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[Aller au sommaire du numéro](#)

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RESEARCH REPORT/ NOTE DE RECHERCHE

The Stalinist Image of Canada The Cominform and Soviet Press, 1947-1955.

J.L. Black

DURING MEETINGS IN Szlarska Poreba, Poland, 22-27 September 1947, the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers Parties was established. It had nine founding parties, from the USSR, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Italy, and France. The Cominform, as the organization came to be called, held only five conferences for public record. Subsequent meetings were held in Belgrade (January 1948), Bucharest (June 1948), Budapest (November 1949), and finally in Warsaw where, in April 1956, it was formally dissolved.

The occasion of the meeting in September 1947 was a striking shift in the fortunes of communist parties in Western Europe. Until early 1947 Communists had access to power within coalition governments in France, Italy, and Belgium, a fact which had augured well for the united front policies which J. V. Stalin resurrected from the pre-1939 Comintern platform. After the war, he had recommended a continuation of the united front for Chinese Communists, restrained from contributing seriously to the communist side in the Greek civil war, and forebore from intervention in Czechoslovakia. He also tolerated the various idiosyncracies of Yugoslavian communism. By the summer of 1947, however, the atmosphere had changed dramatically. The Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan had been announced, and the powerful

French, Italian, and Belgium parties were removed from coalition governments. Some reorganization was necessary.

Some of the delegates to Cominform meetings had been prominent in the Comintern; others were well-known from activities in their own countries or had known each other while in exile in the USSR. The fact that the Chinese Communist Party was not invited to join illustrates the Cominform's regional nature and clearly differentiated it from the Comintern. But Mao Zedong wrote regularly for the organization's newspaper, which also had a Chinese translation. The Cominform differed from the Comintern in many other ways as well: it followed the postwar Stalinist opposition to dynamic revolutionary activism, which is one of the reasons why the Chinese, Vietnamese, Greek, and American parties were excluded. The leadership of the American party was taken over in 1947 by an old-time Comintern activist, William Z. Foster, while the Greek, Chinese, and Vietnamese parties were already in the throes of revolutionary war.

The essence of the Cominform position was presented in several notices in the fall of 1947. The first was a communiqué of 4 October which divided the world into two immutably hostile camps: the "imperialist, anti-democratic camp" and the "anti-imperialist, democratic camp." The second took the form of an editorial in *Pravda* (10 October), which confirmed the establishment of Cominform and its role as an organizational bastion against an aggressively hostile, American-led, anti-socialist campaign. Finally, the keynote address to the founding meeting by Andrei Zhdanov took up almost the entire first issue (10 November) of the Cominform newspaper and was published in several languages as a separate pamphlet.

Entitled "The International Situation," the speech was the USSR's clarion call to Cold War. Zhdanov resurrected Lenin's "Two-Camp" thesis of the early 1920s, just as the Truman Doctrine speech had divided the world into forces of good and evil from the American perspective some months earlier. The victory against fascism had tipped the scales in favour of the socialist world, Zhdanov said, because the aims of the "reactionary, imperialist" camp to drive Japan and Germany against the USSR had failed. Now there were other socialist, "freedom-loving countries" and peoples to act as allies to the USSR, and this favourable balance had to be maintained at all costs.

The war had engendered a new type of state, the "people's republic," and the international prestige of the USSR had increased enormously. In turn, the USA had undermined the British Empire and, because of the "crisis in world capitalism" caused in part because the resources of peoples' democracies were no longer available to the capitalists, was now forced to become openly expansionist. Considerable space was devoted in the speech to "the American plan for the enslavement of Europe" by means of the Marshall Plan. In contrast, an entire section of the speech was devoted to Soviet leadership of the socialist cause and the world's peace movements, and its efforts

to prevent the world conquest being planned by capitalists.

In the final part of the speech, the duties of Cominform members were laid out, along with a formal disassociation from the Comintern. The world communist movement is now developing "within a national framework," Zhdanov said, though there was much that the various parties still held in common. But various socialist parties, especially the "British Labourites," were acting as "agents" of the imperialists, so Communists were urged to combat "right-wing socialists," that is, opportunists or revisionist who are willing to compromise with capitalists. They must also counter all "imperialist expansionist plans," attract the peace-loving elements, and lead a dynamic propaganda campaign.

Herein lies the key to understanding the Cominform. It was to provide a common platform for all member parties, and help to preserve the interests of the Soviet Union against a threatening West. Member parties "must rally and unite their efforts. . . and gather around themselves all the democratic and patriotic forces of the people."

Support for blossoming peace movements throughout the world soon became a far more advantageous policy for the USSR than any revolutionary movement. Appeals to local patriotism, and to peace movements, could attract non-Stalinist groups and individuals. Indeed, a new form of "socialist patriotism" evolved, which called for love of a homeland in which the proletariat governed and, because of "proletarian internationalism," still placed the interests of the "Land of Socialism," the USSR, first.

At home in the USSR, the year 1947 saw the heating up of a controversy sparked by the publication one year earlier of a book by Eugene Varga, director of Moscow's Institute of World Economy and World Politics, *Changes in the Economy of Capitalism as a Result of the Second World War* [Izmeneniia v ekonomike kapitalizma v itoge vtoroi mirovoi Voiny]. To put this complex issue as simply as possible, Varga suggested that because World War II had allowed the development of state regulation and the integration of national economies, capitalism might avoid a fundamental crisis for some years. The American state now could subordinate the financial monopolists somewhat, make concessions to the working class, and reform itself. Thus, conflict between the two camps might be avoided and the socialist movement could benefit from co-operation with liberal and progressive forces within the capitalist countries. Communists might then be able to gain control of the state apparatus even in the USA by means of political coalitions. Varga did not believe that the new peoples' democracies were in a position to contribute to a new socialist economic bloc. In fact, he said that they were still part of the capitalist economy.

But the changes in Communist party status throughout Western Europe in mid-1947 assured that the theory of a "general crisis in world capitalism" would win the day. Shortly after the Cominform was organized, Varga's in-

stitute was shut down. In 1949, the old Comintern economist was forced to repudiate his own published opinions.

By the early 1950s, the Stalinist vision of the nature of capitalism and imperialism determined all Soviet writing on foreign states, among them Canada. That image was shaped by the following assumptions: policy in capitalist states is made in the boardrooms of the large financial monopolies; US imperialism, a new type in the history of capitalism, is incapable of change and is incurably expansionist; coalitions with liberals and social democrats represent concession to "reformism," and so are dangerously debilitating to the world movement.

The Canadian Communist Party [CPC] followed Stalin's line dutifully. Although parts of *Europe's Rebirth*, a book published in 1947 by Tim Buck, general secretary of the CPC from 1929 until 1962, were clearly out of line with Stalin and Zhdanov's position by the time it appeared, his book of 1948, *The Truth about Canada*, was pure Cominform. It was translated into Russian in 1950. Buck and others in the CPC had been active members of Comintern, the executive of which he had joined in 1935. Before that year, the CPC had described another Canadian socialist party, Co-operative Commonwealth Federation [CCF], as "social-fascist," but after 1935 a new Comintern policy prompted the CPC to call for a united front with other socialist forces, including the CCF. After the signing of the Nazi-Soviet Pact in 1939 and Germany's almost immediate invasion of Poland, the CPC termed the European war "imperialist" and urged Canadians not to participate. Thus, Canadian communists were accustomed to emulating the zig-zags created by Soviet attempts to accommodate CPSU ideology with the national interest of the USSR.

One result of the CPC stand in 1939 was the proscription of the party by the Canadian government under the Defence of Canada Regulations. But when Hitler turned on Stalin in 1941, the CPC proclaimed supported for the USSR as an ally and urged Canadians to fight. In August 1943, four months after the Comintern was dissolved by Stalin, the CPC changed its name to the Labor Progressive Party [LPP]. Its newspaper, the *Canadian Tribune*, and its theoretical journal, the *National Affairs Monthly*, later carried Cominform directives either in full or as the main ingredient of editorial pieces. Perhaps the clearest exposition of Buck's adherence to Stalinism is a report which he delivered to the LPP in January, 1948, when he spoke of the division of the world into two camps: "reactionary imperialism, with the United States. . . leading a provocative and aggressive drive for world dominance, and that of people's democracy, including all of the world's progressive forces, with the Socialist Soviet Union as their most vigorous and outspoken champion." This theme was taken almost verbatim from Zhdanov's September 1947 speech and, with other Stalinist interpretations, helped shape the only image of Canada available to Soviet and Cominform readers.

The newspaper, *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!*, was the Cominform's most visible feature. Published in Belgrade until June 1948, and thereafter in Bucharest, it carried the Soviet version of world events and ideologically "correct" interpretations of them. Canada did not feature prominently on its pages, but it included enough articles about and by Canadians for interested Soviet readers to draw a rather one-dimensional picture of this country.

The selection of subject matter for pieces on Canada clearly represented the concerns of the USSR, its impression of the Western capitalist world, and both the political and social assumptions which dominated Soviet thinking at the time. The newspaper itself is an interested historical source, for it both reflected and help shape its readers' thinking on the early stages of Cold War, the inner crises of the communist camp (for example, the ejection of Yugoslavia from Cominform), the accelerating terror of Stalinist regimes in East Central Europe, manifestations of the Chinese communist victory in 1949, and Stalin's death and the near revolutionary change in the early de-Stalinist period, 1953-55, which included among many other things a Soviet rapprochement with Yugoslavia.

In short, the Cominform period was a crucial one in the history of international communism, and the image of Canada presented on the pages of *For a Lasting Peace* can serve as an uncomplicated exemplification of the time. Canada as a pawn in a struggle between a dynamic, new imperialist power, the United States, and its decaying predecessor, the British Empire, was a common theme in Soviet postwar writing. The various peace movements, marches, and protests in Canada were featured regularly, and all major strikes were granted attention. Canada was ignored as an international actor, though several pieces dealt with Canadian reaction to the Yugoslav issue. The LPP, which was re-named the Communist Party of Canada in 1959, dominated the scene whenever Canada was mentioned.

The first item on Canada (15 April 1948), which did not appear until six months after the paper was first published, was a short announcement of a Congress held by the "CPC" in Toronto. Tim Buck was quoted in opposition to increasing American domination of the Canadian economy and in support of improved old-age pensions, price controls, and higher wages for workers. These were not very striking statements for the spring of 1948, especially when they are contrasted to the stridently anti-American statements issued by European party leaders who were also adamant in their support of the coup in Czechoslovakia during February of that year. The brief references to the CPC seemed to be little more than reminders to readers that there were 'progressive' forces somewhere in North America still acting as a niggling conscience in a bourgeois society soon to be victimized by the US-generated "crisis of capitalism."

Indeed, the Cominform press showed less interest in Canada than did

¹*For a Lasting Peace* tended to use CPC and LPP interchangeably, which is what will be done in this paper, whereas the Soviet domestic press always referred only to LPP while it had formal existence.

the press within the USSR itself during the last years of the 1940s. The Gouzenko case had caused a flurry of writing about Canada in Soviet newspapers in 1946, above all in *Pravda*, daily organ of the CPSU, and *Izvestiia*, the paper of the Supreme Soviet. But these pieces had been surprisingly subdued. Canadian prime minister King was accused of trying to strengthen his political position at home by stirring up an anti-Soviet campaign and was called a “professional Pharisee” for his subservience to Bevin and British “colonialist” policies in the United Nations. Aside from that Gouzenko was shrugged off as a “deserter and traitor” and his credibility was ridiculed. Moreover, the limited “information of a secret nature” which had “fallen into the hands” of a Soviet military attaché in Ottawa was described as useless.

Where Canada was concerned, other issues soon replaced the Gouzenko affair in Soviet newspapers. *Trud* (organ of the trade unions), *Moskovskii Bol'shevik* (organ of the Moscow oblast), and *Komsomol'skaia pravda* (organ of Komsomol, Communist youth), followed *Pravda* and *Izvestiia*'s lead in featuring pieces on the militarization of Canada by means of pressure from the USA, Canadian youth refusing to join the army, US penetration of the Canadian economy and trade unions, strikes, and the re-settling of Nazi war criminals in Canada. During 1947 and 1948 articles on Canada in the Soviet press emphasized more and more the American domination of the Canadian economy and its control of Canadian military policy. Several items suggested that Canada was soon to be annexed by the USA. Canadian opposition to this trend from various CPC agencies, the CCF leader Coldwell — even after the CPC began to criticize him strongly — and the preeminent Canadian in world peace movements, James Endicott, was reiterated regularly. Soviet readers were given a picture of Canada whose “ruling circles,” a small clique of bankers and “monopolists,” were kept in power by American financiers and militarists. There were encouraging signs, however, in that the “mass of Canadian people” was slowly rallying around the “progressive forces,” winning strike actions, and opposing the Truman Doctrine and other symbols of US imperialism. Although it was never mentioned specifically, the image of Canada as an explosively divided society, and therefore potentially revolutionary, was clear. This perception was fueled by Canadians whose speeches were quoted or reprinted in Soviet newspapers. Garry Edwards, of the CPC's National Federation of Labour Youth, was published in the Komsomol press. James Endicott was given prominence in all the major Soviet papers and magazines, while the LPP's Buck and Stanley B. Ryerson were featured in both the Cominform and major domestic organs.

Already in 1947, Varga's Institute had sponsored a study by I. Sosenskii, *War and the Canadian Economy* [Voina i ekonomika Kanady], which roundly refuted a wartime book which had treated Canada as an ally, potential friend, and trading partner [See Bibliographical essay, below]. Opening

with a chapter on Canada as a military-economic base for exploitation by the USA and Britain, Sosenskii went on to show how the war made Canada vulnerable to US domination. In Varga style, Sosenskii drew a picture of growing wartime intervention by the Canadian government into all aspects of domestic life, thereby transforming Canada's "monopoly capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism."

He said that Canada had been drawn into the war by Americans, who controlled the Canadian business class. A "war economy" still existed in 1947 in Canada, and the country was now part of "military-economic planning" undertaken in the USA. The year 1943 had marked the point at which the Canadian working class realized both the extent of its exploitation by state monopolists, and its own potential power. The LPP was thus formed to "unite all groups of the labour leaders and their supporters among farmers and the urban middle class." The book repeated Varga's emphasis upon the renewed strength of capitalism and the importance of a united front opposition against it.

An article prepared by one of the USSR's earliest Canadianists, A. Mileikovskii, which appeared in the October 1947 issue of *Mirovoe khoziaistvo i mirovaia politika* [World Economy and World Politics] — a journal of Varga's institute — carried many of the same ideas. In "Contemporary Canada," Mileikovskii showed how Canada had profited from the war while suffering no great losses or destruction. He referred to Canada as part of the "general crisis of capitalism," but concluded that the case of Canada was a good illustration of "the law of unequal development of contemporary capitalism." Depending upon foreign investment for its growth, it remained a colony in the face of first British and now American monopoly capitalism. The Truman Doctrine, by which Americans took upon themselves the right to "defend" Canada, demonstrated well enough the degree to which the USA expected Canada to be subservient.

There was a contradiction, however, for Canadian monopolists also hoped to maintain Canada's trade privileges as part of the British Empire. Mileikovskii added that there was a strong movement within Canada's "ruling circles" to demonstrate national sovereignty from Britain, and the country's new international standing. In describing the Canadian political scene, he noted federal/provincial differences, and the existence of four federal parties — which enable both the USA and Britain to attempt a "divide and conquer" policy in their competition for Canadian resources. In the end, he said, constitutional independence of Canada from Britain would mean annexation by the USA.

"Class conflict" was a current feature of Canadian politics, Mileikovskii wrote, because war profiteering brought increasing monopoly. Workers' requirements were ignored and their strikes were met with artificial war hysteria and anti-soviet campaigns. The "spy scandals" were intended to create

an anti-soviet feeling among the mass of people. Above all, the immigration of large numbers of Central and South-East Europeans brought the ideas of the new peoples' democracies to Canada, thereby terrifying the "ruling circles" with their ideas about democracy. Among Canadian politicians, the Québec premier, Duplessis, was picked as the most reactionary. He and others were scored for their hostility to trade unions and their anti-communist policies. Generally, this piece portrayed domestic "Contemporary Canada" as a hot bed of struggle between the socialist and capitalist camps, and Canada itself as the focal point of rivalry between the two leading capitalist bloc countries.

In a longer paper for the prestigious *Voprosy ekonomiki* [Question of Economics] the next year, Mileikovskii heaped scorn on social democrats everywhere. The journal was sponsored by the Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics, whose members were the most strident opponents of Varga. In 1947 Mileikovskii had referred to the CCF government in Saskatchewan as a viable socialist "experiment," but by 1948 his opinion had changed. In "The Reactionary Policies of Labourist Parties in the English Dominions," he wrote that Canada's pre-war "crisis in capitalism" (fall in grain prices, mass bankruptcy for farmers, unemployment, and poverty) had seen the creation of new movements to free farmers from the "yoke" of capitalism. Social Credit in Alberta was built on the "illusion" of reform; in Québec, similar circumstances had seen the creation of a "fascist-Catholic" Union nationale.

At the national level, the CCF brought together "bourgeois intelligentsia," trade unionists, workers, and farmers. It was a "typically reformist" party which "did not pose the slightest threat to capitalism." Rather it "drew workers away from the struggle by means of illusions about the possibility of a 'humane' capitalism." Nevertheless, its victory in Saskatchewan in 1944 was deemed important for the Canadian working class. It gave them a sense of their latent political power; moreover, the CCF openly opposed American control of the Canadian economy. Still, the "labourists stubbornly refuse to co-operate with the progressive workers party and assist the reactionaries in victimizing and persecuting this party."

Mileikovskii held CCF leader M.J. Coldwell in contempt for saying that the road to Canadian independence could be paved by huge amounts of American capital investment. In fact, said the Soviet author, US capital investment was already leading Canada into complete subjection, and the "American imperialists are intending to turn Canada into a military-strategic platform" for war against the USSR. The only real opponents of this development, the Canadian communists, had been persecuted since the "fabricated" anti-soviet spy campaign in 1946, and the social democrat leaders had helped in this vilification.

Mileikovskii's admonitions aside, a book by CCF member Louis Rosen-

berg, using the pseudonym Watt Hugh McCollum, attracted enough attention in the USSR for it to be translated and published in Moscow in the summer of 1948. The Soviet version of *Who Rules Canada?* included a long introduction by V.V. Mordvinov, a prominent Stalinist ideologist. Soviet newspapers printed favourable reviews of the book, though always taking care to point out that its CCF author was not fully to be trusted. The essence of the book was its depiction of Canada as a country controlled completely by a small clique of some 50 "monopoly-capitalists" who sat on the boards of almost every major Canadian corporation, many of which were owned in the US. Articles in Soviet journals and newspapers confirmed this image of Canada, for in 1948 even such serious academy journals as *Voprosy geografii* [Problems of Geography] carried a long article on Canada's North by G.A. Agranat, whose notion that the "reactionary policies of the military circles of both the USA and Canada are turning the North into a military-strategic platform," was the dominant feature of the piece.

The founding of NATO and the emergence of peace movements were matters more dear to the hearts of the Cominform editors. In October 1948, another CPC declaration was printed in *For a Lasting Peace*. This time domestic social issues were ignored and the CPC's assertion that "Wall Street" was planning a new war, its demand that US troops be withdrawn from Canadian soil and that the Canadian delegate to the United Nations General Assembly support Soviet peace proposals, were the centres of attention. By January 1949, peace campaigns and the CPC's sponsorship of them were the most commonly featured items on Canada.

When readers among European communist parties found Canada mentioned at all, they would read about mass peace marches and conferences, "popular" requests that Canada be declared neutral, and "widespread opposition" to NATO. James Endicott and the leaders of the LPP, Buck and Leslie Morris, became familiar names in the Cominform press. The "peace" pieces were accompanied by shorter essays on the seamen's and asbestos workers' strikes in 1949 and notes on increasing unemployment in Canada. Canadians were also regularly said to have expressed "great indignation" at the "crimes" and various forms of "treachery perpetuated by the Tito clique in Yugoslavia."

In 1949, the addition of Newfoundland to Canada was treated as an American plot to create military bases throughout Canada. The stridency of the Stalinist period was reflected best in a series of articles by S. Shcherbatykh, whose standard essay, "Canada -an American Military Base," appeared in varying forms in almost every major all-union and republic newspaper between 1949 and 1953. Everything from plans for full American military annexation of Canada to joint "diabolical" experiments with robots and bacteriological warfare occurred to Shcherbatykh. The widely-read *Literaturnaia gazeta* (organ of the writers' union) and *Moskovskii*

Bol'shevik carried pieces in 1949 by M. Petrov who wrote that Canada had fallen prey to "American warmongers." He described American military personnel who "flock" to Canada "masquerading as tourists" in order to help "American monopolists squeeze their English allies out of Canada. Aided by Canadian monopolists, they exploit the people Canada." Their plan was to "take over the world." Zhdanov was dead by that time, but he could have dictated this theme. In the early 1950s, Shcherbatykh's name appeared everywhere as the expert on Canada's subjection to the military-economic expansionism of the USA — a series of articles in the magazines *Slaviane* (Slavs), and *Vokrug sveta* (Around the World); and even as author of a short book, *Canada - Fiefdom of American Imperialism* [Kanada - votchina amerikanskogo imperializma], in 1951.

Slaviane, a monthly international magazine published in Moscow (from 1942) by the "Slavic Committee of the USSR," contained a number of essays by Canadian communists. Between 1948 and 1953, fifteen contributions came from Canada, for the most part by Ukrainians and Russians: John Weir, P. Krawchuk, S. Goncharuk, S. Stefanuk, G. Okulevich, M. Kardash, and others. The most common themes of these pieces were the "struggle for peace," "fascists war criminals" in Canada, and the USSR as the focal point of international slavdom.

By 1950, Canadian communists were being invited to write articles of their own for the Cominform press. In "Working People of Canada Fight against Wall Street Intervention in Korea," Stanley Ryerson, then secretary to the LPP, insisted in an unusually long article that his party was leading a groundswell of worker protest against Canadian involvement in the Korean conflict. The question of recognizing the People's Republic of China as the true representative of the Chinese people was also portrayed by CPC writers as a desire of the "mass of Canadian people," throughout 1950 and 1951.

The "unbearably difficult circumstances" of Canada's youth was taken up by Norman Penner, then the general-secretary of the National Federation of Labour Youth of Canada, who wrote in *Komsomol'skaia pravda* (2 February 1950) that Canada's young people were faced with a "hopeless future of unemployment and poverty." He blamed this on "Canadian imperialists" who profitted from the war and continued to manufacture war hysteria so as to reap further benefits at the expense of the social needs of Canadians. The Cominform press followed suit in June with a front page article to the effect that both Canadian and American youth were coming together to oppose war and to fight unemployment. The phenomena of the arms race and unemployment continued to be closely linked in Soviet references to workers' movements in Canada. Tim Buck returned to this issue time and again, supported by Leslie Morris and James Endicott.

As general secretary of the CPC, Buck was a regular contributor to *For a Lasting Peace*, which reprinted many of his party pronouncements. By 1949,

these coincided almost exactly with Stalinist statements on world political and economic affairs. In domestic affairs, the main threat was the USA, which was trying to make Canada a "northern Puerto Rico." On ideological issues, the CPC was working hard to "organize unity of action ... in the struggle for peace," and attempting to combat the "sectarian sentiments current among certain party members." In such matters, the Stalinist rehabilitation of the old popular front tactic as a peace offensive was clearly mirrored in CPC public statements. By 1951, Buck appeared in *For a Lasting Peace* as Canada's most vocal opponent of the "US-provoked crisis in Korea," and the leading proponent of Canadian neutrality. In a long essay of March 1951, he was quoted in favour of French Canada's right to "national self-determination." In light of the contemporary Stalinist assault on "bourgeois nationalisms" in both the USSR and what were then Soviet satellites in Eastern Europe, this was an unusual statement for Cominform readers. In fact, the essence of "Titoism," for which a myriad of East European senior party members were being demoted, arrested, and even executed, was "self-determination." Since World War II, Stalin had applied quite different rules to "national-liberation" movements among former colonized peoples in Africa and Asia, than he did to outwardly similar movements in socialist countries, including his own. In Canada, he and his CPC protégés made it clear that Québec should enjoy this option because it was both "nationally based" and "industrially developed," with its own proletariat ready to take its place among the Soviet-led world proletariat.

By far the most widely reported Canadian of this era, however, was James Endicott, who was cited in both the Cominform and domestic Soviet press. Throughout the 1950s, Canadians were portrayed as peace movement leaders among western developed countries. The speeches of Endicott, who was given a Stalin prize for peace in 1953, were carried in full in Soviet newspapers, often with photo. Fully two thirds of the articles on Canada in *For a Lasting Peace* after 1949 focused upon Canadian peace movements and Endicott's role in them. Items on the CPC and its various congresses, celebrations, and sessions, always featured its appeals for peace.

In January 1952, a lead item on the "30th Anniversary of Workers' Party of Canada" displayed the party's anniversary slogan, "Thirty years of the party of Peace, People's Security and Canadian Independence," as one worthy of emulation everywhere. A few weeks later a long piece claimed that nearly 300,000 signatures were raised in Canada in support of a Five-Power Peace Pact proposed by the USSR, in spite of "special legislation" which could lead to a charge of treason against any Canadian who advocated peace "by expressing sympathy for the 'other side' in any war in which Canada was involved." The "peace partisans," led by Endicott and the Canadian Peace Congress, were able to call a large national conference for Toronto in May in spite of concentrated opposition from the government and "reac-

tionary groups." This conference received wide attention in both the Cominform and Soviet press.

It was in 1952 as well that a new Canadian name appeared before Soviet readers when Dyson Carter's novel, *Tomorrow is With Us* (Toronto 1951), was translated into Russian and published in Moscow with a foreword by N. Zhiveinov. Two of his later books were also printed in Russian and he was to become the most regular Canadian contributor to Soviet newspapers in the 1960s and 1970s. His most recent book, a biographical novel, *This Story Fierce and Tender*, was reviewed favourably in *Moscow News* (a paper printed in Russian, English, French, and German) in June 1987.

The only new theme to appear in both the Cominform and Soviet press during 1953 while Stalin was still alive was the question of the "Americanization" of Canadian culture. Shcherbatykh, whose articles on the domination of Canada by the American military still appeared regularly, contributed a feature essay to the journal, *Sovetskoe iskusstvo* [Soviet Art], in which he described Ottawa as a culturally-deprived city. The only form of entertainment in Ottawa, he said, are films from which "American monopolies extort profits and stupify the people." On Sundays the city is deserted and all amusements are "banned:" so that people can go to church, of which there are "more than schools." There is no opera, he complained, because they are not profitable — and the only real culture in the area comes from Slavic organizations in Canada which, among other things, sing songs in praise of the USSR's "prosperous collective farming life, of Ukrainian Stakhanovites, and of Comrade Stalin." In May, Shcherbatykh provided the important journal, *Literaturnaia gazeta*, with a similar diatribe against "Wall Street's" cultural imperialism, entitled "Yankees in Canada." And in September, the newspaper *Sovetskaia kul'tura* carried a long piece by K. Perevoshchikov who ridiculed Canadian secondary school systems. Quoting from *Maclean's Magazine*, the *Ottawa Citizen*, and the CPC's *Canadian Tribune*, he said that Canadian youngsters can barely read or write their own language on graduation, and know nothing about their own history. Blame for this situation, and for the terrible burdens which fell on Canadian teachers, was attributed to "ruling circles, who in attempting to militarize the country" are not interested in spending money on education.

The cultural issue was picked up in *For a Lasting Peace* in July, when John Stewart, secretary of the national cultural commission of the LPP, wrote that a widespread movement against the Americanization of Canadian culture had been organized. Stewart's commission addressed a resolution to writers, artists, and scientists from the USSR, PRC, and the "Peoples' Democracies" praising them for providing the inspiration for a "truly democratic Canadian culture." But the main themes in regard to Canada in 1953 remained the peace movement and the role of the CPC in Canadian politics.

The most vituperative Soviet article of 1953 was saved for the USSR's Ukrainian readers. On 16 January, Kiev's *Pravda Ukrainy* printed a catch-all of hostility by Iu. Egorov. Taking it upon himself to alter world geography by ranking Canada third behind the USSR and China in territorial size, Egorov reiterated the standard theme of American control of Canada's economy. Canada had become a target of "pillage," losing its valuable raw materials to US monopolies in return for expensive manufactured goods. This "slavery," which included a "prohibition" from buying less expensively elsewhere, was "voluntary" because it was supported by "cowardly" Canadian governments. The high-point of US control came when Canada was forced to participate in the Korean War in support of American "imperialism." Only James Endicott appealed openly ("thundering across Canada") for an end to this "madness." But, Soviet Ukrainians were informed, all 500,000 "progressive Ukrainians" in Canada also supported peace.

According to Egorov, however, there was hope. He quoted Leslie Morris, who assured an audience in Moscow during the 19th CPSU Congress in 1952 that "Canadians resent [US] military propaganda in their country. Under the guidance of the LPP, Canadians are actively involved in the struggle for peace, democracy, and freedom from American dictates." Thus, Canada was portrayed as an example of trends which Stalin had outlined in a paper written in October 1952. Predicting that the USSR would complete the transition from socialism to communism "in the near future," Stalin foresaw sharper contradictions within and between the capitalist countries. The "Struggle for Peace" was the keynote theme of the Moscow Congress, which brought the Soviets back to Varga's policy of attempting to foster pro-Soviet, but not necessarily pro-Communist, sentiments among a variety of groups in capitalist countries. As part of the new image, the old revolutionary terms "Bolshevik," "Orgburo," and even "Politburo" (temporarily) were dropped as official designations.

The publication in 1953 in Moscow of a 250-page book by V.V. Sushchenko, *The Expansion of American Imperialism in Canada after the Second World War* [Ekspansiiia amerikanskogo imperializma v Kanade posle vtoroi mirovoi voiny] marked the climax of Soviet writing on Canada under Stalin. Sushchenko, whose most recent book on Canada appeared as recently as 1984, had prepared the way for this book in 1950 with a thesis for the USSR's Academy of Sciences's Institute of Economics. His opening sentence, "The enrichment of the United States of America during the first and second world wars of imperialism was accomplished by unchecked expansion into all the countries of the capitalist camp, [bringing the USA] forward as an international exploiter and enslaver of peoples," set the tone for the rest of the book. Canada was portrayed as the first victim of America's determination to take over the countries and resources of the British empire. In the final chapter of the book, the author outlined the "struggle by Canada's

progressive forces against American imperialism, for the economic and political rights of workers, for peace, and against the proponents of a new world war." On the 200 or so pages in between, Canada is described, with a vast array of statistics and Stalinist ideological presumption, as a battleground for a clash between imperialism/capitalism on the one hand, and social/progressive forces on the other.

According to Sushchenko, the Canadian bourgeoisie "takes the lead in the policy of national betrayal." He quoted Buck's 1948 book, *The Truth about Canada*, to illustrate his assertion that only the LPP was fighting for national independence. The Rosenberg/McCollum book was cited frequently as well, but was disputed by Sushchenko who said that US control of Canada was far greater than the CCF member dared to show. A subject for an entire chapter in Sushchenko's book was that of US "military-political expansion into Canada." Here were repeated all the charges which had been a regular feature of the Soviet and Cominform press to the effect that Canada was being turned into an American military base for a planned war against the USSR. Paragraph after paragraph was given over to a simple message, that is, that the sole lever used to gain these bases in the Canadian Arctic, Greenland, and Newfoundland, was an "aggressive anti-soviet campaign."

Just as the heavy Soviet hand eased somewhat in Eastern Europe during the last months of Stalin's leadership, the communist parties there having already been purged and fully Stalinized, the Canadian party fell back to its traditional role of preparation and organization. Buck's new party programme, entitled "Canada's Road to Socialism," was synthesized at length in *For a Lasting Peace* in March 1952. He emphasized repeatedly the threat of US domination in Canada, and the potential for peaceful access to power by the working class through parliamentary elections. This echoed Stalin's assumption in 1952 that the inner contradictions endemic to the capitalist bloc would eventually result in another war between capitalist states. The danger of NATO and the encirclement of the USSR by American alliance systems were offset by his control of communist parties within the 'satellite' countries, the detonation of the USSR's own atom bomb in 1949, and the victory of communism in China. Thus all Stalin needed to do was give history the opportunity to follow its natural course.

In words reminiscent of the disgraced Varga's opinion in 1947, Buck now told Cominform readers that the Canadian working class would come to power by means of parliamentary elections, and then proceed to "transform" parliament "from an instrument of capitalist class dictatorship into a lever for the transformation of social life and complete elimination of capitalist property relations, that is, to transform it into the organs of people's democracy." If he had followed the career of Rudolph Slansky, Secretary-General of the Czechoslovak party, who was lionized by Stalin and Cominform in 1948 only to be arrested and hanged in November/December 1951, Buck

might have paused a little at the implication of the word "transformation" in the Stalinist world.

After Stalin's death, the Cominform passed slowly into oblivion as "de-Stalinization" policies prevailed in both the USSR and Eastern Europe. Khrushchev's rapprochement with Yugoslavia, and the formulation of the principles of "national paths" to socialism and "peaceful coexistence" were reflected in Buck's later contributions to *For a Lasting Peace*. Perhaps the clearest characterization of this development was a long article by him in April 1955, "Lenin's Analysis of Imperialism and the Situation in Canada." Once again the spectre of American domination in all spheres of Canadian life was raised, but the new Khrushchev line was epitomized in Buck's statement: "We have entered the epoch of profound world change, in which genuine patriotism, that is to say true love of Canada, must sooner or later merge with the militant defense of democracy to put an end to the foreign domination of our country." Any patriotism apart from adherence to the interests of the international proletariat and the protection of the "Land of Socialism," that is, the USSR, would not have been tolerated by Stalin.

The post-Stalin competition for leadership in the CPSU had made its mark in an article written for the Cominform by Stanley Ryerson a month before Buck's piece appeared. By that time, Ryerson was serving on the editorial board of *For a Lasting Peace* in Bucharest. In outlining the policies of the LPP, he referred to persistent sectarianism in relation to the struggle against American control of Canada and urged, in Buck's name, a full rejuvenation of the LPP's cadre and recruiting policy. He said that Canadian communists would now try to draw from a wider cross-section of people and "build unity in action." This was a slogan used by Khrushchev while he re-built the CPSU Central Committee in his own bid for leadership.

Publication of *For a Lasting Peace* was suspended in early 1956, having kept intact its image of Canada as a country replete with strikes and unemployment, both caused by American economic and military penetration, and also the home of a major peace movement. Fittingly, the last article on Canada in the Cominform paper was a short piece entitled, "The Struggle of Canadian Workers Against U.S. Monopolies" (20 January 1956). But new subject matter on Canada could be found in the Soviet domestic press. Notes about "friendly" hockey matches, visits by Soviet political and cultural delegations, the importance of trade relations, complimentary pieces on Canadian fishing and agricultural techniques, detailed travel accounts, and friendly statements by Canadian government officials filtered out to Soviet readers in 1955-56. The popular Soviet magazine, *Ogonëk*, provided a good illustration of the shift in attitudes. In late 1955, John Stewart spoke for the LPP again in a piece entitled, "Canadians wish to befriend you." Nearly a year later the Soviet Minister of Fisheries, A.A. Ishkov, submitted a very optimistic essay, "To know each other and to be friendly," after he visited Canada

in September 1956. These items, which actually contradicted the impression of Canada conveyed in *For a Lasting Peace*, were prompted by Lester B. Pearson's visit to the USSR in October 1955. *Izvestiia* dispatched its first permanent correspondent, V. Osipov, to live in Ottawa in the Spring of 1956.

The CPC/LPP was, of course, a very minor actor in Cominform. But the depiction of Canada in both Cominform and Soviet press serves as a valuable guide of the spirit of the times. All the major themes of Stalinist ideology were integrated with CPC descriptions of life in Canada, just as they were in *For a Lasting Peace*. Soviet publications portrayed Canada much as they would any other capitalist country. But the national interests of the USSR assured that the tone of Soviet press reporting would be directly related to the degree to which the Soviet government wished to have good relations with the Canadian government. When the Canadian government criticized Soviet action in Hungary in the autumn of 1956, all the old harsh descriptions of Canada re-appeared.

As an epilogue, it is worth mentioning that the main themes about Canada employed in the Stalinist era were not to disappear. The picture of Canada as a nation under constant pressure from the USA, whether it be in economic, political, or military matters remains clear in Soviet writing to this day. A number of individuals who wrote on Canada in the early 1950s have remained prominent in the field. Sergei F. Molochkov, now the Head of the Canadian Section of the Institute of the USA and Canada in Moscow, completed his Candidate dissertation in 1955 at the University of Moscow. His subject matter, "The Transformation of Canada to a Military-Strategic Base for American Imperialism, 1948-1950," is a period piece par excellence. G.A. Agranat, who wrote the hostile article for *Voprosy geografii* in 1948, was still publishing on Canada's North in the 1980s. V.V. Sushchenko's career has been equally long.

The harshest pictures of Canadian society seem almost always to have come from Canadians themselves. James Endicott continued to be quoted at length in the Soviet press throughout the 1950s and 1960s. From 1955 to the 1980s, Dyson Carter, a founder of the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Society, has been widely published and quoted in the Soviet press. Only William Kashtan, who has been general-secretary of the CPC since 1964, has appeared in Soviet newspapers and magazines more often than Carter. Tim Buck's works have been translated into Russian repeatedly from 1950.

In the 1970s, Konstantin Geivandov, now a feature editorial writer on international affairs for *Pravda*, and in the first half of the 1980s, Nikolai Bragin, regularly submitted articles which featured Canadian peace movements, American domination of Canada, nazi war-criminals in Canada, unemployment in Canada, and quotes from various CPC leaders. Their interpretation is more sophisticated and is based more carefully on Canadian sources than that of their predecessors, Osipov, Shcherbatykh, Sush-

chenko, and others, but it does not differ much from theirs in substance. Canada's indigenous anti-war movement is still contrasted with a perceived US-sponsored programme for the militarization of Canada, and the CPC is still portrayed as the wellspring of all "progressive forces" in Canada. Like earlier CPC leaders, William Kashtan is portrayed as a "well-known" and politically active figure in Canada.

There is much more accuracy in Soviet press reporting on Canada in the 1980s than there was in the 1940s and 1950s — and far more subjects are deemed worthy of attention (for example, sports, native peoples, and federal/provincial relations). But precedents set during the Stalinist period remain set nearly in stone.

This report represents parts of a long-term research project entitled, "Soviet Perception of Canada, 1917-1987," which was initiated at the Institute of Soviet & East European Studies, Carleton University, in 1984.

Note on Sources

For reasons of space, no specific footnotes have been included; rather a bibliographical essay must suffice. The first result of the on-going research project, "Soviet Perception of Canada, 1917-1987," at Carleton University's Institute of Soviet and East European Studies [ISEES] was the publication of *Canadian-Soviet Relations, 1917-1985: A Bibliography* (Fall 1985). In that collection are listed some 800 Soviet books, articles, and theses on Canada, and Canadian works which have been translated into Russian. The bibliography (no. 4 in an ISEES series) includes appendices, among them a complete list of all articles on Canada contained in *For a Lasting Peace, for a Peoples' Democracy!* — compiled by Tony Simulik, an ISEES graduate student. The bibliography is now being up-dated and revised.

Newspaper pieces were not included, but they have been gathered as a separate part of the ISEES project: "Soviet Russian-Language Newspaper Reporting on Canada, 1946-1986." To date, a 250-page listing of article titles (some 1,100) is complete to March 1987; content summaries are complete for about a third of them. Any further information about the materials in this list, which is the result of surveys of 32 major All-Union and Republic newspapers, can be obtained from ISEES.

For an understanding of the USSR during the postwar Stalinist years, one should look first at the published works of Stalin, Zhdanov, and Molotov. Several recent Western monographs provide us with good, and diverse, analyses of the era: William O. McCagg, *Stalin Embattled, 1943-48* (Detroit 1978); Werner G. Hahn, *Postwar Soviet Politics: The Fall of Zhdanov and the Defeat of Moderation, 1946-63* (Ithaca 1982); Timothy Dunsmore, *Soviet Politics, 1945-1953* (New York 1984); and especially Gavriel D. Ra'anani, *International Policy Formation in the USSR. Factional 'Debates' during the Zhdanovshchina* (Hamden, CT 1983). A thesis by Franklyn J.C. Griffiths, "Images, Politics, and Learning in Soviet Behaviour toward the United States" (Columbia 1972) provides useful theoretical background; while Paul Marantz, in "Soviet Foreign Policy Factionalism under Stalin," *Soviet Union*, 3,1 (1976), 91-107, offers a valuable survey of the Varga dispute and of Stalin's adherence to Leninist notions about the struggle between capitalist powers for the world's markets.

There are not many published sources on the Cominform, aside from its newspaper and the memoirs of several members. Ra'an'an's book, cited above, provides interesting information, especially on the founding meeting of Cominform, and three articles are particularly useful: McCagg, "Domestic Politics and Soviet Foreign Policy at the Cominform Conference in 1947," *Slavic and Soviet Series*, 2,1 (Spring 1977), 3-20; Heinz Timmermann, "The Cominform Effects on Soviet Foreign Policy," *Studies in Comparative Communism*, 18,1 (1985), 3-23; and Yoshihiko Tanigawa, "The Cominform and Southeast Asia," in Y. Nogai & I. Akira, eds. *The Origins of the Cold War in Asia* (New York 1977), 362-77.

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