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PROMETHEUS BOUND

# THE CONTROL OF INTELLECTUALS IN THE COMMUNIST STATE

During the past five years the Politburo of the Communist Party has extended its total control over every field of creative and intellectual endeavor within the Soviet Union. The policies it has defined and enforced in this regard will be applied, of course, against any intellectuals elsewhere who allow themselves to come voluntarily under the Politburo's domination.

A series of decrees issued by the Party Central Committee in mid-1946 defined the role of the Soviet theater, literature, cinema, and music in ideological education. Partisanship was the keynote; cultural activities were described as weapons of the working class. Workers in the creative arts were denied any interests or any tasks other than the interests of the state. A complete isolation of Soviet artists from the outside world has consequently been imposed, and the doom of creative originality has been sealed in the Soviet Union by these decrees and the acts through which they have been carried out.

No creative writer or artist, of whatever stature, can escape the inexorable will of the men who through these decrees have straitjacketed the artistic and intellectual production of the Soviet Union. Every artist, every composer, every writer, every poet, by these decrees has become a mouthpiece of Communist political orthodoxy. Deviation is excoriated. The artist and the man of letters has no defense. If he is found in error by the secret and almighty power of the Politburo's cultural censors, he is forced to recant, to publish a "confession" couched in humiliating terms, and to promise abjectly that he will conform and err no more. The alternative is to starve, since the State and the Cominform, which is the State, possess the power to seal off the artist hermetically from every outlet for his work or expression, as well as to make his access to food supplies difficult. He cannot leave the country. Voluntary exile is not permitted. These methods quickly bring the non-conformist to time and frighten his friends away from him. The State is saved the trouble of imprisoning him, and the artist is denied both the advantages or the consolations of publicity and martyrdom.

It is highly ironical, and it must inflict some pain upon the artists and intellectuals affected -- among whom have been Shostakovich and the late Prokofieff, the satirist Zoshchenko, the novelist Akhmatova -- to realize that among the members of the Politburo which became the author of their cultural enslavement, there was but one man who could boast of any academic training whatever. That was A. Zhdanov. His formal education consisted of the lyceum course and half-a-year at the Moscow Academy of Agriculture, but he was well versed in Russian literature and had some pretensions as an amateur



Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

pianist. He once undertook to give the great composer Muradeli personal instruction in how to write music, presumably with political content -- nothing existed for Zhdanov without political content. Muradeli was rebuked afterward for the "inadequacy of his reaction."

A. Zhdanov, the only "intellectual" of the Politburo, died in 1948 under medical treatment from one of the nine Jewish doctors who recently have become famous and equally deceased. A. Zhdanov was succeeded in charge of the culture of the Soviet Union by G. Malenkov, who graduated from the "Higher Technical College of Moscow" in 1925 and has a brain which resembles the vast party card index on which he depends for any creative inspirations he may develop.

The process of turning the arts into "militant weapons for disseminating Communist Party doctrine" began with the decree of the All-Union Central Committee on August 14, 1946, discussing the literary journals Zvezda and Leningrad, which subsequently was elaborated in a speech by Zhdanov. Together with the several accompanying resolutions on ideology, the speech is regarded in the Soviet Union today as the authoritative guide in the shaping of policy and practice in all cultural departments.

Zhdanov stressed that the work of Soviet artists must be subordinated to the policies of the party by concentrating on well-defined subject matter which would show the Soviet Union and its people only in a glorified light. "Literature must become the Party," he said. "The literary cause must become part of the general proletarian cause . . . . Leninism proceeds from the fact that our literature cannot be politically indifferent, cannot be 'art for art's sake.'" He established the criterion of intolerance and nationalistic chauvinism that has penetrated virtually all realms of creative activity in the Soviet Union. He censured writers in Leningrad for having strayed into "non-political channels, deprived of ideology and principle" and for having lost the "sense of responsibility to their people, state and party." He ended his speech on a strong note of national self-glorification: " . . . we, who represent the new socialist order, the embodiment of all that is best in the history of human civilization and culture, are all the more entitled to create the most advanced literature in the world, which will leave far behind the best models of creative genius of former times."

Consonant with these pronouncements, the party took stringent measures to bring Soviet writers into line and to maintain constant surveillance over them. The editors of Zvezda and Leningrad were removed and publication of Leningrad was stopped because they published the works of two authors who were disapproved by the Central Committee. The Leningrad City Party Committee was censured for having confirmed a new editorial staff which included Zoshchenko, one of the writers in question, and the newspaper Pravda was taken to task for having published, one month before the decree was issued,



Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

a favorable review of Zoshchenko's work. Zvezda was placed under control with the appointment of a new editor who was the deputy chief of the party's propaganda and agitation administration.

Zoshchenko and Akhmatova, the second writer concerned, were among the most prominent literary figures in the Soviet Union. Akhmatova was denounced as a "representative of the ideologyless reactionary swamp." Her crime was defined as follows: "She preaches the theory of 'art for art's sake,' of 'beauty for beauty's sake.' The subject matter of Akhmatova is individualistic to the core." (Literary Gazette, September 21, 1946.)

The party interdicted the work of Akhmatova. Nothing bearing her name appeared on the pages of Soviet literary magazines until four years later. In 1950, Ogonek published part of "Glory to Peace", a cycle she had written. Its title showed that at last she had knuckled under to the party line.

A similar fate overtook Zoshchenko, whose satirical writings had a large and devoted popular following in the USSR and abroad as well.

K. Simonov and A. Fadayev, two literary giants who were products wholly of the Soviet era, became the targets of the party's criticism in late 1947. Their experience showed that even writings which once had met with party approval were not safe from attacks based on subsequent unexplained and unpredictable changes in party doctrine. Fadayev's Young Guard and Simonov's Smoke of the Fatherland, for example, both received great acclaim in the party press. Fadayev's Young Guard was awarded a Stalin prize in 1946. Pravda commended Fadayev for presenting a "whole gallery of true heroes of our times whose characters prove . . . the triumph of the Communist system of education, the greatness and firmness of the new social order." Then, in 1947, the author suddenly was accused of having failed to recognize the leading role of the Communist party in organizing wartime sabotage activities against the enemy!

Simonov's novel, Smoke of the Fatherland, was praised in June 1947, while still incomplete, at a meeting of the Administration of the Union of Soviet Writers, the most important literary group in the USSR. The next November, Culture and Life censored the novel for failing to fulfil its purpose -- a description of "Soviet patriotism." In June it had been said that the writer "showed clearly the advantages of our Soviet order over capitalist society." Less than six months later, the party declared the novel defective because its hero was a "passive" observer who failed to supplement his expression of love for the Soviet Fatherland with positive action.

Both Simonov and Fadayev submissively took the only course of redemption open to writers of the Communist Party whose well-meant interpretations of the Party line fail, by some unhappy chance, to suit the day's mood of the Politburo. They ignominiously admitted


Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

their shortcomings in public statements and acknowledged the correctness of party criticism. Both men probably had invested at least two years of their time and their sincerest creative effort in the work of producing these novels. They had enjoyed for one brief moment the spiritual reward which comes to the artist whose work is well accepted, and then had been dashed into the despair of failure at the whim of the party overlords. Perhaps their work was too good. Who knows how great a part the jealousy or the envy of some petty bureaucrat, who nurses a secret literary aspiration he knows he never can fulfil, plays in these "political" judgments of creative production?

The impact on literature of the vagaries of the party line was shown anew in January, 1950, when "For the Power of the Soviets" by V. Katayev, another Soviet literary figure of prominence, was rhapsodically praised in Pravda and then within a week condemned in the same newspaper. (Pravda, January 16, 1950) The chief complaint against Katayev's book, which his critics finally settled upon, was failure to draw the character of his hero in terms befitting "a Soviet man of the new order." It was not proper for a respected leader, a party worker, to be called by a nickname!

Katayev, like Akhmatova, Simonov, and Fadayev before him, swallowed his pride and forswore the divine gift of his individualism. Presumably it was his only means of survival, either as man or artist. The following miserable recantation appeared in Pravda over his name on January 24, 1950:

> "I agree with the just and principled criticism of my new novel 'For the Power of the Soviets' given in the article of M. Bubennov. I promise my readers that I shall make a fundamental revision of the novel. I consider this a matter of honor as a writer."

Was he under the spell of the drugs which induce false confession, when he signed it? -- no one can know.

The Soviet writer today, bound by Party controls, is free neither in the choice of his themes nor in the development of his characters. All is prescribed for him by the Politburo, which, as has been seen, also reserves the right to change its signals without telling him, both before and after he gets the work done.

It is the same in the party's control over the theater. Writers have been pilloried and bullied and threatened into conformity; drama critics have been fired from their jobs and expelled from the party because they criticized, on esthetic grounds, plays which were ideologically acceptable.

It is the same with motion picture production. Before World War II, the Soviet Union produced 40 to 45 full-length feature films each year. During the war, production was held at 20 to 25 per year; the Soviet Union claims a capacity at present for the production of 300-400 films yearly, yet the number released in 1950 was eleven, the number set for 1951 was 26. The intellectuals and the creative artists could explain why, but they do not dare.

Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

The official Politburo attitude toward music is the same, too. It is explained in the Large Soviet Encyclopedia, published in 1948. In its pages one makes the remarkable discoveries that (1) music is subject to the general laws of art, and hence to Marxist-Leninist esthetic principle and to party control; (2) music always reflects class ideology; and, (3) the music policy of the Soviet Union is determined by the party and Stalin, and is "music for the masses."

The campaign to assert party power over the Soviet composers and make them produce political music whether they would or no, opened with the well-known attack on Dmitri Shostakovich in October, 1946, when it was found that the Ninth Symphony showed a "lack of warm, ideological conviction." After that, both Shostakovich and Prokofieff found it advisable to refuse invitations to visit the United States, where they long since had won the affection and admiration of hosts of music lovers who appreciate the greatness of their talent and their art.

In another month another party decree was issued, containing a sweeping denunciation of contemporary Soviet composers, musical criticism, musical training, the governmental Committee on Art Affairs, and the Organizational Committee of the Soviet Composers Union. Shostakovich, Prokofieff, Khachaturian, V. M. Shebalin, G. Popov, V. Muradeli, and N. Myaskovski were censured, and the Central Committee's Propaganda and Agitation Administration and the Council of Minister's Committee on Art Affairs were called upon to "liquidate" the shortcomings in the Soviet musical world. According to the decree, the music of these composers "reeked of contemporary modernistic bourgeois music of Europe and America, which reflects the miasmas of bourgeois culture."

Within a few weeks, the persons named in the decree were removed from their positions. Their music disappeared from stores and was "out" at libraries. By 1948, Shostakovich gave in and recanted his alleged errors. His "confession" read: "I know that the party is right, that the party wishes me well, and that I must search for and find creative paths which lead me to Soviet realistic popular art. It is impossible for me not to search for such new paths, because I am a Soviet artist brought up under the Soviet regime; I must and I want to find paths to the heart of the Soviet people." It is hard to believe that these puerile, copy-book phrases can be Shostakovich's own words. Although he may regard himself as a voice of the proletarian masses, he is a mature man and an educated one. It seems quite unnatural, quite unconvincing, to have him write a "confession" in the language of the second grade of common school. It is hard to dodge the conclusion that he signed a statement dictated or written by some hack employed for the purpose on the Politburo's staff. One can only imagine the pressures brought upon him to force him to do so.



Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

As for Prokofieff, he became the favorite whipping boy of the Politburo music critics. He was the only one of the criticized composers who was not a product of the Soviet regime. He left the USSR during the Revolution and returned in 1933 to become a "Soviet composer." In February, 1948, he wrote:

> "It is hard for me to realize that I was among those who express a formalistic trend. I understand that this decision will provide a resolute turning point in Soviet musical art. I am now working on a new opera, The Tale of a Real Man. It is dedicated to a heroic Soviet pilot. In this opera . . . I shall draw upon our folk melodies."

The new opera was also attacked. The Soviet critics said it showed that Prokofieff had "not learned anything." On December 30, 1948, Prokofieff, ill at home, issued another confession saying he was sorry that "bourgeois formalism" had not been eliminated from his art.

The meeting of the Union of Soviet Composers, which took place December 21-27, 1948, showed the effect of the purge which followed the decree. New composers appeared, most of them little known even to the Soviet people. Many new compositions bore such titles as The Flag Above the Village Soviet, Cantata About the Fatherland, a Song About Stalin. Yet the newspaper Soviet Art complained on February 5, 1949, that "compositions are still lacking in our repertoire which reveal a full-scale image of the great Lenin and Stalin." The persecution of the music critics and the composers was still to go on.

Prokofieff died March 8, 1953, at his country home near Moscow. He was sixty-one. He had come to some nominal adjustment between the terms of his art and the Politburo's ideas of how music should be composed, but his last years had been full of tragedy and unpleasantness, if not of terror. Some idea of how difficult he must have found it to endure the interference of the carping commissars whom Zhdanov and Malenkov set to watch over the production of his art, can be imagined by anyone who reads his life story: "He was one of the born music-makers whose problem it was to prune the luxuriance of his invention and imagination rather than stimulate it." Above all things, moreover, he sought to produce music that was intimately and solely his own. When he was eleven, he brought the score of a symphony to Taneiev, who said, "Pretty good, my boy. You are mastering the form rapidly. Of course, you have to develop more interesting harmony. Most of this is tonic, dominant and sub-dominant, but that will come." Prokofieff has told how this distressed him. "I could not endure the thought", he said, "of producing only what others had produced. And so I started out, very earnestly, not to imitate but to find a way of my own. It was very hard, and my courage was severely put to the test in the following years. I destroyed reams of music, much of which sounded well, whenever I realized that it was only an echo of someone else."



Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

If he objected so much in his youth to imitation, what must the cost to his spirit have been, in his mature years, to be ordered to make music which was only the echo of A. Zhdanov!

Now Prokofieff has died, at sixty-one, when "had life and freedom been further vouchsafed him, he would have multiplied his great production, without doubt in ways that would further have opened new vistas of music and music-drama of the future. How far did he succeed in his restless explorations, his endless experiments (sometimes quite mad ones), the indubitable masterpieces that resulted from his magnificent research?" How much, likewise, of this great gift has been denied the world because of the galling and senseless restraints imposed upon him by the fearful, frustrated, and envious men of the Communist Party's Politburo? Would death have overtaken him so soon if his life had been less troubled by them? And what will become of the genius of Shostakovich?

These are questions which must give pause, and a long one, to every artist and to every intellectual who still enjoys the right to work in his own way and his own idiom in the world that is still free.



Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5


1. The intellectuals of Latin America are fed up with the falseness of the Communist peace appeal. Most of them know beyond the shadow of a doubt that the so-called congresses of culture are nothing other than fronts which Pablo Neruda and Jorge Amado are trying to promote in order to shore up the tottering structure of the so-called Peace Movement and thereby keep their own jobs with the Cominform. Besides that, the discriminating intelligentsia are getting bored with the kind of art that Communism inspires. It is a tragedy to see the talent of Pablo Neruda turned to the doggerel verse of Communist ideology, the noble prose of Jorge Amado invested in the copy-book themes which the Cominform allows to its captive writers.

In La Paz last November (1952) the sponsors of the so-called First National Bolivian Pro-Peace Congress tried using the name of Pablo Neruda as honorary president, for a come-on to attract support. Two hundred people went to the first meeting; when they saw what was going on in the name of poetry and culture, all the interested public stayed away -- the attendance at the second session dropped to seventy-three, consisting of official delegates only. The delegates themselves began fading out after that, and at the third session only forty-five showed up. Then everybody went home.

2. It is ridiculous for anyone to believe that the Communist chiefs are interested in international cultural exchange. They want to get intellectuals together and make them listen to Communist ideas, but they don't want any Communists to hear anybody else's ideas. They are, in fact, in deadly terror of having any ideas whatever, except their own, get into the USSR. They hate internationalism. This was shown in the campaign to subjugate the Soviet musicians to the Politburo. The two composers most bitterly attacked were the two who were most popular abroad and who knew more than any others about people and ideas in the outside world, i.e., Shostakovich and Prokofieff.

3. Is Gabriela MISTRAL a Communist? We do not believe so. She is an intelligent woman as well as a great poet and an admirable diplomatic representative of her country. Her success has been achieved under a system of freedom where the liberal, the progressive and the creative thinker has a chance. We believe that Gabriela Mistral understands and values these things. We do not believe that she would willingly exchange them for thought control under the Communist Politburo. We think that she has been misled and betrayed by her trusted friend Pablo Neruda, like so many other sincere and well-meaning intellectuals who have trusted him throughout Latin America. Her name has been used as an honorary official of the Chilean Pro-Peace Movement. We believe that the purpose of the


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movement either was presented to her falsely and deceptively, or that her name was used without her permission. It would not be the first time. This inexcusable liberty has been taken with the names of many other intellectuals in Latin America by the sponsors of the Peace Movement.

4. Martin Luis Guzman, publisher of the influential news weekly Tiempo of Mexico, Mexican Ambassador to the United Nations, drew out of the Peace Movement as soon as he found out the truth about its ulterior subversive purposes. His letter of resignation was a blow to the Communist sponsors of the Peace Movement in his country. He explained that his original doubts concerning the committee had become certainties, that he was convinced that the peace campaign was not dedicated to conciliation or rapprochement but was concerned with unilateral proposals practically identical with those which would be advanced by the USSR. SDD 435 Mexico 13 August 1951 Confidential.

5. Lic. Alfonso Reyes, perhaps the most respected writer and humanist of Mexico, former diplomat and in 1950 President of the Colegio de Mexico, likewise has seen the truth of the spurious Communist peace and cultural movement. He declined to attend a Peace Committee meeting in Mexico, in 1950 -- in any case, those who were present know that he was not there -- but the Communists used his good name anyway, and announced in the press that he would attend and introduce Pablo Neruda.

6. The case of Jose Revueltas, the Mexican novelist, illustrates in our own hemisphere, very close to home indeed, how an honest and talented writer can become the captive of Communism and then be devoured by its intransigent demand for the surrender of every vestige of intellectual independence of their own partisans. Revueltas was excoriated and ignominiously expelled from the Party because he wrote a novel which was not blind to the defects of Communism.

7. The late Dr. Gonzalez Martinez, who was perhaps Mexico's best poet as well as a physician of distinction, also realized how the Communists had abused his good will. He was growing old, getting into his eighties, and he did not care to raise strife by protesting the misuse that had been made of his name, but he told his friends, and the word went around in the community of intellectuals.

8. Very few intellectuals ever will belong to the ages if they belong to the Kremlin first. Communism is a servitude, not a liberation, of the artistic spirit.



Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

9. What has happened to the art of Jorge Amado since he became a Communist? A writer of great talent and established prestige, he was a good catch for the Communist propaganda masters to use in their world plans. Now that they have him, of course, they have suppressed his creative freedom and made him into a courier and errand boy. When they allow him time to write these days, he turns out confused, involved, and ill-constructed stories. If once he wrote poetry, he now composes political doggerel. His "Song of the Soviet Land", in which he attempts to give inspired utterance to a pledge of support from Latin America, turns out to be a series of propaganda statements couched in blank verse of a very low order -- too low, indeed, to be worthy of the lofty promise of Jorge Amado's early creative career:

> "Hope of the world, certitude of mankind,
> Not with our hands
> Shall your bountiful borders be violated.
> Nor from our bases shall assassins
> Take off to bomb your cities.
> Not with our riches shall this war
> Be waged against you.
> We shall fight for the right to live as
> we choose.
> To you we extend our hand, and together,
> With you as our guide, we shall march into
> the future." - (The Crossroads, Communist daily, Bombay, 4 April 1952)

Apart from the obviously ludicrous idea that anyone who fights for the Russian Cominform will have the right to live as he chooses, especially a creative writer, the only other thing to be said about this ode is that any political hack could do as well by writing a prose declaration in keeping with party policy, and then chopping it up into short and long lines so as to make it look like verse.

10. Why is Pablo Neruda a Communist? People join a cause like they do a church, for the benefit they think it will bring them. We think that Pablo Neruda, like Diego Rivera, the Mexican artist, is a Communist mainly because it is a means of attracting attention and publicity to himself. Certainly, that is what he seems to want more than anything else in life.

11. Voluntary exile is not permitted in the USSR. If artists and writers do not like the dictation the Politburo imposes on their art, they have only two alternatives: submit or starve. They cannot leave



Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

the country. Escape is impossible. Families pay the penalty if one goes and leaves without them. If Neruda had indulged in violent criticism of the government of the USSR in such a way as he attacked the government of his own country, he could not have gone away and avoided the reckoning. Like all Communist dupes, he makes use of his country's freedom to his own convenience at the very time he works to destroy it by implanting Communist dictatorship.

12. What has happened to the art of Pablo Neruda? The friends of Pablo Neruda, the public, who have loved his poetry and venerated him as an honor to the nation because of his great talent, these people desire and they have a right to know what has happened to Pablo Neruda's art.

Little seems to have come from his pen in recent years. There is the monumental "Stalingrad", which has some sonorous measures, but gives joy to very few people. There have been some pamphlets and some bits of doggerel verse on Party propaganda lines. What will there be in the future? Has Neruda's power been eclipsed? Has Pablo Neruda exchanged the integrity of his art for a dish of Zhdanov borscht?

13. Diario de Manana of Guatemala, on November 24, 1949, published an editorial lavishing praise on the Chilean poet. "No one would dare" it said, "to dispute the preeminent position of the great Chilean poet Neruda in relation to the intellectual movements of America and the political repercussions of his activities as a writer and leader at the service of the masses of his suffering country to the south." On the same page was a fullsome little poem by someone named Luis Aragon calling Neruda "The Linnet of Chile."

A good many people, since 1949, nevertheless have dared to challenge Neruda's preeminence both in the field of writing and of politics. The most deadly criticism can be seen in the lack of response he is encountering in his feverish travel from country to country as he vainly tries to whip up a large following for the Communist "peace" and "cultural" movements. Pablo Neruda's real value to the Communist movement itself lies in his reputation as a poet. The decline of that reputation must worry him. Apparently it does, and as a consequence he tries to obtain publicity for other reasons. The build-up for his return to Chile was obviously quite calculated. He hoped, it would seem, or at least expected, to be arrested the moment he set foot inside the country, after his four years' absence under charges of calumniating the former President, Gonzalez Videla. His wife had a suit for bigamy against him, too. But nothing has happened. From the point of view of the Government, his return has scarcely seemed important enough to notice. His wife appears satisfied to let well enough alone. No martyrdom! What a disappointment



Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

for Pablo Neruda! For the Cominform masters, too. If he doesn't manage to do something to resuscitate his declining popularity, the Communists won't find him interesting, either, any more.

14. The repudiations of the misnamed "peace" movement are very numerous among intellectuals in all the Latin American countries. David Vela, the editor of El Imparcial of Guatemala City, had the courage and self-respect to come out very plainly about it when his name was used by the promoters of the movement without his authorization. In an open letter published in El Imparcial on February 3, 1950, he disavowed his listing on the "welcome Neruda" committee that was organized there as a trap to get writers and artists and patrons of letters into the "peace" movement without their knowing it. David Vela declared that he had received no advance notice of the meeting and no subsequent notice that he had been named a member of the welcoming committee. The same thing has happened to many other prominent intellectuals, in various countries, many of whom would like to follow Vela's example and denounce the presumption, but hold back because they do not want to make themselves conspicuous or engage in controversy.

15. Eleazar de Carvalho, the Director of the Brazilian Symphony Orchestra, wrote the following letter regarding the Continental Cultural Congress scheduled to be held in Santiago, and sent it to the Chief of Police and to others, so that the public would know his plain position regarding this fraudulent imposition on American intellectuals:

Rio de Janeiro
July 14, 1942

Gen. Cyro Riopardense de Rezende,
Chief of Police of the Federal District

Dear General:

I am writing you this letter to inform you of the following:

I have been sought by an artist who asked me to sign my name in an adhering list to the Continental Congress of Culture, and after hearing from him the strict artistic and cultural designs of the Congress, I could not prevent my putting my signature in the referred list, in view of the artistic plans exposed to me. Afterwards, though, it came to my knowledge the political purposes of that Congress of which I was completely ignorant.



Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

That is the reason why I wish to let you know that I am an artist, a fact of which the public is well aware, not earning any outside income but that of my profession and completely apart from political questions, with which I am not associated, neither at the present nor in the past. Therefore, I wish to declare annuled the referred signature, intending not only to be absent, but also to deny my concurrence to the Congress in view of its political designs as mentioned.

I hope you take into consideration what I stated and use it for whatever it stands, to prevent the possible exploitation of that signature by members connected with a certain political organization for the goal they have in mind.

I thank you very much for your attention, and remain,

Yours very truly,

(signed) Maestro Eleazar de Carvalho
Diretor Artistico da Orquestra Sinfonica Brasileira

16. How the Communist sponsors of the so-called "Peace" Movement took advantage of honest intellectuals in Brazil:

They selected their list of distinguished persons and asked them the following set of simple questions. Almost any unsuspecting man or woman would give an affirmative reply. When they had that, the Communists then claimed that those who said yes were adherents of the Communist Peace Movement, and used their names without further authorization. Here are the questions:

1. Do you consider it possible to solve international problems by negotiation and without recourse to the use of force?

2. Do you think that the people should directly express their opinion on the problems of the maintenance of peace?

3. What would you think of a congress of all peoples of all nations in which parliamentarians, public personalities, and representatives of the various social and professional classes could debate the problems of peace, with a view toward common understanding?



Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

17. The same kind of deceptive double-talk appears in the alleged objectives of the proposed Continental Cultural Congress. As outlined by the sponsors, who know very much better but don't mind lying to their friends, the objectives are: "1) to stimulate the cultural development of the American peoples by adopting practical measures tending to preserve the national characteristics of its cultures, as well as to foster scientific investigation; 2) to activate cultural interchange between the countries of the Continent by eliminating the obstacles which hinder the free circulation and exchange of publications and books. . . as well as closer contact between thinking men; 3) to defend professional ethics, the freedom of creation and opinion and the interests of literary men in general."

This flimsy facade for the peace front will delude no one but the Communists and fellow travelers themselves.

18. Flash! Pablo Picasso, whose Peace Doves have been flying in and out of the cultural movement from its beginning, is the latest victim of the Party purge because he has created an "unorthodox" portrait of Stalin. The judgment of art creation is the exclusive right of the Politburo.



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## GENESIS OF THE CONTINENTAL CULTURAL CONGRESS

Plans for the Continental Cultural Congress have been slow in taking form and slow in being implemented. The general framework of the Congress was probably inspired by the 1949 Vienna World Peace Congress, where great emphasis was placed on cultural exchange; more specifically the Congress is an outgrowth of the rump meeting of the 1952 Montevideo Continental Conference of Peace, where a resolution was adopted in favor of holding "an American conference of writers, artists and scientists. . . to discuss the possible development of national cultures and inter-American cultural collaboration in relation to the preservation of world peace." 1/

In the period between 1949 and 1952 Pablo Neruda appeared to be the chief Latin American exponent of the cultural theme. At the Third World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace he suggested a solidarity campaign in favor of writers and intellectuals; in the World Peace Council publication Neruda advanced the idea that it was necessary to envisage a World Congress of Writers;2/ and at the Berlin World Peace Council meeting, July, 1952, he announced that a Writers' Conference would take place later in the year, probably referring to the prospective Santiago Conference. 3/

Following the return of Neruda and other Latin American literary figures--particularly Nicolas Guillen (Cuba), and Jorge Amado (Brazil)-- from Soviet Bloc conferences, Communist cultural leaders staged demonstrations, receptions and parties to which they invited prominent non-Communist intellectuals and tried commit them, though without much success, to support a forthcoming inter-American Cultural Conference.

The first public mention of the Congress was made in El Mercurio, conservative Santiago daily, on 13 July 1952, which reported the circulation in various Latin American countries of a notice stating that a group of writers and artists would convoke a "Cultural Congress" in Santiago, Chile, in October, 1952. The sponsors claimed that their purpose was to "unite in fraternal debate writers, scientists, educators, moving picture figures, musicians, professionals, and technical men with the object of studying the problems which arise from the lamentable lack of cultural interchange in Latin America". According to El Mercurio, the manifesto was signed by sixteen well-known persons, among whom were: Erico Verissimo, Jorge de Lima, Jorge Amado, Luis Carlos Prestes, Leonidas Barletta, Gergorio Bermann, all of whom the newspaper classed as known militant Communists. Other signers, according to El Mercurio, could not be called actual Communists but may be dupes or fellow travelers. These men were: Baldomiro Sanin Cano, Benjamin Carrion, Martinez Estrada, Jorge Zalamea, and Jorge Luis Borges. 4/

About the same time a letter from Maria Rosa Oliver, an Argentine Communist writer and one of the organizers of the Congress, to a Cuban co-worker,



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told of the preparations. She said that "a Brazilian man of letters, who will inform you of the work and the spirit of our preliminary efforts for this Conference, will arrive in Habana during the next few days. As you will be able to see from the Call. . ., it is not a question of just 'another pro-peace Conference' in disguise, as sometimid people feared when they saw that some of us who worked for the American Pro-Peace Conference (Montevideo, March 1952), are now organizing this Conference. The timid ones do not realize how difficult it is in Latin America to separate the anguish we have, because of the separation in which Latin American peoples live, from the problems which are created for us by the 'cold war'." Rio de Janeiro was mentioned as the site for the Secretariat, 5/ but apparently the cultural facade for the peace front was too transparent to delude any but committed fellow travelers and the conference was denounced as Communist-inspired by leading Brazilian intellectuals who had been listed as sponsors. 6/ Among these was Eleazar de Carvalho, director of the Brazilian Symphony Orchestra, who notified the Rio police that he had at first favored the conference, but had withdrawn his support when he realized that it was merely a Communist device for luring unsuspecting cultural leaders into the Communist trap. 7/

At least three dates have been set for the Congress: October 1952, late January or early February 1953, and currently, 26 April to 2 May 1953. The postponements are reportedly attributable to financial difficulties of the organizing group, difficulties in securing passage for delegates at reasonable rates, 8/ and fear of suppression by the Chilean Government during the election period, plus belief that the political climate would be more favorable after Ibanez' inauguration. 9/

An important reason for setting back the date was to allow time for the numerous likely delegates and organizers to return from the Vienna Congress. It was hoped that Neruda would receive funds for the Congress while he was in Europe, but there has been no indication that such financial assistance was proffered. 9/

Plans and the agenda for the Congress have not been clearly set forth. As in the case of former Latin American Communist conferences, preparations for this one have been rather hit-or-miss. The objectives, which have been outlined in general terms, and which do not provide any solid working basis, are: "1) to stimulate the cultural development of the American peoples by adopting practical measures tending to preserve the national characteristics of its cultures, as well as to foster scientific investigation; 2) to activate cultural interchange between the countries of the Continent by eliminating the obstacles which hinder the free circulation and exchange of publications and books. . . as well as closer contact between thinking men; 3) to defend professional ethics, the freedom of creation and opinion and the interests of literary men in general." 10/ This last aim, of course, is pure Communist dialectics, designed to attract credulous non-Communists.

Not even the leadership of the Congress seems clearly defined. Neruda has been both acclaimed and discredited as the organization director. According to a recent report he has been relieved of all organizational tasks because


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of his lack of responsibility and initiative. His name, however, will be played up for prestige purposes. Cesar Godoy Urrutia, well-known Chilean Communist leader, is believed to be the behind-the-scenes organizer. Enrique Bello Cruz, writer and director of the Communist line magazine Pro-Arte, will act as nominal director and will be Godoy's chief aide. 11/ Margarita Aguirre, Neruda's private secretary, appears to be acting as secretary of the Congress. Jorge Amado and Volodia Teitelboim, both experienced Communist leaders recently returned from Europe, seem to be acting in a counseling capacity. Amado reportedly carried directives from Vienna to Santiago.

Invitations have been issued to individuals in twenty-two countries. Each delegation is requested to bring a folklore exhibit, all of which will be consolidated into one large exhibit which will be displayed in Santiago during the Congress and then will tour Latin America on a fund-raising campaign. No mention has been made, however, of where in Santiago the exhibit will be shown, but presumably the University of Santiago, the proposed site of the Congress, will house the exposition. 12/

A serious setback to Neruda and other prominent leaders has been the refusal of Eduardo Barrios, outstanding Chilean novelist, and his influential Sociedad de Escritores to participate in the Congress. 12/ Neruda has exerted every effort to assure the presence of German Arciniegas, well-known Colombian writer, whose attendance is considered indispensable. 13/ It seems doubtful, however, that Arcieniegas will respond to Neruda's persuasion.

In view of the numerous obstacles so far encountered and the lack of preparation and cohesion among the organizing group it is doubtful that the Congress, if the Chilean Government permits it to meet, will be any more than a gathering of already avowed Communists and fellow-travelers.



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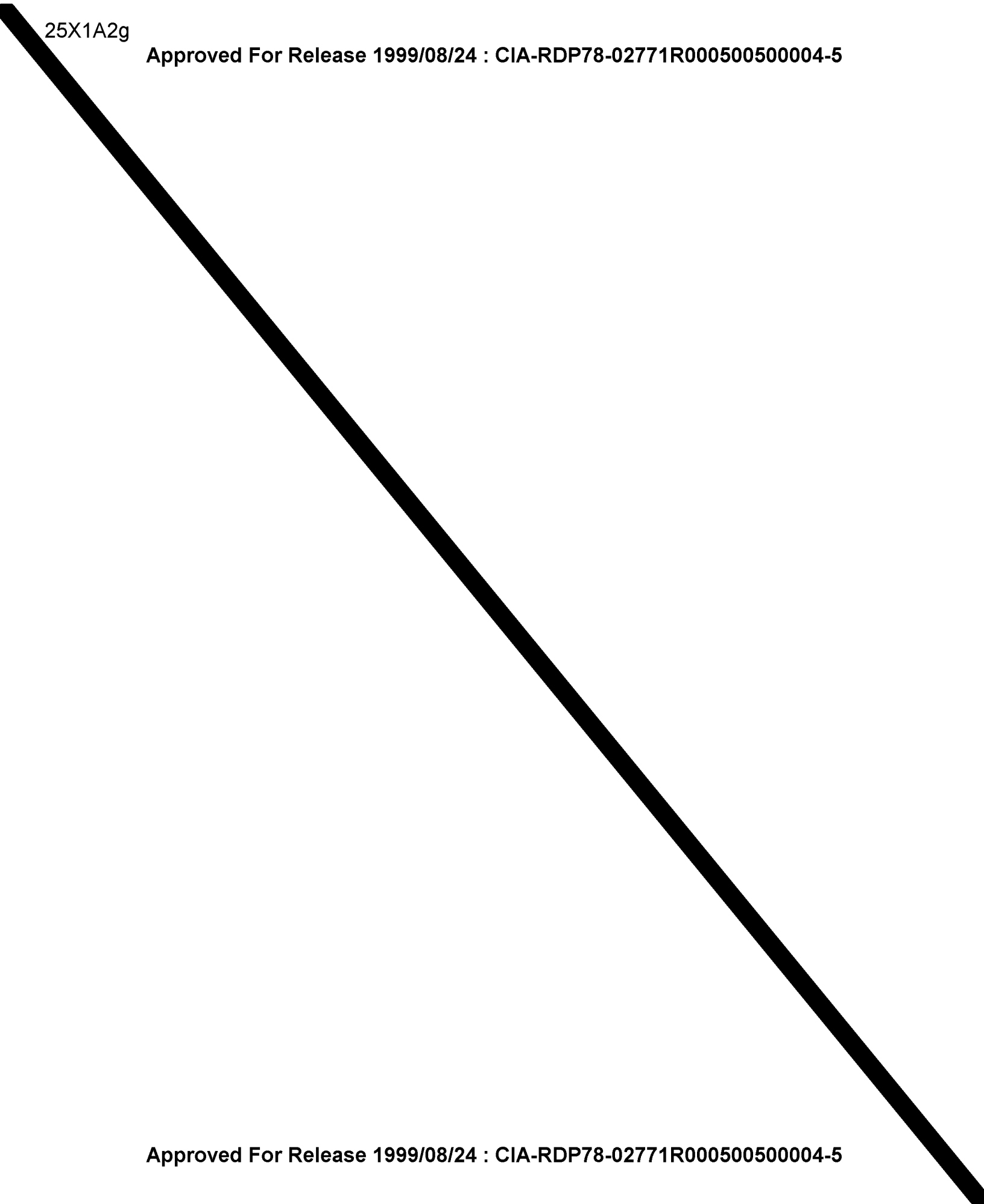

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## LATIN AMERICAN PARTICIPATION IN THE WORLD PEACE MOVEMENT

In the early postwar period, many sincere, thoughtful Latin-Americans, especially among the intellectuals, began seeking ways and means by which the people of the world could live together more amicably. Many of them viewed the early Communist-inspired peace meetings and the Partisans of Peace movement with considerable hope, and expected that the declared aims would be seriously and objectively considered. A gradual awareness on the part of these thinking people that the movement had been used primarily for the promotion of Communist ideology and dissemination of Communist propaganda, subsequently caused many to withdraw their support.

The progress of the movement in Latin America has been impeded also by adverse political developments in various countries, by the hostile attitude of certain governments because of the obvious Communist domination of the movement; by lack of funds, and lack of support from prominent non-Communist liberals. Attempts to hold hemispheric peace conferences have been numerous but have met with little success. After many postponements, the First American Continental Congress for Peace was held in Mexico City, 5-10 September 1949. This Congress had its origin in the Breslau Congress of Intellectuals held in August 1948. The aims of the Congress were twofold: (1) to maintain the fiction that it was a non-Communist movement motivated by humanitarian ideals and supported by outstanding liberal, pacifist intellectuals of all nations; and (2) to present the USSR as champion of world peace in contrast to the aggressive, imperialistic nations of the West. 1/

With few exceptions, the most consistent Latin-American participants in the peace offensive have been avowed Communists or fellow-travelers. The planning and direction on a continental basis for the first meeting appeared to be the responsibility of Juan Marinello, President of the Cuban Communist Party, and Vicente Lombardo Toledano, head of the CTAL and Partido Popular of Mexico. Prominent in assistance to these leaders was Roberto Morena, member of the Central Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party and the Central Committee of the CTAL. This group issued directives to the Communist parties and the Communist dominated CTAL affiliates. Instructions were to form national committees composed of representatives of labor, cultural, women's, and youth groups. To advise and encourage organizational preparations, Roberto Morena was sent on tour of ten Latin-American countries. A wide publicity campaign was initiated simultaneously in the Communist and leftist press, to emphasize the non-political, humanitarian, idealistic aspects of the Congress.

The initially enthusiastic response resulted in formation of national committees, some of which were provisional; participation of Communist front organizations; and pledge of support from non-



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Communist individuals. But this trend was soon reversed, when the Communist direction and purpose of the movement became evident to the public and the governments. 2/ Although the Mexican Government did nothing to prevent the conference from meeting in Mexico City, ex-President Lazaro Cardenas, who at first gave provisional acceptance to the invitation to preside at the meetings, subsequently declined. With the exception of the Argentine and Uruguayan national peace committees, comparable organizations of other countries throughout Latin-America became largely inactive. Because of these reverses and lack of organizational preparation, it became necessary in December 1948 to announce the first of at least six postponements of the proposed congress. 3/

Withdrawal of Lazaro Cardenas, and general failure to attract prominent liberals to the movement, caused increasing disappointment and concern among Latin-American Communists. Some felt that an all-Communist congress would defeat its purpose and might better be canceled altogether.

The long period of inactivity ended in mid-summer 1949. By July, most Latin-American delegates to the European and New York congresses were home again. Their return accounted, in part, for reactivation of national peace committees in Panama, Venezuela, Argentina, and Brazil, even though the last two governments took strong repressive measures against all "peace" organizational activity. 4/

Great difficulties were encountered by the congress in obtaining prominent non-Communist intellectuals to act as officers or patrons. The Mexican physicist Sandoval Vallerta, for example, was offered the presidency, but declined it and all other forms of participation. He stated to a U.S. Embassy officer, that his refusal was based on knowledge of the true nature and sponsorship of the conference. He added that it was his belief that Dr. Alfonso Caso had accepted the vice-presidency largely out of loyalty to his brother-in-law, Lombardo Toledano, and that Dr. Caso did not realize the movement's political implications. Other prominent Mexicans who refused to serve in organizational posts were Alfonso Reyes and Lic. Gilberto Loyo. 5/ Some liberal, though not Communist intellectuals, less quick to perceive that the Communists were exploiting them for propaganda purposes, played an active role in the movement in its initial stages. For example, Enrique Gonzalez Martinez, a physician by profession and one of Mexico's greatest contemporary poets who died in 1952, accepted the presidency of the Continental Conference and of the Mexican affiliate of the Partisans of Peace. Within a year, however, he expressed disillusionment to his friend, Alfonso Reyes, and annoyance with the way the Communists were using him to their own advantage. 6/



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The Congress opened on 5 September 1949 with an estimated attendance of 3,000 delegates and sympathizers, but without the presence of any important political figures. The Czechoslovak and Polish Legations in Mexico accepted an official invitation to send semi-official representatives to the Congress.

Luis Enrique Delano was Secretary General of the Congress and Enrique Gonzalez Martinez was President. Vice Presidents were: Linus Pauling (USA), W.E.B. Dubois (USA), Alfonso Caso (Mexico), Fernando Ortiz (Cuba), Arthur Ramos (Brazil), Joaquin Garcia Monge (Costa Rica), Dr. H. R. Endicott (Canada).

Though Communist spokesmen and press made great claims of sweeping success for the pro-peace movement in Latin America, the accomplishments in fact have fallen far short of the desired results. Pro-peace leaders have on occasion privately confessed their discouragement with the movement. Pablo Neruda, for example, stated confidentially in 1950 that the campaign in Latin America had been a complete failure. In his opinion, nothing concrete had been accomplished by the movement except in Cuba, where the Communist Party was numerically strong, and in Guatemala, where government support was afforded.7/

Attempts to convene the second American Continental Peace Conference in 1951 were more persistent and optimistic than successful, and it was not until 15 March, 1952, that a small, frustrated group met in Montevideo. Various sites and dates had been set for the Conference, the first of which was Santiago in November, 1951. 8/ Probably as the result of various factors-- the usual lack of funds, lack of preparation and fear of repression because of national elections that were scheduled for the same month-- the site was changed to Rio de Janeiro and the date to 28 January 1952. But permission to meet in Brazil was denied and the sponsors then considered Montevideo,9/ Guatemala City, and Quito. 9/ Guatemala was not satisfactory, however, as it would bring the congress under the patronage of a Communist-dominated government, thus destroying the effectiveness of its attempted appeal to non-Communists. 10/ Montevideo was selected as the most suitable site and plans were made to hold sessions 11-16 March, 1952. On 10 March, however, the Uruguayan Government invoked an obscure, almost forgotten law of the 1930's by which it was possible to prevent the conference from holding formal meetings in Uruguay.

Pro-peace leaders tried to salvage the situation by arranging for small private meetings to be held simultaneously throughout the city. Not until 15 March were they able to hold a public meeting. 11/

Resolutions, which congress leaders claimed were adopted by unanimous consent, but which were in reality dictated by the organizing committee, centered around the usual "peace" themes, and recommended convocation in 1952 of "an American conference of writers, artists, and scientists. . . to discuss the possible development of national cultures and inter-American cultural collaboration in relation to the preservation of world peace." 13/

This last resolution was apparently a follow-up of the cultural exchange recommendation of the November 1941 meeting of the World Peace Council, and


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doubtless originated the currently scheduled Santiago Cultural Congress. Leaders of the Montevideo meeting were reportedly pessimistic about their ability to hold such a conference, because of the unfavorable attitude of Latin American governments. They felt that it would be more harmful to have a conference misfire, as had the dismal Montevideo meeting, than not to hold a meeting at all. 14/

Confusion prevailed during the entire period scheduled for the Conference. Several delegations who had arranged travel plans, did not know that the Conference had been outlawed until after they arrived in Montevideo. Other delegations, notably the Mexican and Cuban, had been refused visas by the Uruguayan Consular authorities. Hotel accommodations were in confusion. The large Brazilian delegation was unable to find rooms and was forced to stay with Uruguayan Communists.

Many delegates, angry that the Conference had been banned, spent most of their time enjoying themselves at the beaches during the torrid days for which the Conference had been planned. Attempts to hold private meetings were handicapped by Montevideo police, who continuously requested known delegates to report for checking of travel documents. During this turmoil, the local pro-peace leaders never were able to ascertain exactly how many delegates had finally arrived. The Communists claimed 279 delegates were present, but a check of travel documents indicated that about one hundred persons had arrived. 15/

Visa control, denounced by the Communists, was not a serious barrier, because the delegates could travel to Brazil or Chile and proceed from those countries without visas. Delegates from Argentina, Guatemala, Mexico, Cuba, and Panama were reported by the Communist press as unable to attend because they were refused visas. But these people may have been lukewarm anyway, or unable to afford the trip.

Measured by geographical distribution of delegates, the "continental congress" was actually a rump meeting. Not only were the bulk of delegates claimed from southern South America, but three-fifths of the claimed Brazilian delegation apparently represented the border state of Rio Grande do Sul. A partial list of delegates, published after the conference, included none of the prominent names that the Communists have managed at one time or another to associate with the peace front. About one-third of the delegates listed represented the cultural world-- writers, artists, musicians, educators-- and, in addition, there was minor representation of workers, lawyers, judges, politicians, and journalists. 16/

Because the government had denied the peace front the prestige value of public sessions, its breach of traditional Uruguayan civil liberties was criticized by influential non-Communist newspapers, and a congressional interpellation was voted. Radio Moscow exploited the ban as "evidence" that "American rulers and their henchmen are afraid of the peace movement." 17/


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In addition to national and hemispheric peace activities, Latin Americans, in increasing numbers, are traveling to each of the international peace conferences. About sixty delegates from Mexico, Cuba, Costa Rica, and all South America, with the exception of Bolivia, played their various appointed roles, together with 1700 other delegates, at the Warsaw Congress 16-22 November, 1950. They were rewarded with the allotment of twenty-four of the 224 seats on the World Peace Council, which was established at that congress. Brazil's "four million" signatures were recognized by election of the Brazilian women's front leader, Branca Fialho, to the Bureau of the World Peace Council; and the Brazilian Palameme Borsari, reportedly in charge of peace activities in Latin America, was confirmed as one of the Bureau's seven secretaries. Even more telling recognition from the Latin American point of view was the award of two out of a total of twelve international "peace" prizes and medals to their area: one to the Brazilian artist, Candido Portinari, and another to Pablo Neruda, the Chilean poet who had been serving Communism in Middle America, Europe, and India. 18/

Latin American attendance in international peace conferences reached numerical "highs" at the Peiping and Vienna conferences, but a survey of lists of delegates does not indicate the acquisition of any prominent new names.

Concurrent with the increased activities of Latin Americans in the world peace movement has been a proportionate increase in attention paid to Latin Americans in international meetings and in statements made by noted world peace figures. The success or failure of the Santiago Cultural Congress probably will have an important affect upon the prestige of Latin American peace organizations and the leaders connected with the World Peace Movement.





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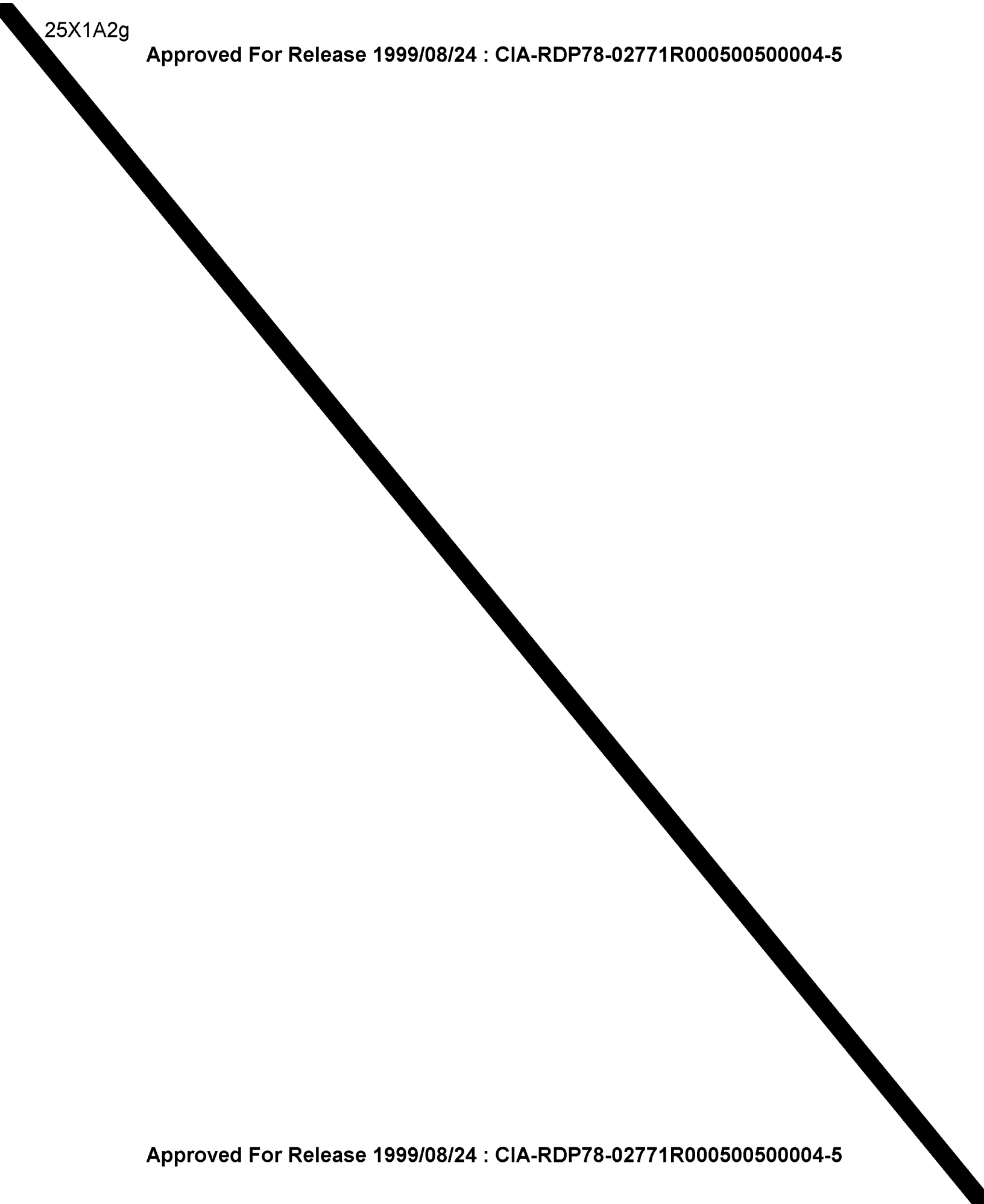

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## SUMMARY

The Continental Cultural Congress is clearly linked to the Communist World Peace Movement. Analysis of the record shows that the appeal of this movement to Latin-American intellectuals has steadily declined since 1949, as this target group has become better informed on the Communist effort to draw in non-political and non-Communist intellectuals, and to use their names for propaganda advantage.

Preparatory work for the Chilean Congress has been slow and discouraging for Pablo Neruda and the other organizers. The date of the Congress has been postponed several times, and prospects are not good for a large or brilliantly successful meeting.

The Communist Peace Movement and Communist propaganda appeals have, however, attracted a limited number of intellectuals to their cause. Propaganda themes and vulnerabilities, which may be exploited for the purpose of counteracting these appeals, have been analyzed in the light of the history of the Peace Movement effort in Latin America. Supporting material, appearing as supplements to this study, include a biographical index and an analysis of Communist tactics employed at a typical international congress of intellectuals.


Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

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## The Problem

(a) To provide information on the genesis and background of the Continental Cultural Congress, a phase of the Communist Peace Movement, scheduled to meet in Santiago, Chile, 26 April - 2 May 1953; and (b) to present supporting material on the purpose sought, and the tactics followed in meetings of this type in Latin America, together with themes and information which may be used as material for counter propaganda.

## Scope and Limitations

This study is limited to the development of the Communist Peace Movement, with specific reference to Latin America, and to the propaganda appeal and the tactics likely to be used in the scheduled Congress at Santiago. This is not a definitive study, but a collection of summarized background data and working material for the support of field operations and analyses.


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# THE CONTINENTAL CULTURAL CONGRESS AS AN INSTRUMENT OF COMMUNIST PEACE PROPAGANDA

The Continental Cultural Congress, to be held at Santiago, Chile, 26 April - 2 May 1953, though ostensibly independent from the intricate international network of the Communist World Peace Movement, is clearly linked with the so-called peace campaign, the pivot of Communist propaganda activity. Behind a facade of culture, the Congress is designed so as to attract as many non-Communists as possible - the more prominent the better - and to promote current Soviet propaganda themes.

If the Congress meets as scheduled on 26 April in Santiago, a large part of the proceedings will probably center about proposals for cultural exchange and for educational conferences, under the guise of peace. The proceedings, and the number and names of persons participating, will later be used to magnify the power of national Communist parties and their associated peace committees. Also, the attempt will be to impress the peoples of each country with the strength of the Communist movement everywhere, and of its appeal to non-Communists.

A survey of the aims and operations of the World Peace Movement clearly indicates that it is the major Soviet instrument for disseminating propaganda and for exerting political and other pressure. Thus, for background information, a summary of the salient facts of the history and activities of the movement follows, from its origin in 1948 to the present time.

## Background of the World Peace Movement

At the World Congress of Intellectuals, which was held in Breslau, Poland, 25-28 August 1948, a permanent International Committee in Defense of Peace was set up. This Committee, composed of twenty-one members, (among whom were the Brazilian novelist, Jorge Amado, and the Chilean poet, Pablo Neruda) was the parent organization of the World Peace Movement. Paris was selected as headquarters, and it was subsequently also chosen as headquarters of the International Committee of the Partisans of Peace.

The purpose of the permanent committee was to coordinate propaganda and all activities described as being aimed at the preservation and promotion of world peace, and against "a handful of self-interested men in America and Europe" seeking war.

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In the movement's first historical phase, attention was concentrated on building bases for organization and propaganda by means of a series of meetings, conventions and congresses in many countries.

The second phase, from early 1949 to the present, is a response to heavy pressure from Moscow upon leaders of the movement for "concrete results."*

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(Study OIR 5000 of May 50, pp. 1-2, S.)

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The governing bodies of the movement consist of a World Congress, a World Peace Council and its Executive Board. The supreme body is the World Peace Congress which apparently convenes as circumstances permit. The Third World Peace Congress convened in Vienna, 5 December 1952.

The evidence published by the Soviet Government and by agencies under its control, including the World Peace Council itself, indicates that:

1. Work for the "peace campaign" is the first priority of all Communist agencies throughout the world:

> "The struggle for a stable and lasting peace, for the organisation and consolidation of the forces of peace against the forces of war should now become the pivot of the entire activity of the Communist Parties and democratic organisations." (Cominform resolution of 29th November, 1949, still in force)

2. Its purpose is to strengthen the position of the Soviet Government. For instance, in a lecture on the World Peace Council given at the Communist Party Centre in Budapest, it was stated that:

> "the peace movement of invincible power has set itself the aim to frustrate the aggressive plans of the American and English Imperialists . . . Comrade Stalin is a military commander of genius . . . The heroic Soviet Army is the most powerful sentinel of peace."

3. Its policy is directed by a small Executive Bureau of 46 members, issuing resolutions which are always adopted unanimously by the World Peace Council, some 300 strong.

4. The key members of the Executive Bureau are also key members of the other Communist international organisations. Thus Joliot-Curie, its Chairman, is also President of the World Federation of Scientific Workers; one of its Vice-Chairmen is Eugenie Cotton, President of the Women's International Democratic Federation; while the Bureau includes such figures as Louis Saillant, Secretary-General of the World Federation of Trade Unions, Ehrenburg, the Soviet propagandist, and Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Premier of the Chinese Republic.

5. Below the World Peace Council come a series of national peace committees, composed largely of members of the Communist Party and faithful supporters of Soviet policy.

These committees have three main functions:

(a) To further the aims of Soviet policy under the guise of "peace."

On every international issue the national committees start from the basic assumption that Soviet policy is right, and the national government is wrong.



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(b) To organise "peace committees" in towns, streets and factories. In this connection Louis Saillant said at the Stockholm Conference (1950):

> "One way to root the movement deep in the hearts of the people is to organise committees for the defence of peace at the place where men and women carry out their daily work. . . . "

(c) To organise, in conjunction with Communist Party members, peace organisations among scientists, artists, musicians, teachers, and so on, ostensibly independent of the World Peace Movement and designed to attract as many non-Communists as possible. This had been issued as a directive in the Cominform Journal as early as November 1949:

> "Particular attention should be devoted to bringing together into the movement of the supporters of peace the trade unions, women's, youth, co-operative, cultural and educational, religious and other organisations, as well as scientists, writers, journalists, workers in the cultural field, parliamentary leaders who are in favour of peace and against war."

The theme was further elaborated at the 1951 Berlin session of the World Peace Council.

6. Such are the national networks, or "transmission-belts" to use the Communists' own terminology. But there are also functional networks, working through the main Communist-dominated international bodies, e.g. -

The World Federation of Trade Unions;
The World Federation of Democratic Youth;
The International Union of Students;
The Women's International Democratic Federation;
The International Association of Democratic Lawyers;
The International Organisation of Journalists;
The World Federation of Scientific Workers.

These bodies have to give full support to the peace movement, and represent a useful alternative to the national networks for the channelling of the movement's directives down to the various professional and other groups in modern society.

7. The political aims of this closely-knit movement cover the Communist States as well as the free world, and are consistent throughout. In Russia and the Satellites it is an official propaganda agency designed to strengthen popular support for nationalist or militant aims.



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In the free world, the World Peace Movement is designed to support the day-to-day needs of Soviet policy and propaganda; to carry out a consistent policy of dividing and weakening the resistance of the free world to Soviet aggression.

In the long term, it is designed to serve as a means of inducing general support of Soviet policy as a whole, and as a source of recruitment to Communism.

The theory and the practice of the World Peace Movement both show that the basic manoeuvre, namely, the exploitation of the love of peace to serve political ends, depends for its success on the ignorance and credulity of the non-Communists that it seeks to exploit. It is this fact which has weakened the peace campaign to the point of ineffectiveness.

Communist International Peace Tactics

The World Peace Council met in Berlin in February 1951. Apart from a number of political resolutions, its principal achievement was to adopt (unanimously) a series of resolutions about future strategy and tactics handed down by its Executive Bureau. Since these are the key to subsequent developments, they are here quoted rather fully:

(1) "The World Peace Council recommends all national committees to spread with greater energy and to popularise on a broad scale the Address to the United Nations, which should penetrate everywhere and should reach the conscience of every man and woman. The World Peace Council appeals to all to display initiative in this question on a national and international scale.

(2) "The World Peace Council notes with satisfaction the adoption of laws against war propaganda in a number of countries. It urges the national committees to take measures for drafting Bills for defence of peace and against war propaganda which should be submitted to the Parliaments of the different countries.

"National committees should inform public opinion about this in order to obtain popular support for these measures.

(3) "It urges the national committees to mobilise public opinion for exposing and boycotting all sorts of publications, written statements, speeches, films, radio broadcasts, etc. containing appeals for war.

"It recommends the national committees to carry on an extensive educational campaign with the participation of thousands of people of goodwill who, in each country, will tirelessly expose lies serving the preparation of war.



Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

"It instructs the Bureau to take measures for setting up an information bureau at the Secretariat, to issue objective information and exact data exposing mendacious and distorted reports aimed at keeping up war psychosis.

(4) "The World Peace Council notes with satisfaction that the contact established in pursuance of the decisions of the Second World Peace Congress with numerous associations and collectives has made it possible to develop and expand still more the movement for peace.

"The Council adopts the following decision:

"1. To continue negotiations with the movement of mondialists in different countries in order to ascertain on what questions agreement could be reached and joint actions carried out encouraging mutual participation in conferences and congresses.

"2. It is desirable to organise on parity lines the meeting proposed to the Quakers on the basis of documents and resolutions with the object of finding terms for joint actions.

"3. It is important to acquaint churches with the resolutions adopted at the present session of the Council and to ask them to support these resolutions. On behalf of the Bureau, the chairman, Joliot-Curie, has sent a letter to the highest Church bodies informing them about the resolutions of the Second World Peace Congress on disarmament. Several of the replies received to the letter are evidence of the interest aroused by this information.

"4. It is necessary to develop contact with the movements in favour of neutrality existing in different countries in order that they should actually serve for the preservation of peace.

"5. To find ways for co-operation with the pacifist movements and all other groupings in so far as this contact and co-operation will serve the cause of peace.

(5) "The World Peace Council notes with satisfaction the initiative and proposals concerning the organisation of international conferences which will enable authoritative representatives of the public in different countries to exchange views and to settle jointly some problems in the interests of world peace. Such conferences will make it possible to attain new contact and a further expansion of the movements of peace supporters.



Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

"In this respect the Peace Council:

"Instructs the Bureau to support the organisation of regional conferences: (a) of countries of the Near East and Northern Africa; (b) of the Scandinavian countries.

"Recommends the Secretariat to examine the question of organising such conferences: for countries of Black Africa, for countries of North America and Latin America (this conference can be held in Mexico in August).

"The World Peace Council urges national committees of the countries concerned to apply the utmost efforts for the greatest success of these conferences.

"The World Peace Council decides to convene in the Soviet Union in the summer of 1951 an international economic conference - of economists, technicians, industrialists, business men and trade union leaders of all countries - for restoring economic relations and raising the living standard of the peoples. The conference agenda will consist of: (a) possibilities for improving the living conditions of the peoples in the middle of the 20th century provided peace is preserved; (b) possibilities for improving economic relations among countries.

"In pursuance of the decisions of the Second World Peace Congress concerning cultural relations, the World Peace Council instructs the Bureau to instruct the Secretariat to study and assist in holding international conferences to discuss problems of the development of national culture and international cultural co-operation provided peace is preserved; writers and artists, scientists, workers of the cinema.

"To hold in 1951 a conference of writers and workers in art.

(6) "The World Peace Council decides to set up at the Council an international cultural relations commission which will meet periodically. It recommends the setting up without delay at each national committee of a cultural relations commission, which should promote trips, if possible mutual, with the object of strengthening the cause of peace, as well as exchanges of periodical publications and cultural exhibitions.

"It instructs the Bureau to study the question of establishing a cinema centre with the task of stimulating and co-ordinating the production and distribution of films in defence of peace, exposing in every way possible the use of the cinema for war propaganda.



Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

(7) "The Council recommends the Secretariat to do everything necessary in order that all peace-loving scientists should propose the inclusion in the charters of the international and national scientific organisations of which they are members of a demand that their scientific discoveries be used solely for peaceful purposes.

(8) "The Council appeals to all national committees to pay most serious attention to the collection of funds for a world peace fund. The success of this campaign will be a new proof of the devotion of the peoples to the cause of peace. This will enable our movement to carry out its mission still more effectively."

After meetings of the Executive Bureau of the World Peace Council in Copenhagen (May 1951) and Helsinki (July 1951) from which nothing new or notable emerged, the Council met on 1st November 1951 (on the eve of the General Assembly of the United Nations), in Vienna, under its Communist Chairman, Professor Joliot-Curie. The salient points of the resolutions on organisation and tactics dealing with "cultural relations" read as follows:

"In point 9 of its Address to the United Nations, the Second World Peace Congress indicated that promotion of cultural intercourse between the nations creates favourable conditions for mutual understanding. . . .

"The World Peace Council does not intend to replace the organisations, movements and associations active in this field, but it is always prepared to give them every possible help and assistance.

"The World Peace Council's International Commission for Cultural Relations, the organisation of which was announced in the Council's resolution of 25th February 1951, is fulfilling its functions of orientation and co-ordination.

"The World Peace Council has decided to launch immediately two main schemes for 1952: a holidays-for-peace movement, and the celebration of important cultural anniversaries.

"By utilising the academic recess in the interests of peace, all national committees can develop cultural exchanges on a larger scale.

"The World Peace Council, in its resolution of 25th February 1951, emphasised the interest shown in international conferences and meetings of cultural leaders of various countries on their specific problems.



Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

"The World Peace Council records with satisfaction that this idea has already made progress, and that interesting meetings of physicians, scientists, writers, artists, architects and town planners, teachers, and cinema workers are being held.

"The World Peace Council holds that these meetings are of cardinal importance for the promotion of cultural relations and must be encouraged by everyone who wishes to see closer understanding among the peoples.

"In order to promote cultural exchange, the World Peace Council has decided to organise in several capitals in 1952 international exhibitions of popular art, documentary exhibitions on rehabilitation and reconstruction, exhibitions of books for children and children's drawings.

"Lastly the Council invites the national committees to promote the exchange of bibliographical, literary and scientific publications."

An important new technique has developed in the peace movement, the "initiating committee." This was employed in organising the Moscow Economic Conference, to conceal its origins in the peace movement; although once the conference was over, the peace movement again claimed credit for it. Just as the peace movement was organised by the Soviet Government to serve as a transmission belt, in the classic style prescribed by Lenin, between Communist policy and non-Communist world opinion, so the World Peace Movement, having itself become progressively discredited and exposed as an instrument of Soviet policy, began to feel the need to create its own cover, so that new instruments had to be fashioned to carry out its basic policy in another guise. Hence also was the interest in cultural and educational affairs prescribed by the directive issued through the Cominform to the peace campaign in November 1949.

It is to be expected, therefore, that movements, organisations and agitations will spring up on a local basis, apparently unrelated to each other, ostensibly dedicated to the cause of peace as an end in itself but, in fact, playing a positive role in the development of the Soviet peace campaign. To conform to standard Communist tactics such movements should be composed of a Communist or peace movement nucleus surrounded by a number of persons, the more prominent the better, disinterested in politics and unaware of the role they are playing in Soviet political warfare.

Chronology of Peace Meetings

August 1948 - World Congress of Intellectuals - Breslau, Poland - elected a Committee to Defend the Peace, adopted a program to set up national branches and organize international "peace" meetings.



Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5

March 1949 - Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace - New York.

20-25 April 1949 - World Congress of Partisans of Peace (1st World Peace Congress) - Paris - concurrent meeting in Prague.

15-19 March 1950 - World Peace Committee of Peace Partisans Conference - (also called Bureau) Stockholm - from which emanated the Stockholm Appeal against atomic weapons.

June 1950 - World Peace Committee meeting in London,

16-18 August - World Peace Committee meeting in Prague.

3-5 and 15-18 October 1950 - "Preparatory Committee for 2nd World Peace Congress"(including most of World Peace Committee) met again in Prague.

16-22 November 1950 - 2nd World Congress of the Defenders of Peace. Warsaw (scheduled for Sheffield, England, but changed due to entry refusals). This 2nd World Peace Congress replaced the World Peace Committee by a greatly augmented World Peace Council.

10-11 January 1951 - World Peace Council Executive Committee - Geneva, Switzerland, also called Bureau of WPC.

21-26 February 1951 - Full Conference of the World Peace Council - Berlin, initiated signature campaign for 5 power peace pact.

5-7 May 1951 - Executive Committee of World Peace Council - Copenhagen, Denmark.

20-23 July 1951 - Executive Committee of the World Peace Council - Helsinki, Finland.

1-5 November 1951 - Plenary meeting of the World Peace Council - Vienna, Austria.

29 March - 1 April 1952 - Executive Committee of World Peace Council - Oslo, Norway.

1-6 July 1952 - Special session of World Peace Council in Soviet Sector of Berlin.

2-13 October 1952 - Asiatic Pacific Area Peace Conference, Peiping.

5 December 1952 - Third World Peace Congress, Vienna.



Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-02771R000500500004-5