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CHAPTER FOUR

NEW THEMES

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I.

The development of a complete list of sub-themes to the main themes of peace and progress must depend on the evolution of specific projects, on national adaptations, and on the course of events and the Communist Party reaction to them.

Nevertheless, there is set forth below, as a point of departure, a series of tentative sub-themes in support of the two major themes, both from the pro-democratic and anti-Communist approaches, together with the broad objectives of each approach. They will be referred to as campaigns simply as a matter of convenience in organizing the material; any specific project might well include facts and arguments under any or all of these headings.

II.

Theme One: The rations of the Atlantic are dedicated to peace.

The objectives of this program are:

1. To instill confidence in the peaceful goals of the Atlantic powers.
2. To instill confidence in the ability of the Atlantic powers to achieve these goals.
3. To instill confidence in the methods of reaching

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those goals.

4. To convince the public of the necessity for rearmament and to explain its cost.

The tone of this campaign should be one of supreme confidence in the ultimate strength of the peaceful powers provided they act with urgency.

Tentative suggestions for sub-themes and the organization of material under them follows:

1. The Will to Peace.

The story of the Atlantic nations demobilizing immediately after the war, seeking to build the United Nations, promoting international control of armaments, devoting their resources to constructive social purposes, creating a world under law and order; while the Soviet Union maintained armaments, absorbed Eastern Europe, aided aggressors, fomented chaos, sought to drag down living standards, sabotaged the U.N., and threatened the peace of the world in Korea.

2. The Road to Peace.

The story of how weakness has led to Soviet provocation and aggression and how strength has deterred Soviet provocation -- from the Stalin-Hitler pact through Iran, Berlin, Turkey, Greece, Yugoslavia, the Satellites, Korea, Indo-China, etc. Why rearmament is necessary and

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urgent as the only possible road to peace.

3. United for Peace.

The story of eleven allies who have taken the unprecedented step of working together to preserve and extend the peace of the world; the NATO and what it is; the Treaty and the preamble; end of the strategy of divide and conquer; and what all this means for each participating country.

4. Power for Peace.

The story of the vast resources of the Atlantic powers and their overwhelming superiority to Soviet resources; each country's contribution to the organization of these resources into a military machine that is too powerful for any aggressor to attack with any hope of success, yet too small to be used for an aggressive war; the present position and progress toward goals. (An important part of this story is the reestablishment of European awareness of the vast industrial strength of the U.S.)

5. The Price of Peace.

The story of the cost in terms of money, resources and sacrifice in building up the Atlantic partners as guardians of the peace.

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III.

Theme Two: The Soviet Communist Party Threatens the Peace.

This should be an aggressive campaign designed to tear the mask of peace from the war-like plans and actions of the Soviet Union and to expose the fraud of Communist manifestations for peace. Its objectives are:

1. To turn the universal abhorrence for war and violence into an Anti-Communist weapon. (It must be noted that this will not reduce the neutralism based on the fear of war so long as the Atlantic powers remain weak.)
2. To promote Titoism in Western Europe.
3. To reduce the ranks of Communist voters and party-liners.
4. To establish public conviction as to responsibility in case of the outbreak of war.

The strategy of this campaign is to throw Soviet propaganda on the defensive on the issue of peace. An example of how this can be accomplished is the case of the Communist campaign against the extension of military service in France which was thrown hopelessly on the defensive simply by publicizing the three-year term of service in the Soviet Union.

Since Communists and fellow travelers will constitute a major target of this campaign, its sponsorship should

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be varied, including as many left-wing, Socialist, ex-Communist and Titoist sources as possible and employing a variety of distribution techniques including covert means. It should constantly provoke defensive replies from Soviet propaganda by appearing to accept Soviet contentions and making reasonable offers which we know they will reject. (Ask for the right to inspect the East German police, the armies of the satellites, the techniques of using atomic energy for peaceful purposes in the Soviet Union, etc.)

The tone of this campaign should be the cold voice of ruthless exposure, employing satire and ridicule but not anger. Tentative sub-themes are suggested below:

1. The Religion of Violence.

This is the story of Communist teaching on the subject of war and revolution from Lenin through Vishinsky's recent definition of a "just war" before the U.N.; establishing the unalterable Communist dedication to these beliefs; showing that shifts from this line have been temporary expedients and explained as such in Communist writings; drawing the parallel between Soviet Bibles and Mein Kampf and pointing the lesson for those who will not read or who read and won't believe.

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2. The Path of Violence.

The post-war story of Soviet armament, the support of revolution, the fomenting of disorders, the sabotage of the U.N., the refusal to agree on international disarmament, documented as frequently as possible with Comintern directives to national Communist parties and supported by quotes.

3. "Peace" or Violence?

A contrast between Soviet words and Soviet actions on specific issues and at specific times and places; an expose of the "peace offensive".

4. The End of Violence.

A summary story of how the dream of world conquest has brought down every would-be conqueror from the beginning of history; how hopeless the dream of conquest can be made by the united action of peaceful powers.

IV.

Theme Three: The Democratic Nations are the True Sponsors of Social Reform.

This is a crucial campaign on which, as far as we know, the democracies are poorly prepared. It tackles the danger of internal aggression, which we must still regard as serious in France and Italy, by going straight to the

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heart of the real issues of the world struggle with Communism. It is the most important propaganda weapon against the possibility of widespread lassitude and defeatism in the event of war. It is our best protection against the frightening possibility that we could win a war against the military forces of the Soviet Union and lose the struggle for mankind. It is on this point -- in the long run -- that the allegiance of vast numbers of people will flow overwhelmingly to democracy or turn inevitably to Communism.

Its objective is to embrace, in the name of liberal democracy, the great social phenomenon of our times: the rising expectations of great masses of people for what they regard as a more equitable share of the world's wealth. The campaign must begin with a recognition of the existence, the inevitability, and the justification of this vast ground swell which has made possible the success of Communism. It must recognize that the crucial question is this: who is going to mold and direct this social revolution?

While it must be backed by a vast amount of statistical research and with various forms of documentation, this campaign should be inspirational in nature. It must appeal dynamically to the very ideals which have lured intellectuals into the Communist movement and which has vastly aided them in building up their following. It must recognize such ideals



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as practical and powerful political forces in the world.

To a much greater degree than the other campaigns, the sources of this story will be American, both because social progress in America has been so conspicuous in recent decades and because it has been inconspicuous in Europe.

There is so much work to be done on this campaign that it would serve no particular point to attempt to spell out specific themes at this time. What follows is rather a tentative effort to outline the major lines for development of basic material:

1. The Basis of Revolution.

This would develop the argument that only the recent accumulations of capital and the phenomenal development of scientific and industrial techniques have made rapid social progress a practical possibility. The capital and the techniques are very largely in the hands of the democracies. Chart their gradual utilization for social purposes and forecast their potential -- medicine, public health, housing, diet, education, communications, dignity of work, the prospects of leisure, etc.

2. The Democratic Revolution.

The story of the great democratic revolutions; developing the thesis that the liberal-democratic system is the only one with a built-in guarantee of infinite change and progress and therefore the only permanent revolution; con-

trasting this with the thesis that any revolution based on dogma becomes, at the moment of success, reactionary.

3. The Revolution in Living Standards.

An examination of the increases in standards of living in Europe and in America during the very recent past contrasted with stagnation and slow progress stretching back over a long period of history. Establish the fact of social progress under the democratic revolutions. Contrast this with the living standards in the Soviet Union.

4. Protecting the Revolution.

The story of the development of a sense of social responsibility in the Western democracies, of the whole complex of policies and laws on questions of employment, wages, working conditions, accident prevention, health insurance, housing, aid to agriculture, education, aid to the handicapped, aid to children, etc. How many of these policies and programs are being internationalized through U.N. agencies like WHO, FAO, UNICEF, ILO, etc. in which the Soviet Union refuses to participate.

This campaign should not hesitate to follow the Communist policy of borrowing any useful labels or language from the opposition; where Communist slogans fit our purposes, we should take them or adapt them.

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V.

Theme Four: The Communist Party sabotages the Social Ambitions of the People.

This campaign should be militant in tone, should capitalize on the sensationalism of the exposé technique, and should carry the conviction of the true friend of the working man. It should prove that our system is the one that promises to fulfill the most appealing positive slogans of the Communist Party -- including the brotherhood of man.

The objective of this campaign is to disillusion those who have been attracted to Communism by its alleged social and humanitarian ideals. Like the campaign to label the Communists as war-mongers, this one should use, wherever possible, the formidable evidence already available from the experience of disenchanted Communists, Titoists, Socialists, and one-time sympathizers.

Here again, a very large job is required to assemble the factual material and our suggestions below are highly tentative headings for the organization of this material.

1. Betrayal of the Revolution.

The story of what has happened to the vision of the workers paradise in terms of living conditions, suppression of trade unions, speed-up systems, privileges of Party

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members, slave and indentured labor, etc., with special emphasis on the betrayal of the social goals of foreign Communist parties and their conversion into instruments of Soviet conspiracy. How the Communist Party of Russia has substituted one God for another, one aristocracy for another, one bureaucracy for another, one state police for another, one set of economic overlords for another.

2. Revolution in Reverse.

The story of how an anti-imperialist revolution has backslided into a more imperialist regime than the one it replaced; Soviet ambitions that are identical to Czarist ambitions; return to the concept of the "Motherland"; the end of the dynamic of the Communist revolution.

3. Heroes of the Revolution.

A dead-pan account of the fate of well-known Communists who devoted their lives to the revolution and were liquidated by Stalin -- from Trotsky to the latest purges in the satellites.

4. Whose Revolution?

The story of how Stalin and his secret police control the daily lives and thoughts of Soviet citizens. How this has spread fear and terror into every household, every worker and Party member; how the dread of the police must haunt even the members of the Politburo; how it must some

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day bring down the regime that put the control of a people's revolution in the hands of a secret police. Everything was taken in the name of the people and the people got nothing.

VI.

Much of this hardly scratches the surface. It is intended mainly to illustrate the firm contention that to meet the dual threat of internal and external aggression, American propaganda must proclaim aggressively its dedication to peace and progress and must as aggressively dispute the usurpation of these goals by Communist propaganda. If this premise is accepted, the addition and deletion of themes, their refinement, and decisions on techniques and mechanics can more profitably be discussed in connection with specific projects.

If we are prepared to do battle we should win. Propaganda Argument No.1 -- Who's for Peace? -- hands down. Propaganda Argument No.2 -- Who's for Social Progress? -- will be a lot tougher. The truth is on our side. But our policies must be articulated, our evidence marshalled, and lost ground must be recovered against many prejudices.