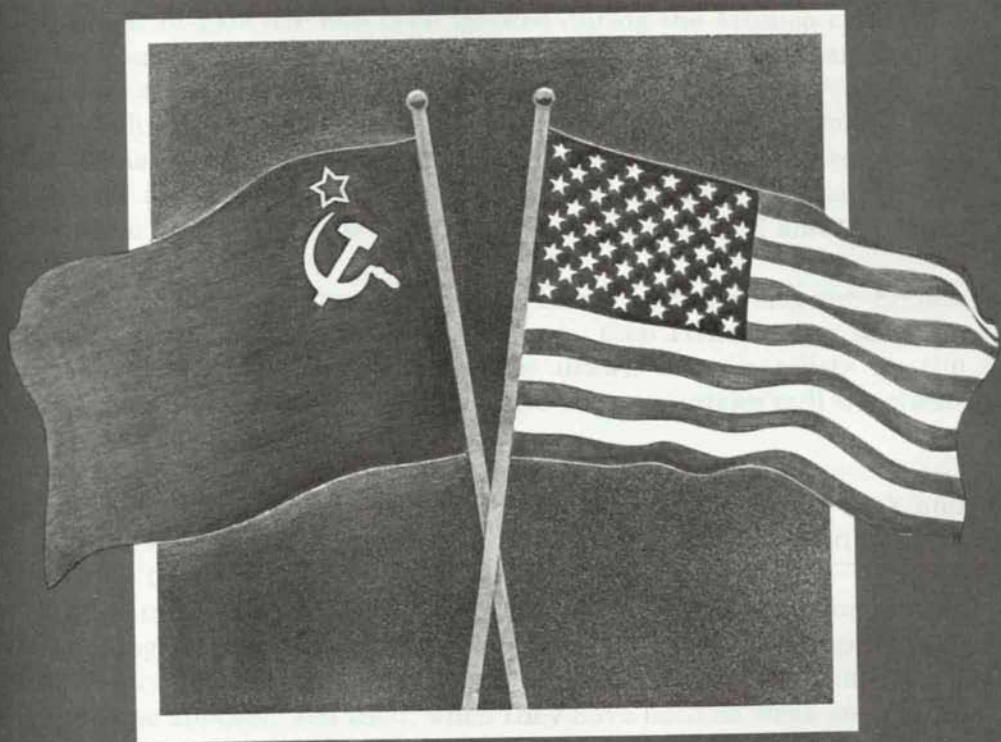


**BOOK IV**

# **STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY**



## Out of the Ashes

**T**he Cold War began in earnest in 1945. But the *seeds* of the Cold War were planted, had sprouted and were growing *during* much of the Second World War.

The Cold War really began in the thinking of the Russian Communists — and in particular in the scheming mind of Premier Stalin, dictator of Russia!

Stalin had been displeased when he was left out of the Munich Agreement in 1939. He had been ignored during the Munich crisis, and he had come to have precious little faith in the Allies after their shameful record of appeasement.

Joe Stalin, therefore, decided it expedient to turn to Germany. The Nazi-Soviet nonaggression pact of August 23, 1939 was the result. By that pact Hitler would be permitted the military rape of Western Europe while Stalin would be free to ravish eastern Poland and the countries of Eastern Europe.

When Stalin saw that the British Prime Minister and the French Premier were unwilling to do anything to stop Hitler's aggression he proclaimed that Russia would not be drawn into "conflicts by the warmongers who are accustomed to have other countries pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them."

As Stalin watched the dark Nazi storm clouds gathering over Western Europe, he decided it would be best to have Russia sit back and watch the belligerents destroy each other — then Russia could move in to pick up the pieces.

Dictator Stalin on March 10, 1939 told the Eighteenth Communist Party Congress in Moscow that he intended "to allow the belligerents to sink deeply into the mire of war . . . to allow them to exhaust and weaken one another; and then, when they have become weak enough, to appear on the scene with fresh strength, to appear of course in the interest of *peace* and to dictate conditions to the enfeebled belligerents."

No wonder Stalin appeared so eager to accept Hitler's bribe of eastern Poland, Bessarabia, and the Baltic States in exchange for Russian guarantees of security of the German rear in any confrontation with the Western Allies.

*Friction in the Allied Camp*

The Anglo-Saxon (or Anglo-American) partners worked well together during the Second World War. President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill got along famously. The following story serves to illustrate their very cordial relationship.

Shortly after Japan's sneak attack on Pearl Harbor the British Prime Minister flew to Washington to confer with Roosevelt. Churchill often worked late, and sometimes even worked while having his bath. During Churchill's visit to the U.S. he stayed at the White House. The next morning President Roosevelt wheeled himself in his wheelchair to Churchill's door and asked whether or not he was ready to receive him. The Prime Minister muttered something, whereupon President Roosevelt pointed to the door and asked an assistant: "Please open it for me." To the President's horror, Churchill was standing naked, and looking with some surprise at this rather sudden debut of the President. Churchill hastily wrapped a towel around himself.

An equally embarrassed President started to apologize and began wheeling himself out of the Prime Minister's presence. But the amicable Churchill protested it was quite all right for him to remain. "The Prime Minister of Great Britain," said he, "has nothing to conceal from the President of the United States."

However, although America and Britain got along, various strains developed between the Anglo-American camp and the Russians. Even though Stalin actually got what he deserved, when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941, nonetheless, Joe Stalin quickly appealed to the Americans and the British to help him pull *his* "chestnuts" out of the Nazi fire.

Russia would have been knocked out of the Second World War had not America and Britain quickly gone to her rescue with massive aid. The Anglo-American view-point was that it would be better to keep Communist Russia in the war, than to let Hitler and the Nazis take over control of all Russia — thereby becoming almost unbeatable.

The Americans and the British didn't have any love for either Communism or the Communist bosses of Russia. But when faced with an even worse tyranny — the Nazis — the decision was made to ally themselves with Russia. It was merely considered the lesser of two evils.

In Britain some criticized Churchill for allying Britain with Russia in the struggle to destroy Nazi Germany.

True, the Western democracies and the Russian Communists would make poor bedfellows. But this was better than letting Hitler gobble up Russia as he had done with all of Western Europe — except England.

During World War II Stalin on more than one occasion revealed



his contempt for the Anglo-Saxons. He was very impatient for the Anglo-Americans to open a second front in Western Europe. He even insulted Churchill and called the British cowards. This second front would help relieve pressure on his badly battered armies, and it would also help bring about the swift downfall of the Nazis.

In August 1942 Churchill visited Stalin in Moscow — informing him there would be no second front in 1942. After hearing this bad news, Stalin grew abusive. “When are you going to start fighting? Are you going to let us do all the work? You will not find it too bad once you start!” said the sarcastic Stalin.

At hearing these outrageous taunts, Churchill let loose with a torrent of words, simultaneously crashing his fist down on the table. He explained that he had travelled to Moscow to make friends, and it was only on account of the heroism of the Russian soldiers that he could pardon the unpardonable things the Premier had said.

Churchill then explained that for a whole year Britain had stood alone in her fight against Hitler. As Churchill gained speed and fire, words poured out in a torrent. This fiery burst from the Prime Minister amused Stalin. He threw his head back and roared with laughter: “I do not know what you are saying,” said a bemused Stalin, “but I like your attitude!”

### *Allies and Eastern Europe*

On the other hand, Stalin didn't want the Anglo-Americans to get involved in Eastern Europe. That was one area which he wanted the Russian forces to liberate, so they could dictate the kind of governments and peace which would reign in Eastern Europe after the War.

Near the end of World War II Prime Minister Churchill had tried to get President Roosevelt to let the Allies push eastward and save much of east Germany and the Balkans from Soviet occupation. But he failed to persuade Roosevelt of the wisdom of such a course of action.

Franklin Roosevelt looked kindly on Joe Stalin. He preferred to reach an accommodation with the Soviet dictator. Roosevelt thought he could charm Stalin thereby getting him to make important concessions to the Western Allies' point of view.

President Roosevelt's favorable impression of Stalin was revealed by a statement of his, made shortly after Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin met at the Teheran Conferences in November-December 1943:

“I believe,” said Roosevelt, “he [Stalin] is truly representative of the heart and soul of Russia, and I believe that we are going to get along very well with him and the Russian people — very well indeed.”

Later, President Roosevelt came to realize just how wrong he had been about Joe Stalin. Instead of cooperating and showing appreciation

to his Allied partners Stalin often complained and sometimes even pursued obstructionist policies — to the everlasting annoyance of both Roosevelt and Churchill!

It must be remembered that Roosevelt was a sick, tired man during his last conference with Churchill and Stalin — and he probably didn't feel like doing battle with the Russian dictator.

In addition to this President Roosevelt knew that Stalin had some trump cards. The U.S. President wanted to persuade the Russians to join the Western Allies against Japan in the war in the Pacific. Roosevelt, therefore, felt he should make concessions to the Soviet dictator in return for Stalin's pledge to enter the war against Japan shortly after the defeat of Germany.

### *The Russian "Enigma"*

President Roosevelt turned down Churchill's advice for a quick Anglo-American drive into the Balkans so that they could thwart the Russians in their designs to take over that part of Europe.

Churchill understood and deeply distrusted Stalin and the Communists. Prime Minister Churchill was less naïve than Franklin Roosevelt in dealing with the wily Stalin.

Sometime after the war Churchill wrote:

I tried my best to build up with Stalin by frequent personal telegrams the same kind of happy relations which I had developed with President Roosevelt. In this long Moscow series I received many rebuffs and only rarely a kind word. In many cases the telegrams were left unanswered altogether or for many days. The Soviet Government had the impression that they were conferring a great favor on us by fighting in their own country for their own lives. The more they fought, the heavier our debt became. This was not a balanced view.

Churchill admitted he had difficulty understanding the Russians: "I cannot forecast to you the action of Russia. It is a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma."

The British however basically understood the Russian thinking, and wanted to thwart Soviet aims in Eastern Europe. The Americans (with overwhelming economic and military power behind them) failed to comprehend the Russian psychology until it was too late.

### *The Yalta Agreements*

When Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin met at Yalta in February 1945 the U.S. President was a frail, tired man and only had two more months to live. At the time Germany was already in flames and total defeat of Hitler's Third Reich was near.



At Yalta, Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill concurred that Germany must sign an "unconditional surrender." They agreed that Russia, Britain, France and America would each be allotted an occupational zone which they would be responsible for administering at the end of World War II.

Furthermore, they agreed on the all-important principle that the occupied countries of Europe should have "free and unfettered elections" so they could choose the type of governments which they preferred. This last point was very important to the Western Allies.

At Yalta, Roosevelt agreed to pay a high price (partly at China's expense) for Russia's promise to participate in the war against Japan.

Even though it was agreed that Germany was to be divided into four occupational zones, the Allies certainly did not expect Stalin to make the division of Germany permanent. Furthermore, the Allies failed to get *written guarantees of access to Berlin* — which the four Allied powers were to occupy jointly. This later proved to be a bone in the throat of the Western Allies.

Stalin promised to allow free elections in Poland, but within weeks of Yalta he broke those promises. No sooner had the Russian boot been planted in Poland than it became clear that the Russians had no intention whatsoever of permitting the Poles to freely elect their own type of government. They could vote for one form of government — Communism. And the Russian divisions in that country would make sure of that.

President Roosevelt, a disillusioned man before his death, finally realized Stalin's perfidy. He said: "We have been betrayed by Joe Stalin."

### *Truman and Stalin*

Shortly after Roosevelt's death Harry S. Truman took the presidential oath. Soon afterward he was briefed on the "Polish question" by high government officials.

President Truman quickly composed a telegram in answer to a recent one from Churchill. In that cable, President Truman wrote the following:

Stalin's reply to you and to President Roosevelt makes our next step of the greatest importance. Although with a few exceptions he does not leave much ground for optimism, I feel very strongly that we should have another go at him.

When the "Big Three" (Truman, Churchill and Stalin) met at Potsdam, Germany, near Berlin in July 1945 there were no illusions in anyone's mind as to Stalin's intentions in Eastern Europe!



The Big Three (Truman, Churchill and Stalin) met at Potsdam, Germany in July, 1945 in order to work out a plan for Europe following W.W.II. Serious misgivings and resultant strains were already in evidence at Potsdam. — *dpa Bild*



It is probably most fortunate both for America and for the world that it was Truman who dealt with Stalin at Potsdam rather than Roosevelt. From the start, President Truman (with his simple, pragmatic, common-sense approach) seemed to see right through the Russian dictator. Whereas Roosevelt had tried to conciliate Stalin, Truman decided the best way to handle the Russian was to "get tough." He believed the only thing which the Russians respected was power. They seemed to believe that power grows out of the barrel of a gun.

While at the Potsdam Conference, President Truman confronted the Soviets about the spheres of influence they had established in Eastern Europe. Truman was especially concerned about Poland — and Russia's broken promise to hold "free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot." The Soviets didn't know what to make of this aggressive little man who had suddenly been catapulted into the world's most awesome seat of power.

Speaking of the Potsdam Conference, a gleeful Churchill later remarked: "He [Truman] told the Russians just where they got off, and generally bossed the whole meeting."

Why did President Truman feel he could stand up to the Russians at Potsdam? How was it possible for him to "get tough" with them, and let them know that the American President wasn't going to be pushed around by Stalin, or by anyone?

During the Potsdam Conference in July 1945 Truman was given word of America's successful testing of the world's first atom bomb!

It was while attending the Potsdam Conference on July 25th that President Truman made the momentous decision to use the A-bomb against Japan — if the Japanese refused the Potsdam Ultimatum. In that Ultimatum the Japanese were ordered to surrender unconditionally, or else they would suffer utter destruction.

After mentioning the "bomb" to Churchill, the Prime Minister urged Truman to go ahead and use it. Also, Joseph Stalin, after being told of America's bomb, suggested that America "make good use of it."

Only one day before the first A-bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, President Truman was on board a cruiser, the *Augusta*, as it steamed westward across the Atlantic. The ship's officers were entertaining Truman as he traveled home from the Potsdam Conference.

While they were having dessert and coffee, the ship's doctor asked the President if there had been any commitments at Potsdam to bring Russia into the war against Japan in the Pacific. President Truman told him that there hadn't. But he said that if the Soviets had been difficult at the Potsdam Conference, it didn't matter, for the U.S. now possessed a powerful new weapon of such force that America didn't need the Russians' support. "It is so powerful," said the President, "that one weapon is equal to twenty thousand tons of TNT."



President Truman then told them the bomb had already been tested and that it could end the war quickly. "It is the biggest gamble in history. Two billion dollars have been spent on it. . . ." he added.

So it is now clear that President Truman's "get tough" attitude toward the Russians was not only the result of seeing their broken promises concerning "free and unfettered elections" in Poland. The U.S. President also knew America's new super weapon gave her a trump card, and he intended to use that trump.

Though the Russians had the advantage of possessing a gigantic, powerful army (which could roll over Western Europe), yet America possessed such a powerful weapon that the Soviets would not dare attack.

Not long after the first A-bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, Prime Minister Churchill issued this statement from No. 10 Downing Street:

This revelation of the secrets of nature (how to build nuclear bombs), *long mercifully withheld from man*, should arouse the most solemn reflections in the mind and conscience of every human being. *We must pray that these awful agencies will be made to conduce peace among the nations*, and that instead of wreaking measureless havoc upon the entire globe, they may become a perennial fountain of world prosperity.

After Hiroshima, some immediately began to demand that the U.S. destroy all of its atomic weapons, and let the U.N. have complete control of this awesome weapon. Churchill was dead set against such an idea. He said:

It would . . . be wrong and imprudent to entrust the secret knowledge of experience of the atomic bomb, which the U.S., Great Britain and Canada now share, to the world organization . . . . No one in any country has slept less well in their beds because this knowledge and the method and raw material to apply it are at present . . . in American hands. I do not believe that we should all have slept so soundly had the positions been reversed and some Communist or neo-Fascist state monopolized, for the time being, these dread agencies . . . . Ultimately, when the essential brotherhood of man is truly embodied and expressed in a world organization, these powers may be confided to it.

Nor did President Truman favor America destroying her atomic bombs and her nuclear know-how. He knew the Russians would go ahead and develop the bomb anyway. Truman expressed his sentiments this way: "We should not under any circumstances throw away our gun until we are sure that the rest of the world can't arm against us."

Shortly after the Potsdam Conference, America dropped her first bomb on Hiroshima (on August 6th, 1945). On the very next day Joseph Stalin convened a group of five leading Russian physicists, and ordered them to catch up with the atomic achievements of the United States.

Stalin put them under the charge of his secret police boss, Lavrenti Beria.

Even before the Potsdam Conference, Truman had been coached on the diplomatic importance of America's nuclear secret. President Truman, therefore, decided that America was "in a position to dictate our own terms at the end of the war."

When Truman received Molotov on April 23, he spoke sharply to him concerning the rapid and grave deterioration in Eastern Europe. Russia's foreign minister complained: "I have never been talked to like that in my life."

Truman replied: "Carry out your agreements and you won't get talked to like that again."

### *Architect of Cold War*

Who, more than anyone else, was the real architect of the "Cold War"? What were the major events which molded the life of the author of the Cold War?

Just as one can better grasp events of World War II by understanding the central figure (Adolf Hitler) of that war, so one can better comprehend the Cold War by understanding a few important events in the life of the central character behind the Cold War, *Joseph Stalin*.

Joseph Stalin (1879-1953) was born in Gori, a town near Tiflis (now Tbilisi) in Georgia, U.S.S.R. on December 21, 1879. Stalin's real name was Iosif Vissarionovich Djugashvili. He didn't like his name and therefore in 1913 he decided to adopt the name *Stalin* ("Man of Steel").

Not much is known about Stalin's early life. His father was an unsuccessful village shoemaker, and is said to have been a drunkard, cruel to young Josif. Joseph Stalin's mother had to become a washerwoman in order to help support the family which lived in a small shack. Stalin grew up as an only child. (His parents had three children previous to Stalin, but all died.) While still a young boy, Stalin's father left the family and moved into nearby Tiflis to work in a shoe factory.

Joseph Stalin had smallpox when he was six or seven years old, and this left his face badly scarred for the rest of his life. It would appear that Stalin's extreme heartlessness, his incapacity to feel or express pity toward others may have resulted partly from his unhappy childhood and from a deep inferiority complex due to having a badly pockmarked face.

### *Studied for the Priesthood*

Stalin's mother sacrificed to send her son to a little church school in Gori in 1888. Joseph was a bright student and spent five years at that school. Then he received a scholarship at the *religious seminary* in the



nearby town of Tiflis. He entered the seminary in 1894 when he was 14 years old. Stalin distinguished himself at reading and debate. He did good schoolwork. According to the testimony of his schoolmates Stalin held *grudges* and seldom forgave those who dared oppose him.

Joseph Stalin studied for the priesthood in the Georgian Orthodox Church. But he continued to disregard church rules, read forbidden books, and was repeatedly punished.

Stalin joined a secret Marxist revolutionary group in 1893. The Tiflis seminary, like many other Russian schools, was a center for the distribution of forbidden revolutionary ideas. Stalin became interested in the writings of Karl Marx and others, and was expelled from the seminary in May 1899 for failure to appear for an examination.

### *A Revolutionary*

After leaving the seminary he got a job as a clerk. But he wasn't happy at that position and within a year he began his shady career as an active revolutionist.

Joseph Stalin narrowly escaped arrest in March 1901 when a number of other socialists in Tiflis were arrested by the secret police. He then changed his name and joined the underground movement. Stalin began to write articles for a Georgian Marxist journal, *Brdzola*, (The Struggle) in September 1901. He was formally accepted into the Russian Social Democratic Labor (Marxist) party in November of that same year.

Stalin continued to foment rebellion and did all he could to spread revolutionary Marxist ideas. He was arrested and jailed for those activities in 1902 and was transferred from prison and exiled to Siberia in November 1903.

It was in that same year that the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party split into two major groups — the Bolsheviks ("majority") and the Mensheviks. Lenin took over the leadership of the *Bolsheviks*.

The slippery Stalin escaped from Siberia in January 1904 and was soon back in Tiflis where he quickly joined the Bolsheviks. Joe Stalin first met Vladimir Ilyich Lenin in Finland in 1905. Both of these two men were later destined to rule Russia with iron fists.

It was about this time that Stalin married. His wife died shortly afterward of tuberculosis in 1907. Their only surviving son Jacob died during World War II after being captured by the Nazis.

In either 1918 or 1919 Stalin married his secretary, Alliluyeva. She died mysteriously in 1932, either from suicide or as a victim of Stalin's terrible anger. They had two children, a son, Fasily — a Soviet air force general who died in an auto crash in 1943 — and a daughter, Svetlana, who became a translator of English. After Khrushchev's de-Stalinization program began in Russia, Svetlana moved to the United States.

### *Arrests and Exiles*

Stalin's revolutionary activities continued to get him into trouble with the authorities. He was arrested and exiled a number of times between 1906 and 1913. This Man of Steel spent seven out of ten years (between 1907 and 1917) either in prison or in exile.

Stalin was suddenly elevated by Lenin into the small but very powerful Central Committee of the Bolshevik party in 1912. He was now definitely on his way to the top of the Communist heap.

Lenin helped Stalin write a long article ("The National Question and Social Democracy") in 1913. The article was signed, *Stalin*. he had just begun to use this name. He had also served as editor of the Bolshevik party newspaper *Pravda* (Truth). It was during 1913 that Stalin was arrested and exiled for his last time.

### *Germany Defeats Russia*

During World War I when the Russian army was badly defeated by the Germans, Stalin was still in exile in Siberia and remained in exile until 1917. He had been rejected by the Russian army in 1916 because of a boyhood blood infection which made it difficult for him to bend his left elbow.

After Germany knocked Russia out of World War I in 1917, economic conditions became extremely bad in the Soviet Union. Riots and strikes broke out — partly as a result of food shortages.

On March 15, 1917, Czar Nicholas II gave up his throne. A provisional government under Alexander Kerensky was eventually set up. The new provisional government released Stalin and many other Bolsheviks (Communists) from exile.

After his release Stalin took over the editorship of *Pravda* from Vyacheslav Molotov. The Communists finally succeeded in seizing power during the Bolshevik revolution of 1917. After the October Revolution Vladimir Lenin became the head of the new government. He named Joseph Stalin *Commissar of Nationalities*.

But before long a number of armed uprisings broke out and Russia quickly became enflamed in a full-scale civil war. During this bloody civil struggle Stalin was named as one of the five powerful members of the newly-formed *Politburo* (Political Bureau) which was the policy making body of the party's Central Committee.

The Russian civil war continued until 1920 when the Bolsheviks finally succeeded in winning the struggle. But a colossal task of rebuilding the war-torn country remained.

In 1922 Stalin was elected *General Secretary of the Communist*



*Party's Central Committee.* That position afforded Stalin a springboard to power.

### *Lenin's Warning of Stalin*

Shortly before his death, Lenin confessed: "I am, I believe strongly guilty before the workers of Russia." He was referring to events which had already transpired — events which could no longer be rectified — the murders of countless thousands of innocent Russians!

But Lenin also recognized that, with his own death being so imminent, there was another man in Russia who he feared would bathe Russia in a real bloodbath. On January 4, 1923, just shortly before his death, Lenin dictated a postscript to a letter written the previous December in which he described the characters of the leading Bolsheviks:

Stalin is too coarse, and this fault, though tolerable in dealings among us Communists, becomes unbearable in a General Secretary. Therefore I propose to the comrades to find some way of removing Stalin from his position and appointing somebody else who differs in all respects from Comrade Stalin in one characteristic — namely, someone more tolerant, more loyal, more polite and considerate to his comrades, less capricious, etc. This circumstance may seem to be a mere trifle, but I think that from the point of view of preventing a split and from the point of view of what I wrote above about the relations between Stalin and Trotsky, it is not a trifle, or else it is a trifle which may acquire a decisive importance.

In his book, *The Life and Death of Lenin*, Robert Payne comments on Lenin's note in which he warned his comrades about Stalin. In reference to the postscript just quoted, Robert Payne says:

This postscript is justifiably famous. Though marked by an extreme bitterness and disenchantment, it was strangely prophetic . . . . With extraordinary clairvoyance he (Lenin) says that of all the errors he had committed the most dangerous and the most destructive was to have given high position to Stalin . . . .

It was as though some sixth sense told him that the succession would go to Stalin, and in these remaining hours of sanity he quailed before the possibility of surrendering Russia to a man who was so coarse, so uncultured, and so unprincipled. The word he used to describe Stalin was *grub*, which is more than "rude." It suggests coarse buffoonery at one end of its spectrum of meanings and the working of intolerable hardship on people at the other end. *Grubkiy khokhot* means a "horse laugh." It was an unpleasant word for an unpleasant thing.

Lenin was soon rendered impotent by a series of strokes which prevented him from implementing his plan to remove this dangerous man from power.

When Lenin died in 1924 a power struggle quickly ensued. The top



Joe Stalin ("Man of Steel") was shrewd, ruthless, and had an iron will. About twenty-five million Russians perished during Stalin's reign of terror. — *Wide World Photo*



Bolsheviks finally learned of Lenin's secret note, warning that Stalin must be removed as Secretary General. But they ignored Lenin's warning. Many (if not all of them) would later bitterly lament their failure to heed Lenin's advice.

But for the time, the top leaders of the Communist party in Russia accepted Stalin's promise to improve his behavior. Stalin, just like Hitler, knew how to beguile his fellow countrymen. He slowly, cleverly began using his power to destroy all of his rivals. He had Leon Trotsky exiled in 1929. Trotsky was assassinated in Mexico not long after being exiled.

The Communist party leadership praised Joseph Stalin on his 50th birthday in December 1929. Joe Stalin had by then become dictator of all Russia! This Man of Steel would show the Russians what it would be like to be ruled by him.

### *Stalin's Rule of Terror*

Joe Stalin began his first five-year plan for *economic development* in 1928. Under his leadership the Soviet government began to eliminate private business.

Stalin told his people:

We are fifty or one hundred years behind the advanced countries. We must make good this lag in ten years. Either we do it or they crush us.

In 1929 Stalin began the collectivization of Soviet agriculture. By transferring the control of all farms, equipment and livestock to the government, he thereby ended private farming in Russia.

But the Russian farmers (*kulaks* and poorer peasants) didn't take kindly to the idea of the government seizing their farms, equipment and livestock. They stubbornly resisted the collectivization of their farms.irate Russian farmers destroyed half of their livestock and much of their produce. This wholesale destruction of livestock and grain caused widespread starvation in Russia.

The ruthless Communists butchered and exiled the rebels and finally broke down all resistance to the program of collectivizing Russia's farms. In all, about one million families were banished to eastern Russia.

The Russian secret police had been terrible under the corrupt Czars. But under the Communists, a police system was established which was far more oppressive and ruthless. Countless millions were executed or sent to labor camps.

When Stalin began a crash program to build heavy industry, many industries were put under the administration of the secret police who in

turn forced the Russian prisoners to work in their factories as forced labor.

Intimidation brought widespread *fear*. Neighbors were ordered to spy on one another. Even relatives were expected to spy on each other and report any opposition to the government. The Communists even broke up families, thinking this might enable them to solidify their control over the Russian populace.

### *A Headless Red Army*

By 1935, Stalin felt he was securely ensconced in the supreme seat of power in Russia. He therefore began a bloody purge of most of the old Bolsheviks who had been associated with Lenin. During the following years he murdered anyone whom he thought might conceivably threaten his power.

This Man of Steel also executed countless thousands of other Communist party members — including party chiefs and officers of the Soviet army.

Stalin proved that it was possible to stamp out all effective opposition, then govern a large state like Russia through fear and intimidation. Even after World War II ended in 1945, the secret police — under the control of their chief, Lavrenti P. Beria — tightened their grip on Russia. Bloody pogroms continued. But the post-World War II purges were done as *secretly* as possible. No one in Russia was safe. Communist party members, and even *Politburo* members were trundled off in the middle of the night. Many of them were shot in the pogroms of 1949 and 1950. Anti-Semitism (which Stalin had encouraged in the 1930s) was now given new impetus throughout Russia. Other minorities were also dealt with harshly. Fear ruled throughout the Soviet Union.

The former long-time Chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Martin Dies, revealed the terrible extent of the Russian slaughter:

In Russia a minimum of 25,000,000 people have been starved to death and murdered in 45 years. In Red China, the figure is probably at least 35,000,000 in a short 12 years. These ruthless, inhuman atrocities have been investigated, documented and reported in print, by numerous committees of the Congress. Yet only a relative handful of Americans know where to look for the facts, or even know that the reports exist; and still fewer have read them. (*The Martin Dies Story*, p. 20).

During World War II Stalin believed he had proven himself a worthy leader of Russia, so in March 1943 (as Russian armies were driving the Germans relentlessly back on all fronts) Stalin took to



himself the military title of *Marshal* of the Soviet Union. The Soviet dictator, despite his ruthless purges and his atrocities which he had committed against the Russian people, had become the symbol of Soviet Resistance. To them he had become the “father of victory.” He had proven that he was worthy of being called Stalin, the Man of Steel.

He did much to inspire the Russians in the Great Patriotic war and he extolled Mother Russia’s heroes. Later, even his Allied friends, Churchill and Roosevelt, were to learn that Stalin was a man of flint-like character — unmoved by their wishes, arguments, or implied threats.

### *Guiding Spirit of the Cold War*

More than any other man, it was Joe Stalin who was the “guiding spirit” behind the Cold War which was soon to follow in the wake of World War II. This rock-like personality was impassive toward the desires of the Western Allies. He did not want to see their glorious vision of “democracy” foisted upon the peoples of Eastern Europe.

Quite to the contrary, Stalin would stand with his army of millions of toughened troops — defying all of the western Allies. He would make sure that after the war was over, the mantle of Communism — not that of Democracy — would descend upon the shoulders of the nations of Eastern Europe.

Stalin would make sure that Communist governments were installed in all the countries of Eastern Europe. The Soviets wanted to make certain they had a group of *buffer states* which would be able to trade exclusively with them, as well as act as a buffer between the democracies of the West, and the Communist dictatorships of Russia and her eastern European satellites.

### *Russia’s Fear of the West*

The Russians firmly believe that “Promises are like pie crusts, made to be broken,” as Lenin once said. Holding this view, they assumed that the Western Allies (the Americans included) were just as willing to break their promises as the Russians were.

Since the Western Allies had come to the rescue of the Soviets with massive economic and military assistance during the dark days of World War II, the Russians believed the Americans would demand much in return for their World War II Lend-Lease.

But far more important, the *economic* facts of the world following on the heels of World War II gave Russia cause for concern. The big powers (Russia, Germany, Britain, France, Japan, China) had all been

hurt badly during the war. Only America had escaped totally unscathed — except that she had lost over 400,000 in battle deaths. Otherwise, her pleasant land had not been invaded and her cities had not so much as been bombed.

While many other countries suffered and bled during that terrible struggle, America actually grew and prospered. She was producing more war materiel at the end of the war than all the rest of the world put together.

True, the actual cost of the war to the U.S. federal government between 1941 and 1945 was \$321 billion (ten times greater than the cost of World War I); and the *national debt* grew from \$49 billion in 1941 to \$259 billion in 1945.

But America's standard of living soared during World War II. In spite of some superficial shortages (sugar, shoes, tires, gasoline, etc.) there were no real shortages, at least when compared with other countries.

Even though the U.S. government raised a total of \$138 billion in wartime taxes, yet by 1945 American consumers had accumulated \$129 billion in savings. America was much stronger economically at the end of the Second World War than at the beginning. At the end of World War II, America was the *undisputed economic giant of the world!*

Furthermore, with the possession of the A-bomb, America was also suddenly catapulted into the top military position. No nation could compare with either her economic or military strength, and the Russians were painfully aware of this. America also realized her unique position in the world at that crucial moment in history. Rather reluctantly the U.S. came to realize that world leadership had been thrust upon her.

Germany had sought it by force of arms, but her hopes had crumbled into dust and ashes! Japan also sought to be number one, but her hopes had also been dashed — even before the mushroom clouds appeared over Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

It was as if Divine Providence decreed that the mantle of world prominence should fall on the young, muscled shoulders of the United States, despite her own indifference.

Russia was not blind to America's economic and military advantages at the close of World War II. But her knowledge of America's strength only made the Soviet Union fear the U.S. even more. Russia's self-conscious awareness of her own relative weakness was another of the causes of the Cold War!

### *Attacks on Russia*

How did the Cold War develop at the close of the Second World War?



Communist Russia nourished expansionist ideas. She undoubtedly believed that since she had suffered, bled and been battered so badly by the Nazi armies (and this included divisions of some of the Balkan and Baltic countries) she should get her pound of flesh in return.

Russia realized that during the Napoleonic Wars it was France who had attacked Russia. The Soviet Union had not attacked France or Western Europe. Then during World War I, the Germans had marched straight across Poland into Russia. And even after Hitler had signed a nonaggression pact with the Soviets, he had treacherously double-crossed them and again marched across Poland into Russia — spreading havoc and devastation in his path.

The Russians genuinely feared that this could conceivably *happen again!* And this road to aggression could conceivably be made much more tempting in the future if a nation possessed sufficient nuclear strength to launch a massive atomic strike, even on a large nation like Russia.

### *A Buffer Zone*

The Soviet leaders, Stalin included, decided to do all within their power to insure that there would be *a friendly belt of nations* in Eastern Europe to intervene between them and the nations of Western Europe.

How could Russia be sure that such a belt of buffer nations would continue to exist between her and any potential aggressor nations of Western Europe?

As the people of those nations would probably vote for a democratic type of government if they were permitted to have “free and unfettered elections,” the Soviet Union, therefore, felt it would be to her advantage to install Communist governments in all those nations she had occupied in Eastern Europe. She could then exercise a large degree of political and economic power over those nations.

Furthermore, she would make sure that her military machine was kept strong so that none of these “satellite” nations could break away from her control.

### *Fear of U.S. Economic Penetration*

And in addition to these military considerations, the Soviets knew that if Communist regimes existed in Eastern Europe, Russia could keep Western economic interests out of those countries.

Since capitalism and Communism are naturally hostile to each other, there would of necessity be a barrier between the Communist East European and the capitalist West European countries.

Russia knew that if she permitted American economic penetration into Eastern Europe she could not hope to compete. At the close of World War II much of Russia lay in ruins. The Soviet Union, like many of the countries of Europe, was herself in need of a massive infusion of capital to help rebuild her economy. America was the only nation which had sufficient capital at the end of the Second World War to help Russia. The U.S.S.R. would have to turn to America for a loan even to help rebuild her own industry.

Russia was well aware that America was the “arsenal of democracy” during World War II — sending an endless supply of munitions, foodstuffs, and all types of goods to the Allied nations.

Why did Russia decide to enclose herself and her satellites in a cocoon of isolationism immediately following World War II? Why did she ring down the Iron Curtain?

The simple answer is that Russia didn't want the democratic world to be able to see how *weak* she really was! She knew she could not match America in either economic or military areas, so she would just slam the door to outsiders. The Soviets would keep all contaminating Western democratic influences out of the Communist bloc. This was the best way for her to build up her strength, so that in time she could compete with the West.

Later, as she built up her military strength roughly to a par with America, she toned down her threats and her sword rattling.

### *The West's Fear of Russia*

If Russia nourished deep fears toward the West — and toward America in particular — so did the U.S. and Western Europe harbor deep fears toward the Soviets.

Knowledgeable Americans and Westerners realized there are certain goals which the Communists have cherished since the beginning of their revolution in Russia in 1917.

Before Lenin died in 1924, he laid down a strategy for *Communist* conquest of the world. Here is a paraphrased version of his strategy by which he believed the Communists could do this:

First, the Communists must take *Eastern Europe*.

Secondly, they must gain control of the masses of *Asia*.

Thirdly, Communist forces would then encircle the United States, the last stronghold of capitalism. “We will not have to attack. It will fall like an overripe fruit into our hands,” said the Communists.

### *Truman's “Get Tough” Policy*

American foreign policy shapers following World War II came to



believe that the Russian Communists were bent on *world conquest*. They believed the Soviets planned to export international Communism to as many nations as possible.

Unfortunately, in the climate of wretchedness, despair and poverty which prevailed even in Western Europe following World War II, there was plenty of *fertile ground* for Communist penetration. The Communist Party made alarming gains in Italy, France and other countries of Western Europe shortly after the Second World War.

How could the West guarantee that Russia didn't take advantage of the weakened position of Western Europe, and aid the Communist parties in those nations in gaining control of the governments?

It was fortunate for America and for the world that the U.S. was provided with a "get tough" President at the close of World War II. President Truman understood what the Communists were up to, and he knew what was necessary to counteract them and their schemes for world domination.

President Truman in October, 1945 delivered a "get tough" speech in which he proclaimed that American policy was "based firmly on fundamental principles of *righteousness and justice*." He stated unequivocally that the U.S. "*shall not give our approval to any compromise with evil*."

Then, remembering Soviet actions in Eastern Europe, Truman added: "We shall refuse to recognize any government imposed on any nation by the force of any foreign power."

The following January, 1946, Truman told the U.S. Secretary of State:

Unless Russia is faced with *an iron fist* and strong language, another war is in the making. Only one language do they understand — "*how many divisions have you?*"... I'm tired of babying the Soviets.

### *The "Iron Curtain" Descends*

Winston Churchill, speaking at Fulton, Missouri on March 5, 1945 declared that the U.S.S.R. had rung down an "Iron Curtain." Churchill asserted: "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an *iron curtain* has descended across the continent." Churchill, with President Truman's approval, called for an *Anglo-American alliance* to bring about "conditions of freedom and democracy as rapidly as possible in all countries."

He stated that Communists didn't really want war. But they did want "the fruits of war and the indefinite expansion of their power and doctrines."

Churchill, however, warned that such dangers couldn't be removed

“by *closing our eyes* to them . . . nor will they be removed by a policy of *appeasement*.”

The Western Allies developed a new policy towards Communism shortly after World War II. It was a fact that the mighty Red Army had its boot firmly planted over Eastern Europe, and the Soviets had no intention of removing that boot. The only way the West could remove that boot was to go to war, and the nations of Western Europe (and the U.S.) were weary of war.

If the Western Allies deemed it unwise to drive the Red Army out of Eastern Europe by force, they could at least begin implementing a policy of *containment*. The Russian Bear must be contained so that she could not range any further afield.

In February 1946, George Kennan formulated the U.S. strategy of “containment.” This doctrine of foreign policy became official U.S. policy in 1947.

Kennan warned that the Soviet leaders possessed a “neurotic view of world affairs. And they have learned to seek security only in patient but deadly struggle for total destruction of rival power, never in compacts and compromises with it.” He stated that Soviet power “is neither schematic nor adventuristic”:

It does not take unnecessary risks. For this reason it can easily withdraw — and usually does — when strong resistance is encountered at any point. Thus, if the adversary has sufficient force and makes clear his readiness to use it, he rarely has to do so.

Later, George Kennan described Russian power politics. He said the Soviets move

inexorably along the prescribed path, like a persistent toy automobile wound up and headed in a given direction, stopping only when it meets unanswerable force. If the West wanted to thwart the Russian aims, it would be necessary to “*confront* the Russians with unalterable *counterforce* at any point where they show signs of encroaching,” and this must be done with “superior force.”

As Russia had rung down the Iron Curtain to seal off her Eastern European satellites, so must America and the West make sure that they “contain” the Russian Bear by the use of both military and economic means.

### *The “Truman Doctrine”*

During 1946 and early 1947 Russia continued to create difficulties for the Western nations by backing Communist guerrillas in Greece, and by putting pressure on Turkey. It looked as if the Communists might gain control of those two strategic nations.

Britain declared that it could not afford to continue her aid to



Greece and Turkey, so President Truman in March, 1947 asked Congress to vote funds for military aid and assistance for those two countries in their resistance of Communist aggression.

At that time, President Truman stated: *"It must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure."* This policy of assisting other nations in their struggle to resist Communist aggression became known as the "Truman Doctrine."

The U.S. Congress appropriated \$400,000,000 for that purpose, and by 1949 the Communist threat in Greece and Turkey had subsided.

### *The Marshall Plan*

It is well known that wherever there is poverty, squalor, and degradation, Communism tends to thrive. It is seldom, if ever, that Communism appeals to the peoples of an enlightened, prosperous, highly-industrialized nation.

At the close of the Second World War there was much devastation and poverty in Europe — especially in Germany, Poland, Italy and some of the Eastern European countries. The Communist parties in those countries made alarming gains. If something wasn't done quickly, there was a danger that all of Europe would go over to Communism. This frightening prospect alarmed the peoples of the West. They did not want to see their free enterprise system and their democratic way of life flushed down the Communist conspiratorial drain.

But what could be done to stem the Communist tide in Western Europe and around the world? It was obvious that the West would have to aid those countries which were in danger of being subverted by Communism.

The U.S. Secretary of State, George C. Marshall, proposed a plan (in June, 1947) for the economic rehabilitation of Europe. The economic aid which he offered Europe was designed to meet the Communist threat head on by restoring a strong, vibrant economy in Western Europe.

Excerpts from the "Marshall Plan," by Harry S. Truman, give us a deeper insight into the origin, purpose and scope of this ambitious plan to help Europe get back on its feet.

Here, in Mr. Truman's own words, is how that plan for European recovery originated:

We had sent food to Europe, but *millions* there still did not have enough to eat. We had made loans to the countries of Europe, but the war had so disrupted the patterns of trade and industry there that the amounts we loaned were far less effective than we had hoped. I was disturbed because the loan to Britain had failed to accomplish what we thought it would.

Detailed reports came to my office daily from our government agencies about conditions abroad. A steady stream of appeals poured in from representative leaders of many foreign nations, virtually all of whom expressed the gravest concern over the economic situation and over the gains which Communism might score if there was no improvement. On April 26, when Secretary Marshall returned from the Moscow conference of Foreign Ministers, he arrived in a pessimistic mood. He had gone to Moscow with the hope that he could persuade the Russians that the United States was working for peace. The Russians, however, were interested only in their own plans and *were coldly determined to exploit the helpless condition of Europe to further Communism* rather than cooperate with the rest of the world.

Marshall's report confirmed my conviction that there was no time to lose in finding a method for the *revival of Europe*. General Marshall is one of the most astute and profound men I have ever known. Whenever any problem was brought before him, he seemed to be able to put his finger at once on the very basic approach that later would usually be proposed by the staff as the best solution. . . .

What Marshall perceived in the plans which his State Department staff laid before him was the *importance of the economic unity of Europe*. If the nations of Europe could be induced to develop their own solution of Europe's economic problems viewed as a whole and tackled co-operatively rather than as separate national problems, the United States aid would be more effective and the strength of a recovered Europe would be better sustained.

This was precisely the approach I had in mind. Marshall and I were in perfect agreement. It was my feeling that, beyond economic considerations, the idea of co-operation would stimulate new hope and confidence among the nations of Europe and thus provide a realistic argument against the Communists' counsel of despair. . . .

### *Europe Must Help Itself*

This was our proposal, that the countries of Europe agree on a co-operative plan in order to utilize the full productive resources of the continent, supported by whatever material assistance we could render to make the plan successful.

I had referred to the idea as the "Marshall Plan" when it was discussed in staff meetings, because I wanted General Marshall to get full credit for his brilliant contributions to the measure which he helped formulate. And it was Marshall who had envisioned the full scope of this approach. He had perceived the inspirational as well as the economic value of the proposal. History, rightly, will always associate his name with *this program, which helped save Europe from economic disaster and lifted it from the shadow of enslavement by Russian Communism. . . .*"

Despite much Communist harassment, sixteen nations (plus West Germany) participated in the Marshall Plan. In the next three years, the U.S. spent \$12 billion through the Economic Cooperation Administration.



The European Recovery Program (Marshall Plan) was highly successful in revitalizing the economies of Western Europe. And at the same time as their economic strength waxed, the Communist parties in Western Europe waned.

In Truman's inaugural address in 1949 the President proposed extending the same sort of aid to underdeveloped nations throughout the world. It was hoped that this would help to hold back Communist expansion throughout the whole earth.

Both Poland and Czechoslovakia wanted to take part in the Marshall Plan, but the Soviet Union would not let them accept U.S. aid. Russia then decided she had better establish a Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON), and did so in January, 1949. The purpose of this Communist organization was to unite both economically and politically East European satellites with the Soviet Union.

When the Western Allies saw that Russia would not cooperate with them in the rehabilitation of Germany, they decided to go ahead and unify the French, British and American occupation zones, thereby establishing the West German Federal Republic (West Germany). When West Germany was established in 1949, it immediately joined the Marshall Plan.

Also, it was in 1948 that the Soviet Union harshly criticized Marshal Tito, the dictator of Communist Yugoslavia. Tito then decided to declare his country's independence from Soviet control.

### *The Berlin Blockade*

The Soviet Union was upset toward the West for establishing the nation of West Germany. In response to this, in 1948, Russian troops blocked all highway, railroad and water traffic through East Germany to West Berlin. Since West Berlin was 110 miles inside the Russian occupation zone, this posed a serious difficulty for the Western Allies. Russia thought this blockade would force the Western powers to leave Berlin. But not so.

The Americans, British and French immediately set up the *Berlin airlift* which operated day and night, for 11 months. When the Soviets became convinced that the Western powers had no intention of leaving West Berlin, they finally decided to lift the blockade in May, 1949.

Apparently the deafening roar of countless Allied airplanes into West Berlin merely served to underline Russian weakness. The Soviets did not dare shoot down the Allied airplanes, so a continuing blockade only revealed their own timidity toward the West.

The Berlin blockade helped underscore the fact that the Western

powers had better *hang together* or else they might all hang separately. Accordingly, in April, 1949 the U.S., Canada, Britain and nine other Western European nations formed a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). These NATO countries pledged to mutually defend themselves and to prevent further Russian expansion in Europe.

The U.S. then decided to organize the ANZUS defense treaty to resist Communist aggression in Asia. In September, 1951 the U.S. signed the ANZUS mutual defense treaty with Australia and New Zealand.

### *Russia's Atomic Bomb*

The Soviet Union tested its first atomic bomb on August 29, 1949. Until then, the U.S. had maintained its A-bomb monopoly. Now the race toward a nuclear Armageddon was on. All the world would thereafter live under the constant threat of nuclear annihilation.

The Communists had continued gaining strength during the 1940s. Communist Russian forces occupied Manchuria at the close of World War II. When the Soviets pulled out in 1946, the Chinese Communists took over most of northern Manchuria.

The Russians had also occupied northern Korea, where they finally established the "People's Republic" north of the 38th parallel. America occupied southern Korea, and when they left, the South Koreans established an independent government.

In China, the Communists continued gaining strength. Mao Tse-tung's Communist forces fought the nationalist armies of Chiang Kai-shek. The U.S. continued giving military and economic aid to Chiang, but when the Communists in China continued putting the pressure on Chiang Kai-shek's nationalist forces, he and his nationalist government fled to the island of Formosa in late 1949. This gave the Communists complete control of mainland China.

Thus the world's most populous nation, with over 600 million people, capitulated to Communism.

But soon the "Cold War" was to heat up dramatically in one of the least heard of places — Korea.



