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They Want Us to Go to War Right Now

By DEMAREE BESS

Millions of people—even here in the U.S.—devoutly hope Russia will attack us, because, until the Soviet Empire falls, they are homeless wanderers. Exiled Czechs, Poles, Hungarians—even Russians—they're all on our side—but they prod us toward World War III.

THERE are millions of respectable men and women today who will welcome an all-out war between the United States and Soviet Russia. These unhappy people are *émigrés*, transformed into uprooted wanderers by wars and revolutions. They have more reason to hate war than most Americans. But to them all-out war looks like the only means for getting home again.

This vast exile community has little in common with ordinary emigrants. Whereas emigrants retain only a secondary interest in their former homes, exiles spend most of their time planning how to get back. They cannot return to countries in the Soviet sphere unless communist regimes there have been destroyed.

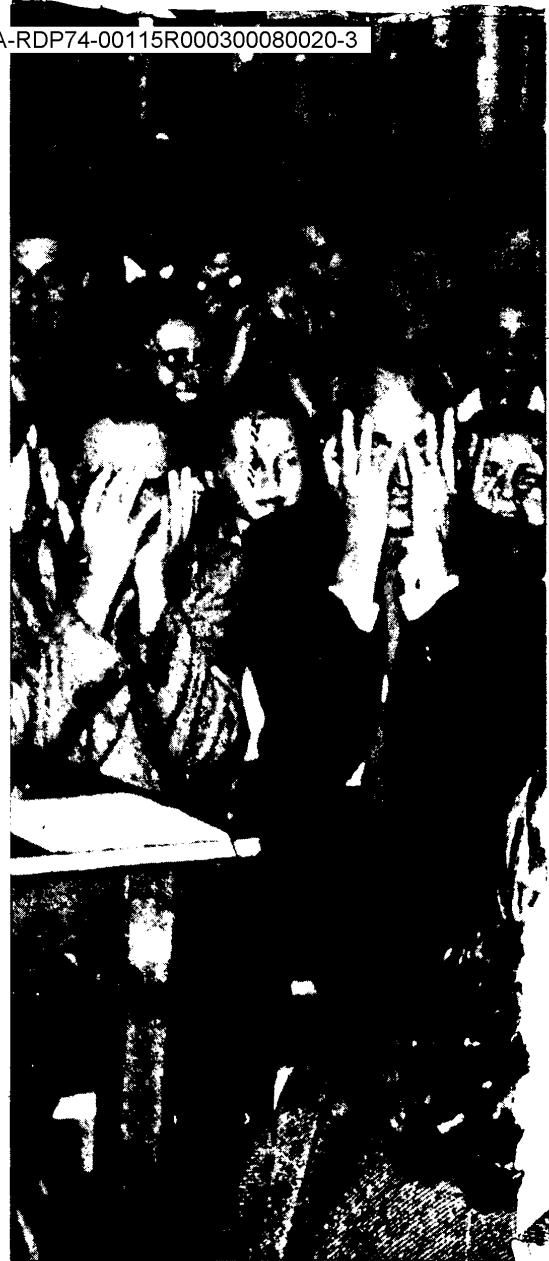
So the exiles are excited by any move which increases American hostility to the expanded Soviet empire. Since the Korean outbreak, American support for these people has multiplied so rapidly that many Americans may not appreciate how deeply we are committed or how complex are the responsibilities we have assumed. With our encouragement, exiles from every country in the Soviet sphere are now busily developing the equivalent of governments-in-exile.

I have found sharp differences about these expanding political organizations between *émigré* leaders and Americans who are supporting them. The

official American policy is that all plans must be based upon measures short of war. Americans working with the *émigrés* speak optimistically of revolts against communist usurpers and attach great importance to the results of intensive psychological warfare. But exiled politicians with whom I have talked do not share American faith in these measures. Most *émigrés* do not believe for one moment that existing communist regimes can be seriously undermined by tough talk. They agree almost unanimously, at least in private conversations, that all Soviet regimes are too deeply entrenched to be upset by anything less than the use of American armed forces.

The situation today recalls that which prevailed in the months before Pearl Harbor. We were not formally at war with Germany then, and President Roosevelt was still insisting that we could avoid all-out war. But at the same time he was demanding the defeat of the expanding Nazi empire. Today Washington spokesmen again express the hope that we can avoid all-out war, while at the same time they demand the defeat of the expanding Soviet empire.

And, just as Americans supported governments-in-exile fighting the Nazis before Pearl Harbor, we are now supporting *émigré* groups whose sole purpose is defeat of the Soviets.



Anticommunist leaders of the International Peasant Union meet in Washington: Dr. George Dimitrov, Bulgarian; Dr. Vladko Macek, Croatian; Ferenc Nagy, Hungarian, and Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, Pole.

Émigré leaders understandably chafe under restraints which Americans impose upon them. They want to assume that the Soviet empire will soon be overthrown by force of arms, and to make plans right now for replacing Soviet regimes in their own countries, just as other exiles made their plans for victory over other empires during both world wars. *Émigré* minds cannot tolerate the postponement of their return in triumph to their native lands to some indefinite and remote date. They are compelled to hope that a Soviet-American war is inevitable—and close.

These millions of people who look to the United States to get them home again are scattered over the five continents and embrace a wide variety of races and political and religious beliefs. Washington has become the temporary capital for these exiles. Scores of the most influential *émigré* leaders, Asiatic and European, either are stationed there or make frequent visits to enlist American support.

For at least three reasons, our support of the exile community is more difficult and inconsistent than it was before we entered World War II. These three reasons are: (1) The status of *émigrés* is much more uncertain than it was in 1941, because several countries were actually fighting Germany and Japan then, while today no country is formally at war with Russia. (2) Our Government was able to recognize officially several governments-in-exile before Pearl Harbor because we had not recognized the Nazi conquest of their countries. But today our Government cannot officially recognize governments-in-exile



Fugitives from the Iron Curtain at Camp Valka, near Nuremberg. Many shielded their faces from the camera to protect their relatives in Czechoslovakia.

INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE ORGANIZATION

from any satellite country except China, because it has recognized all existing communist regimes in Eastern Europe. American help for *émigré* political organizations must therefore be unofficial, and this results in considerable confusion and some deception. (3) Power politics and crusading slogans have collided in some cases, and thus far power politics has won out.

American difficulties in supporting *émigré* groups are illustrated by our relationships with the Russian exile community, the oldest and most complex of all the groups. Some of them left Russia more than thirty-three years ago, fleeing from the Bolsheviks; others are risking their lives at this moment to cross the dangerous frontiers known as the Iron Curtain. The veterans have firsthand knowledge only of Czarist Russia. The newcomers have lived all their lives under Soviet rule. Since the political views of these Russians range all the way from restoration of the Czar to left-wing socialism, what can they find in common?

The feeling which all exiled Russians have in common is homesickness—a characteristic illness of most exiles. The first Russian *émigrés* I met were in Turkey in 1919, and later I watched others, in many parts of the world, desperately trying to preserve their old customs in alien surroundings. I visited the three principal cities-within-cities which they formed in Paris, France, in Shanghai, China, and in Harbin, Manchuria. Those Russians were always talking about their hopes to return to their homeland some-

day. They dreamed of a sudden turn of events which would give Russia a different government. Most of them felt insecure abroad, and with good reason. For in 1940 I saw their community in Paris being disrupted by the German occupation, and those in Shanghai and Harbin were twice broken up—first by the Japanese and then by communists. Some of those Russians were so anxious to get home again that they threw in their lot with the Nazis after Hitler broke his pact with Stalin in 1941.

When the Nazis were defeated, Russian exiles lost hope temporarily. Some were captured by the Red Army; others were turned over to the Soviet Government by Americans and Britons in accord with a wartime agreement. But after the wholesale "repatriation" in 1945, the Russian exile community proved to be larger than ever before. Thousands of Soviet citizens refused to return to their homeland, thousands more have since escaped to the West. Many are unhappily concentrated in Western Germany, united only in the hope of getting home someday.

The American official attitude toward Russian exiles in Germany has taken many twists and turns. In 1945, American administrators fulfilled the Soviet Government's demands that all recent exiles should be handed over to it, by force if necessary. When many Russians killed themselves rather than return, forcible repatriation was halted, but Russians who refused to go home were treated as a nuisance. That was particularly true of the forty-odd organizations which the Russians formed in Germany, whose

avowed purpose is overthrow of the Soviet Government. Our Government did not see how it could consistently support such Russian groups in Germany while protesting Moscow's support of American communists as "subversive."

For years our occupation authorities ignored the Russian groups, although a few Russian leaders boasted that they received money from mysterious American "intelligence officers" who claimed to represent secret agencies of our Government. David Dallin, a leading authority on Russia, confirmed, during a recent visit to Germany, that some American money has been given to smooth-talking exiles who have no standing either at home or abroad.

However, no open American support was given to any Russian exiles until 1951. Last spring John J. McCloy, American High Commissioner in Germany, announced that our Government will actively help political refugees from the Soviets. At the same time, two private American groups entered this field. The Ford Foundation made a grant of \$500,000 to help exiled Russian intellectuals, under the direction of George Kennan, formerly the State Department's leading Russian specialist. And a group of private Americans organized the Committee for Freedom for Peoples of the U.S.S.R. This committee includes such students of Russia as Eugene Lyons, W. H. Chamberlin, W. L. White and Prof. W. Y. Elliott, of Harvard.

In the present state of "no war, no peace" between Russia and the United (Continued on Page 94)

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States, how far should an American-sponsored association of Russian exiles be permitted to go? Opinions differ. But The New York Times reported last May that the new committee headed by Eugene Lyons has encouraged Russians in Western Germany to stir up as much disaffection as possible among Red Army troops in Germany and Austria.

The fact that this American-sponsored offensive has proceeded almost unnoticed by the American public illustrates the complex relationships between Americans and exiles. Obviously, if the Soviet Government is likely to be overthrown in the near future, some kind of political organization is needed to replace it. Americans failed to make a satisfactory peace after World War II partly because we did not prepare to fill the political vacuums created by the war. Overthrow of the Soviet Government certainly would create an enormous political vacuum in Russia. But how far can we support exile attacks upon the Soviet Government without

European groups exiled by the Soviets as it did with those exiled by Nazis. Long before Pearl Harbor we recognized several governments-in-exile and exchanged ambassadors with them. Some of those wartime exiles returned to their countries with Allied armies and were accepted by the people. In other cases, our protégés lost out in civil wars with Russia's protégés, and became exiles again. Today our Government cannot simultaneously recognize European governments-in-exile and maintain relations with their avowed enemies.

This anomalous situation is painful to the exiles here and in Western Europe. They include hundreds of anti-communist political leaders who have held high positions, and they believe they represent their people more truly than communist usurpers. But until 1949 they were left very much on their own, while the American Government dealt with the governments which had forced them to flee and had murdered their friends.

These political exiles never acknowledged defeat and began to plan here

Agreement on a common program was extremely difficult, since these *émigrés* range from ultraconservatives to extreme radicals. But by 1949, exiles from Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia did succeed in forming so-called national councils, with loose working agreements.

The violent overthrow by communists of the freely elected government of Czechoslovakia in 1948 hardened the American attitude toward Soviet aggression, and focused attention upon the exile community. Soon afterward a group of American private citizens began to form the National Committee for a Free Europe, under the chairmanship of Joseph C. Grew, former ambassador to Japan, with DeWitt C. Poole as president. The committee is widely representative, including prominent businessmen, labor leaders, publishers, Hollywood personalities and professors, as well as Gens. Dwight D. Eisenhower and Lucius Clay.

From its beginnings, this committee has worked closely with the American Government in co-ordinating exile activities. *Émigrés* residing in the United States and Western Europe look upon its headquarters in New York's Empire State Building as their leading center. At a press conference on June 23, 1949, Secretary of State Dean Acheson said, "The State Department is very happy to see the formation of this group. It thinks that the purpose of this organization is excellent, and is glad to welcome its entrance into this field, and give it its hearty endorsement." That was the nearest approach which the American Government has made to open recognition of European exiled groups.

The Committee for a Free Europe has declared an immediate objective and a long-term objective. The first has been accomplished. It was to reach satellite countries by radio, through broadcasting stations in Munich and Frankfurt, Germany. Broadcasts were limited at first to the five largest satellite countries, but are now being extended to Russia itself and especially to Soviet minority races—inhabitants of the Baltic states, the Ukraine, Russian Georgia, and so on.

The committee's longer-term objective, according to Mr. Poole's report for 1950, "relates to the inevitable day when the Iron Curtain fades into history." In other words, the committee is anticipating the destruction of the expanded Soviet empire. Mr. Poole added: "A situation will then exist in Eastern Europe from which all strong personalities sharing in any large measure our Western democratic outlook have been removed; and a social philosophy abhorrent to us will have affected, more or less, those who remain, especially the youngsters. . . . Exiles who found sanctuary in the free countries and have been helped to survive in spirit as well as body can, when this time comes, be of decisive help."

Mr. Poole first learned about Bolsheviks when he watched them seizing power in Russia in 1917-19. For several months during that period he was in charge of the American Embassy in Russia, and in 1919 returned to head the Russian division of the State Department. His experiences then convinced him that the United States could never expect normal diplomatic relations with the Soviets, so he helped to initiate the policy of nonrecognition which lasted until Franklin D. Roosevelt became President.

In a recent letter to me, Mr. Poole explained his original analysis of Soviet-American relations, which he still

holds. He wrote: "My conviction is that constructive and helpful social intercourse, whether among individuals or organized nations, must rest upon some good measure of fundamental moral agreement. As between one basic morality and another, which is intentionally and explicitly opposed to it, there is no compromise. And when such a conflict arises internationally, the difficult and practical course is to avoid intercourse as much as possible, trusting that time, the universal solvent, will someday bring its cure. If meantime one can be rational, cool and patient, rather than hot, provocative and litigious, so much the better, though I grant you this is asking much."

Mr. Poole's prompt recognition of the menace of Bolshevism has proved by events to be well-founded. Today he and his distinguished associates are chiefly interested in preparing, from among anticommunist exiles, alternate governments to communist regimes. The committee's broadcasting stations enable exiled leaders to talk to their own people. The committee has offered encouragement to all exiles as well as to noncommunist Germans in Berlin.

The NCFE has gone a long way toward co-ordinating exile activities. It has put new heart into hundreds of distinguished Eastern Europeans who were earning a bare living in menial jobs. It provides scholarships for youthful exiles, training them for leadership when communist regimes collapse.

But some influential exiles are not happy about the NCFE because of its insistence upon unity among *émigrés* who always have opposed each other politically. One Eastern European leader said to me, "Some Americans in the NCFE tell us that the main thing is to get together—all exiles alike. But how can I be expected to co-operate with men who put me in jail? When liberation comes, I will fight these people again." He added mournfully, "Sometimes I think we were better off before the NCFE was formed, before so much money was available. The money has attracted the wrong kind of people, plausible opportunists who make a good impression upon some Americans, but disgust those among us who have risked their lives for principles."

Such feelings probably are inevitable in relationships between *émigrés* and Americans working with them. The Americans understandably try to get the *émigrés* to put the goal of liberation above everything else. But that is like asking the most conservative Republicans to agree with the most extreme New Deal Democrats.

The NCFE co-operates not only with exile organizations but also with other American-sponsored associations. Among the latter, the most active is the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which is supported by both the American Federation of Labor and the CIO.

The ICFTU fights communists with their own weapons of propaganda and a network of tough local committees. Its propaganda is aimed at workers in satellite countries, telling them how they are being cheated by communist bureaucrats and how they are paying for Soviet expansion through low wages and shortages of food and clothing. The ICFTU's vigilance committees, organized all through Western Europe, are given a large share of credit for defeating the communist campaign to sabotage rearmament in France and Italy.

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The work of these various committees requires large sums of money, especially since their rapid expansion during the past year. A good part of this money comes from private contributions, obtained in well-organized campaigns. But it is an open secret that the American Government possesses funds which it can dispense without public accounting, and that some of these funds are available for exile activities. From its very beginnings the Soviet Government has secretly subsidized foreign organizations, and the American Government finally has felt compelled to reply in kind.

Soon after the NCFE started to work, its members learned how power politics sometimes compels modifications in crusades. One sizable group of exiles are Yugoslavs, forced to flee from Marshal Tito's communist regime. The NCFE at first encouraged Yugoslavs to combine with other exile groups from satellite countries. But Marshal Tito's break with Moscow had detached his country from the new Soviet empire and drastically altered its position in world politics. After some discussion, NCFE directors decided, late in 1950, that Yugoslav emigrés could not be realistically associated with exiles from the Soviet empire.

However, other emigrés refused to accept this decision. They had been encouraged by Americans to include Yugoslavs in their joint activities, and decided that they could not revoke their pledges to Yugoslav exile leaders. So, last April in Washington, they formed the Central-Eastern European Committee with the stated purpose "to fight communism at home and plan for the liberation and unification of nine countries in a regional union within a united Europe." The nine countries included the three principal races of Yugoslavia—Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

On the same day that The New York Times reported formation of this committee, it also reported an American grant to Tito's government. This offered a vivid illustration of the contradictions between the shifting course of world politics and crusading slogans. The grant to Tito depressed Yugoslavs he had driven from their homes, just as recent American loans to the Franco Government in Spain have depressed Spanish exiles forced to flee from Franco. These two groups argue fiercely that Americans lose more than we can possibly gain by supporting dictators like Tito and Franco. They would like to ignore the historical evidence that world politics, even more than domestic politics, makes strange bed-fellows.

The huge exile community is further complicated by the fact that its largest section consists of recent enemies of the United States, the Germans. At least 9,000,000 men and women of German blood were forcibly driven from their homes in territories now controlled by the Soviets, and their number is being increased at the rate of 20,000 per month by refugees from Soviet rule who cross into Western Germany. Technically, these people are not classified as exiles, because Western Germany is supposed to absorb them. But most of them are not being absorbed, and still think of the East as their home. Overcrowded Western Germany has made them neither contented nor welcome.

These Germans have not demanded or received American encouragement that they will ever return to their former homes, but Americans can hardly disclaim some responsibility for

them. For the American Government, together with the British Government, accepted, at the 1945 Potsdam Conference, Soviet demands for expulsion of "ethnic Germans" from Poland; Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Others were expelled into Western Germany from Rumania, Bulgaria and East Prussia. Since most of these people had lived for generations in Eastern Europe, and since many of them spoke only the languages of the countries in which they lived, Germany was a foreign country to them.

These exiles have formed their own political parties since the war, and their leaders have found that the most persuasive appeal is the promise that someday they will get home again. These dispossessed Germans have had too much experience with the horrors of war to be enthusiastic about another one. But recently some of their political leaders have proclaimed that all-out war is their only hope.

The existence of millions of homesick exiles has helped to convert some Americans to the idea of an inevitable all-out war. Not only have the sufferings of these people enlisted American sympathies but we have also been

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Some household problems can never be eliminated; they keep running in and out all day.

—RUTH E. RENKEL.

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awakened to the callous attitude of communist governments to human beings. Other thoughtful Americans, however, have hoped to relieve the mounting tensions in the exile community by resettling Europeans overseas. The most valiant attempt in this direction has been made by the International Refugee Organization of the United Nations.

At the war's end there were about 8,000,000 "displaced persons" in Europe. By a miracle of organization, almost 7,000,000 of those 8,000,000 were returned to their homes by the end of 1945. But it was not foreseen that 1,250,000 refugees from the East wanted no part of communism or that a new flood of refugees would soon begin. In December, 1946, the IRO was established to settle as many as possible overseas, and eighteen members of the United Nations have contributed \$368,000,000 toward this project during the past four years, of which \$270,000,000 was contributed by the American Government. The IRO's project ends next January, after having resettled 930,000 persons. The American Congress agreed to accept 341,000 displaced persons by the end of this year, and Australia has received 200,000. Yet the demand for emigration persists. Some economists recently concluded that Europe has a permanent surplus of several million people whom it cannot support properly, regardless of wars.

Emigré leaders with whom I have talked reject this pessimistic theory. They insist that if only the reactionary grip of Soviet imperialism can be broken, Europe will reveal unsuspected capabilities by uniting in a federal system similar to the United States. The union they foresee will give due regard to regional interests, but will vastly expand its production. Two Eastern European leaders who present this picture with particular eloquence are Monsignor Bela Varga, of the Hun-

garian National Council, and Dr. G. M. Dimitrov, chairman of the Bulgarian National Council.

The personal stories of these two men are so melodramatic that they are almost incredible to Americans. Monsignor Varga, a valorous Catholic priest whose father was a poor peasant, went into prewar politics to help the small farmers among whom he worked. He barely escaped arrest several times while leading resistance against the Nazis, but was imprisoned only after the Red Army entered Budapest. When the Russians found documents showing that Father Varga had cooperated with the Polish underground, they accused him of conspiring with the West against the Soviets, and sentenced him to death.

He was saved because a Hungarian communist who had accompanied the Red Army was put in charge of the prison where Monsignor Varga was awaiting execution. This communist had lived in Father Varga's village as a boy, and remembered that Father Varga had once persuaded the Hungarian police to release the boy's father from prison. Recognizing Father Varga when he visited his cell, this communist exclaimed, "The Russians have made a terrible mistake. I owe it to my father to release you, no matter what happens to me." The communist paid dearly for his kindness—the Russians shot him.

Doctor Dimitrov represented small farmers in the Bulgarian Parliament for more than twenty years, and was jailed by several prewar Bulgarian governments because he fought too hard for agrarian reforms. He escaped after the Nazis occupied Bulgaria, and was welcomed as a hero when he returned in 1945. But he fought the communist conquest of Bulgaria as fiercely as he had fought previous reactionary regimes, and was imprisoned again, accused of conspiring with Americans against the communist-controlled government. He threw himself from an upper window of his prison, and was given refuge in the home of Maynard Barnes, then American ambassador in Sofia. Mr. Barnes brought Doctor Dimitrov out of Bulgaria in the embassy airplane.

Knowing that Doctor Dimitrov has spent some time recently in England working with exiles, I said to him, "I suppose there are more Englishmen than Americans with firsthand knowledge of the Balkan countries. You must find it easier to discuss your problems with Englishmen."

Doctor Dimitrov replied slowly, "Yes, many of the Americans with whom I work have never been in the Balkans, and are unfamiliar with our complicated politics." But he added emphatically, "However, the United States offers the only real hope, not only to Bulgaria but to the whole of Europe. You Americans are the only great people who have no interest in keeping Europe divided, as the English once did and as the Russians still do. Americans understand, as few Englishmen and Europeans can, that the only Europe worth having is a united Europe. Our best exiles don't want to return to the 'old country.' They want to return to a new country which has been given a lease on life by union with all its continental neighbors."

To such idealistic exiles Soviet expansion has been a double tragedy. It has not only captured their countries but has also blocked plans for European federation which, with American help, they believed were close to accomplishment.

THE END

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