPPOSED TO NONE."