

CONTENTS



Abbreviations Used in the Footnotes	xiii
1. The Past as Prologue: The American Vision of the Postwar World	1
2. The Soviet Union and World Revolution: The American View, 1941–1944	32
3. Cooperating for Victory: Defeating Germany and Japan	63
4. Repression versus Rehabilitation: The Problem of Germany	95
5. Security versus Self-Determination: The Problem of Eastern Europe	133
6. Economic Relations: Lend-Lease and the Russian Loan	174
7. Victory and Transition: Harry S. Truman and the Russians	198
8. The Impotence of Omnipotence: American Diplomacy, the Atomic Bomb, and the Postwar World	244
9. Getting Tough with Russia: The Reorientation of American Policy, 1946	282
10. To the Truman Doctrine: Implementing the New Policy	316
11. Conclusion: The United States and the Origins of the Cold War	353
Bibliography	363
Index	383

INDEX

- Acheson, Dean G.: on Hull, 19; and international control of atomic energy, 251-52, 273, 279, 293, 332-35; on Vandenberg, 292; on postwar treatment of Germany, 330; on Turkish crisis (1946), 337*n*; on British loan, 342-43; on Marshall, 347; and Truman Doctrine, 349-52
- Acheson-Lilienthal report, 332-35
- Adler, Les K., 54*n*
- Advisory Committee on Postwar Foreign Policy, 8, 29, 97, 137
- Agee, James, 44
- Albania, 348
- Allen, George, 287-88
- Alperovitz, Gar, 246*n*
- Alsop, Joseph, 319, 345, 347
- Alsop, Stewart, 319
- Amerasia*, 257-58
- America*, 53
- American Locomotive Company, 187
- American-Russian Chamber of Commerce, 188
- Anglo-Soviet treaty (1942), 16, 69
- ARCADIA conference (1941-42), 66
- Argentina, 226
- Armstrong, Hamilton Fish, 305
- Army, U.S., and military government, 102-4, 116-19, 121-25
- Army-Navy Journal*, 286
- Atkinson, Brooks, 45
- Atlantic Charter (1941): British attitude toward, 3, 12, 15; Soviet attitude toward, 3, 15; Roosevelt on, 12, 15-17, 164; Hull on, 15-16; and Eastern Europe, 15-17, 55, 134-40, 143, 146, 163, 356; Vandenberg on, 30, 140, 146; and international organization, 149-57; and U.S. economic assistance to Soviet Union, 223
- Atlantic Conference (1941), 12-13, 25
- Atomic bomb: and wartime military strategy, 78, 213-14, 245; and Soviet Union, 86-87, 244-46, 267-73, 283, 355-57; Hyde Park agreement on use of (1944), 87; and Potsdam Conference (1945), 231-32*n*, 244; international control of, 246-57, 267-73, 276-79, 292-93, 331-35; and Eastern Europe, 246, 264-68; and espionage, 252-53, 301-2; domestic control of, 255*n*; *see also* Public opinion, U.S.
- Attlee, Clement, 269-72
- Azerbaijan, 310-12
- Badoglio, Pietro, 88-89
- Balkans, proposed Anglo-American invasion of, 63, 76-77

- Ball, Joseph, 156
 Baltic States, 14-17, 135-39, 158; *see also*
 Eastern Europe
 Barkley, Alben, 166
 Barmine, Alexander, 55
 Barry, William, 166
 Baruch, Bernard: on Eastern Europe, 157,
 202; on U.S. economic influence, 224;
 and Churchill's Fulton speech, 307; on
 Byrnes, 314; and international control
 of atomic energy, 332-35
 Baruch Plan, 332-35, 338
Basic Handbook for Military Government
of Germany, 116-17, 119, 122
 Batt, William L., 187
 Belgian Congo, 267
 Benson, Elmer, 230
 Benton, William, 346
 Berle, Adolf A., 16
 Berlin, 75-76, 110-11, 207-8, 341
 Berne incident, 92-94, 197
 Bernstein, Bernard, 117
 Bessarabia, 14, 158
 Bevin, Ernest, 276, 295
 Bidault, Georges, 296, 312
 Biddle, Francis, 148
 Bipartisanship, 14, 29-30, 290-96, 325-
 26, 341, 344-45
 Bohlen, Charles E., 51, 73, 126, 138
 Bohr, Niels, 87
 Bowman, Isaiah, 136-37
 Bremen, Germany, 111
 Bremerhaven, Germany, 111
 Bretton Woods Conference (1944), 22
 Bricker, John W., 58-59
 Bridges, Styles, 152
 Browder, Earl, 57-61, 257-58
 Budget, U.S. (1947), 344-45
 Bulgaria: surrender of, 90-91; occupation
 of, 95; peace treaty with, 263, 275-76,
 279-82, 288-89, 323; and Greek civil
 war, 348
 Bullitt, William C., 16*n*, 43-44, 54-55,
 63-65, 85
 Burns, James MacGregor, 27-28*n*
 Burton, Harold H., 156
 Bush, Vannevar, 86, 250, 270-71
 Bushfield, Harlan, 152
 Business, and U.S. economic assistance to
 Soviet Union, 185-89
 Byrnes, James F.: and 1944 Democratic
 vice-presidential nomination, 160, 285;
 at Yalta Conference (1945), 160-66;
 and Vandenberg, 169, 291-96, 305-6;
 on Russian loan, 194; appointed Secre-
 tary of State, 238-39; on postwar treat-
 ment of Germany, 239-42, 328-31; on
 international control of atomic energy,
 251, 264, 267-73, 276-79, 332-34;
 and Eastern Europe, 263-65, 275-76;
 and occupation of Japan, 265-66, 275-
 76, 281; and postwar relations with
 Soviet Union, 266-67, 275-76, 283-
 84, 298, 304-15, 317-18, 323-24; re-
 lations with Congress, 272-73, 277-79,
 283-86, 290-96; administrative meth-
 ods, 278*n*, 286*n*, 347; relations with
 Truman, 283-90; and China, 286; and
 Republican Party, 290-96; and com-
 munism, 298; and Iranian crisis (1946),
 309-312; and Wallace, 338-41; resig-
 nation as Secretary of State, 345, 347
 Caffery, Jefferson, 326
 Cairo Declaration (1943), 212
 Callendar, Harold, 340
 Canada: collaboration with U.S. and Great
 Britain in development of atomic bomb,
 249, 252-53; espionage in, 252-53,
 301-2; and international control of
 atomic energy, 269-73
 Capehart, Homer, 291
 Capitalism, and U.S. foreign policy, 358
 Capper, Arthur, 255
 Casablanca Conference (1943), 8-10, 72
 Cassidy, Henry, 88
 Casualties, World War II, 80
 Catholic Church: and lend-lease to Soviet
 Union, 40-41; and communism, 52-
 55; and Poland, 140-46
Catholic World, 53
 Chamberlain, Neville, 287, 291
 Chamberlin, William Henry, 42-43
 Chase National Bank, 188
 Chiang Kai-shek, 49, 78, 211-14, 259,
 282, 286, 352

- China: and war against Japan, 78, 211-14; at London Foreign Ministers' Conference (1945), 265-66; civil war in, 282, 341; *see also* Communism
- Chinese Eastern Railroad, 78
- Christian Science Monitor*, 42
- Churchill, Winston S.: on Atlantic Charter, 3; and military strategy, 66-72, 76, 88, 206-11; on atomic bomb, 87, 245; and Italian surrender, 89-90; sphere-of-influence arrangement with Stalin (1944), 91; and Germany, 102, 120-21, 128; and Greece, 154-55; and Soviet Union, 199, 207-9, 308-9; and Davies mission (1945), 231; and Fulton speech (1946), 306-10, 313, 338
- Ciechanowski, Jan, 136, 140-41, 145, 147
- Cincinnati Post*, 35
- Clay, Lucius D., 236, 240, 242, 318, 327-30
- Clayton, William C., 155, 192-93, 261
- Clifford, Clark M., 288, 321-23, 337, 350-51
- Cohen, Benjamin V., 277, 312
- Cold War, origins of, 353-61
- Collado, Emilio G., 191-92, 222
- Colmer, William M., 259-61
- Comintern, 32-33, 47-56, 296-97, 300, 303
- Commerce Department, U.S., 184
- Communism: and Soviet foreign policy, 32-62, 296-304, 313, 318-23, 354-55; in U.S., 33, 56-61, 189, 257-58, 297, 316; in Europe, 49, 97, 257-58, 297, 300, 327, 348; in Latin America, 51-52, 300; and Catholic Church, 52-55; in China, 62*n*, 213-14, 286, 352; and British loan (1946), 343; and Truman Doctrine, 350-52; *see also* Public opinion, U.S.
- Communist International, *see* Comintern
- Conant, James B., 86, 278-79
- Congress, U.S.: and economic assistance to Soviet Union, 175, 179-81, 191-97, 215-24, 259-61; postwar reassertion of influence over foreign policy, 246, 254-63, 344-46; and international control of atomic energy, 247, 252-57, 272-73, 277-79, 332; and domestic communism, 257-58; and demobilization, 261-63; and reorientation of policy toward Soviet Union, 274, 290-96, 314, 356-57; *see also* House of Representatives, U.S.; Senate, U.S.
- Congress of Industrial Organizations, 58
- Connally, Tom: on abolition of Comintern, 48-49; and international organization, 150, 295; and international control of atomic energy, 254-55, 272, 278; and domestic control of atomic energy, 255*n*; on Byrnes, 286; and Council of Foreign Ministers' meetings, 324
- Connally resolution (1943), 150
- Cox, Oscar, 4, 21, 26*n*, 60, 143, 229
- Crowley, Leo T., 60, 192, 196, 218-19, 222-23
- Currie, Lauchlin, 21, 195
- Curry, George, 289*n*
- Curzon line, 136*n*, 158, 161
- Czechoslovak coup (1948), 341, 352
- Daily Worker*, 257, 339
- Danaher, John A., 140
- Daniels, Jonathan, 205*n*, 243*n*
- Darlan, Jean François, 9, 88
- Davies, John Paton, 319
- Davies, Joseph E.: as ambassador to Soviet Union (1937-38), 34-35; on Stalin, 35; on communism, 36-37, 48; on postwar relations with Soviet Union, 37, 200, 204-5, 229, 302*n*, 314; visit to Moscow (1943), 45, 48; and 1944 election, 48-49; and second front, 71; and separate peace, 73; and Eastern Europe, 136, 143, 162*n*; on international organization, 156; and Byrnes, 162*n*, 264, 267, 287; and Truman, 204-5, 230-31, 243, 273, 287; and Churchill, 231, 307; at Potsdam Conference (1945), 242-43; *see also* *Mission to Moscow* (Davies); "Mission to Moscow" (film)
- Davis, Elmer, 313, 341
- Davis, Forrest, 136, 153
- Davis, Kenneth S., 39*n*
- Dean, Vera Micheles, 49, 226

- Deane, John R., 81-87, 195, 199, 202, 206, 212
- Declaration on Liberated Europe (1945), 163-64, 166, 172, 241, 263, 265, 280-81
- De Gaulle, Charles, 14, 326
- Demobilization, 261-63, 274, 317, 337, 341-43, 356
- Democratic Party: and communism, 59-61; and Eastern Europe, 134, 147-49; and Wallace, 339-40
- Depression, fear of postwar, 21, 174-76, 188-89, 223
- Despres, Emile, 125
- Dewey, John, 43-44
- Dewey, Thomas E., 29, 58-59, 146-47, 149
- Dies, Martin, 48, 258
- Dingell, John, 139, 145-46
- Dirksen, Everett M., 223
- Disarmament, 98, 168, 328-30, 338
- Divine, Robert A., 17*n*
- Domestic politics and origins of Cold War, 357-60
- Dorn, Walter L., 109*n*
- Douglas, Lewis, 236
- Douglas, William O., 300
- Drury, Allen, 152, 154
- Duclos, Jacques, 257-58, 297
- Dulles, Foster Rhea, 39
- Dulles, John Foster: and international organization, 29; and 1944 election, 29, 147; on Poland, 147; at San Francisco Conference (1945), 228, 230, 290-91; and postwar relations with Soviet Union, 230, 290-94, 320; at London Foreign Ministers' Conference (1945), 267, 290; at London General Assembly meeting (1946), 292-94
- Dumbarton Oaks Conference (1944), 27-29, 128*n*, 153, 156, 160
- Dunn, James C., 129, 155, 313*n*
- Duranty, Walter, 50
- Durbrow, Elbridge, 47, 51-52, 182, 192, 319
- Eastern Europe: Soviet aims in, 14-17, 64, 69, 133-73, 201-6, 241-42, 263-65, 356-57; and second front, 16, 69; and international organization, 30, 134, 149-57, 201; and postwar treatment of Germany, 100-1, 133-34; and 1944 election, 134, 143-49; and U.S. economic assistance to Soviet Union, 190, 197, 202, 260; and atomic bomb, 246, 264-67; *see also* Public opinion, U.S., and names of individual countries
- Eastman, Max, 43, 55
- Economic determinism, 358-59
- Eden, Anthony, 13, 15, 89, 97, 101, 106, 118, 135-36
- Ehrenburg, Ilya, 88-89, 280*n*
- Eisenhower, Dwight D.: and military strategy, 9, 67, 70, 114, 207-9; on Soviet Union, 67, 69; and Berlin, 75-76, 207-8; appointed Supreme Commander, Allied Expeditionary Force, 77; and Italian surrender, 89-90; on military government, 102-3; and postwar treatment of Germany, 116, 118-19, 122-24; and demobilization, 262, 306*n*; and Turkish crisis (1946), 336
- Elbrick, C. Burke, 313
- Elections (1944): and communism, 33, 56-61; and Morgenthau Plan, 121; and Eastern Europe, 134, 138-39, 143-49; and Polish-Americans, 134, 138-39, 143-49; and lend-lease, 179
- (1946), 289, 295-96, 343-44
- Else, George M., 322*n*, 350
- Emergency High Commission for Liberated Europe, 159-60, 163
- Estonia, *see* Baltic States
- Ethridge, Mark, 275, 279-80, 288
- European Advisory Commission, 102, 105-14, 122, 124, 129
- Executive Committee on Economic Foreign Policy, 115-17
- Export-Import Bank, 180, 192-93, 197, 216, 222-23, 261
- Fascism, 32*n*, 53-54, 59, 160, 338
- Federal Bureau of Investigation, 38, 301
- Feis, Herbert, 266*n*
- Ferguson, Homer, 298
- Finland: Soviet boundary claims in, 14,

- 135, 158; occupation of, 95; peace treaty with, 263, 275, 323; and war debts, 342
- Fischer, Louis, 43, 55
- Fish, Hamilton, 55
- Flynn, Edward J., 160
- Foreign Affairs*, 323
- Foreign aid, 342-46, 356
- Foreign Economic Administration, 130*n*, 196, 219
- Foreign Policy Association, 49, 294
- Forrestal, James V.: and postwar relations with Soviet Union, 199, 206, 249; and Eastern Europe, 202; and Soviet entry into war against Japan, 211-14; and postwar treatment of Germany, 237; and international control of atomic energy, 249, 268-69; on demobilization, 261, 274-75, 337, 345; on communism and Soviet foreign policy, 297-302, 318; and Turkish crisis (1946), 336-37
- Fortune*, 188, 223, 321
- France: Allied invasion of, 67, 72, 77, 112*n*, 114; and occupation of Germany, 129-30, 220, 326-29; at London Foreign Ministers' Conference (1945), 265-66
- Frankfurter, Felix, 86, 229
- "Free Germany" committee, 73, 88
- Germany: invasion of Soviet Union (1941), 3-4; declaration of war on U.S., 5; Allied invasion of (1945), 75-76, 206-11; surrender of, 88, 92-94; postwar treatment of, 95-132, 215-17, 220-22, 236-41, 317, 325-31; zonal boundaries in, 109-11, 208-10, 239-41; Allied Control Council in, 123-24, 129, 208, 235, 241, 281; *see also* Disarmament; JCS 1067; Morgenthau Plan; Potsdam Conference (1945); Reparations; Unconditional surrender; War criminals
- "Germany first" policy, 66-67, 70
- Gillis, James, 53
- Gimbel, John, 326*n*, 330*n*
- Goering, Hermann, 88
- Great Britain: and U.S. war aims, 2-3, 22; and military strategy, 4, 69-70; and Eastern Europe, 15; U.S. suspicion of, 44, 67, 70, 76-77, 154-55, 308-9, 317, 338; and international control of atomic energy, 269-73, 277-79; *see also* Greece, Lend-lease, U.S., to Great Britain; Loan, U.S., to Great Britain; Public opinion, U.S.; Turkey
- Greece: 1944 uprising, 14, 154-56; British influence in, 91, 242, 264; and Truman Doctrine, 348-52
- Green, Dwight, 291
- Greenfield, Kent Roberts, 65*n*
- Grew, Joseph C.: and JCS 1067, 129-30; on Russian loan, 193-94, 222; on Truman, 199; and Soviet entry into war against Japan, 211-12; and lend-lease, 218-19; on demobilization, 262; on communism and Soviet foreign policy, 297-98
- Gromyko, Andrei, 151, 311, 334
- Groves, Leslie R., 250-51, 301
- Guffey, Joseph, 148
- Halifax, Lord, 298
- Hamilton, A. M., 187
- Hannegan, Robert, 148, 307, 347
- Harriman, W. Averell: on communism and Soviet foreign policy, 51, 201, 296, 300; and Soviet entry into war against Japan, 78-79, 211-13; and economic assistance to Soviet Union, 82-83, 86, 176-83, 189-96, 202, 216-22; appointed ambassador to Soviet Union, 83, 176; and military cooperation with Soviet Union, 86-87, 92-94; and Eastern Europe, 136-37, 144-45, 162*n*, 171, 176, 201-6, 234; concern over U.S. economy, 176-77, 179, 181; and postwar relations with Soviet Union, 199, 201-2, 242; on Truman, 203-4, 218*n*; at San Francisco Conference (1945), 227; and Hopkins mission (1945), 231-32, 235; and occupation of Japan, 275-76; on Byrnes, 286, 314; resignation, 302
- Hatch, Carl, 156
- Henderson, Loy, 47, 85, 336*n*
- Herring, George C., Jr., 219*n*

- Hickerson, John D., 136, 158-59
 Hill, Lister, 156
 Hilldring, John, 104
 Hillman, Sidney, 58-60
 Hitler, Adolf, 4-6, 10-11, 63-64, 73, 88, 95-96, 100, 207, 242
 Hodge, John R., 318
 Hoover, Herbert, 58, 147, 236-37
 Hoover, J. Edgar, 301
 Hopkins, Harry L.: meeting with Stalin (1941), 5; on Roosevelt, 12*n*; on secret commitments, 13; on U.S. communists, 56; on occupation of Germany, 97, 210; on Yalta Conference (1945), 164; and economic assistance to Soviet Union, 180-81; and postwar relations with Russia, 200; meeting with Stalin (1945), 213-14, 220, 229, 232-36
 House, Edwin M., 13
 House of Representatives, U.S.: Committee on Un-American Activities, 48, 258, 301; Foreign Affairs Committee, 166, 196, 259*n*; Select Committee on Postwar Economic Policy and Planning, 259-60
Houston Post, 35
 Hull, Cordell: and unconditional surrender, 8*n*; and Eastern Europe, 15-16, 91, 136, 140-41, 150-51; and Atlantic Charter, 15-16; and postwar economic policy, 18-22; personality, 19; and international organization, 26-31, 150-54; and abolition of Comintern, 47-48; and postwar treatment of Germany, 101, 113, 118, 120; and European Advisory Commission, 106-7, 113; and lend-lease to Great Britain, 120; resignation as Secretary of State, 126, 154; and Polish-Americans, 140-41, 146; and economic assistance to Soviet Union, 177, 180-81
 Hungary: surrender of, 90-91; occupation of, 95; peace treaty with, 263, 275, 323
 Hurley, Patrick J., 49, 211, 214
 Huston, Walter, 44
 Hyde Park Agreement on Atomic Bomb (1944), 87
 Hydrogen bomb, 251
 Ickes, Harold, 314
 Imperialism, 53, 309, 338, 342
 Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, 339
Industrial Marketing, 187-88
 Inglis, Thomas B., 299
 International Christian Endeavor, 40
 International Monetary Fund, 22
 International organization: U.S. wartime planning for, 23-31, 134; and Atlantic Charter, 149-57; and Eastern Europe, 149-57, 165-71; Vandenberg on, 167-70; Roosevelt's death and, 170-71; *see also* United Nations
 International Red Cross, 135
 Inverchapel, Lord, 337*n*
 Iran: withdrawal of British and Soviet troops from, 242, 282, 288, 301; March, 1946, crisis, 309-12, 314, 316, 318, 324
 "Iron curtain," 208, 272, 307-9
 Isolationism: Roosevelt on, 1; and international organization, 28-29, 150, 156; Davies on, 44-45; and European Advisory Commission, 107; Vandenberg on, 167-70; Hopkins on, 234; and postwar policy toward Soviet Union, 338-46
 Italy: invasion of, 72; surrender of, 88-91, 106; occupation of, 95; peace treaty with, 241-42, 323-24; colonies, 264, 267, 274
 Jackson, Robert H., 19
 Januszewski, Frank, 142, 149, 170
 Japan: Soviet nonaggression pact with (1941), 4, 266; Soviet entry into war against, 64-65, 73-79, 207, 211-15, 235, 242-44; occupation of, 95, 212, 265-66, 275-76, 281-82; *see also* Unconditional surrender
 JCS 1067, 121-25, 129-31, 236-37
 Johnson, Edwin C., 150, 245, 256
 Johnson Act (1934), 180, 188, 222
 Johnston, Eric, 45, 48, 185-87, 223
 Joint Chiefs of Staff: and military strategy, 70, 75-76, 207-8; and postwar relations with Soviet Union, 75; and Soviet entry into war against Japan, 79, 212,

- 214; and lend-lease, 83; and surrender of German satellites, 91; and Berne incident, 92; and military government, 104; and European Advisory Commission, 108-9; and postwar treatment of Germany, 112-13, 115; and international control of atomic energy, 250
- Jones, Joseph M., 346-47
- Katyn Woods massacre, 135
- Kelly, Edward J., 148
- Kennan, George F.: on Davies, 34; on communism and Soviet foreign policy, 52, 297, 302-4, 316, 318, 321-23; and European Advisory Commission, 106-7; on Germany, 110, 327-28; on spheres of influence, 156-57; and economic assistance to Soviet Union, 183, 221; on Eastern Europe, 280, 322-23; and "long telegram" (1946), 284, 302-4, 313, 327, 359; on Byrnes, 286; and "X" article (1947), 323; on Truman Doctrine, 350-51
- Kilgore, Harley M., 309
- Kirk, Alexander, 286
- Knutson, Harold, 255
- Kolko, Gabriel, 3*n*, 50-51*n*, 76*n*
- Korea, 212, 214, 341, 352
- Kravchenko, Victor A., 55
- Krock, Arthur, 35*n*, 296, 305, 314, 340
- Kurile Islands, 78-79, 212
- La Follette, Robert, 272
- Landis, Gerald M., 258
- Lane, Arthur Bliss, 313
- Lange, Oscar, 145*n*
- Langer, William L., 355*n*
- Latin America: communism in, 51-52; at San Francisco Conference (1945), 226
- Latvia, *see* Baltic States
- Lauterbach, Richard, 56
- Lawrence, David, 166
- League of Nations, 24-31, 134, 150, 152
- Leahy, William D.: and Berne incident, 93; on France, 111-12; and Eastern Europe, 137, 163, 202-4, 235*n*; and Truman, 204, 242, 304; and atomic bomb, 245, 250, 301; and Byrnes, 286-88, 314; and communism, 286-87, 301; and Churchill's Fulton speech, 308
- Lebanon, 301
- Lend-lease, U.S., to Great Britain, 120, 179, 197
- to Soviet Union: origins, 5; and U.S. Catholics, 40-41; Bullitt on, 63-64; difficulties with Russians over, 81-82; termination of, 83, 178-82, 194-97, 215-20
- Lesinski, John, 142
- Lewis, John L., 56, 347
- Liberals, U.S., and Soviet Union, 337-41
- Life*, 38, 54-55, 154, 320
- Lilienthal, David E., 332-35, 347
- Lindley, Ernest K., 309, 345
- Lippmann, Walter, 299
- Lithuania, *see* Baltic States
- Loan, U.S., to Great Britain, 317, 342-43
- to Soviet Union: as instrument for influencing Soviet political behavior, 23, 43, 85, 189-94, 216-17, 222-24, 260-61, 355-57; and U.S. economy, 175-76, 181-89, 223; Harriman on, 175-82, 189-94, 216-17, 222; Roosevelt and, 177-78, 191; Truman and, 217-18, 222-24, 260-61, 343*n*; *see also* Congress, U.S.; Lend-lease, U.S., to Soviet Union; Reparations
- Lodge, Henry Cabot, 345
- London Foreign Ministers' Conference (1945), 251, 263-67, 275-76, 280, 290-91
- London General Assembly meeting (1946), 292-94, 306
- Long, Breckinridge, 13, 48, 73, 143
- Louisville Courier-Journal*, 275
- Lubin, Isador, 143-44, 220-21
- Luce, Clare Boothe, 59
- Luce, Henry, 299*n*, 320
- Lvov, 158, 161
- Lyons, Eugene, 43
- MacArthur, Douglas, 5, 37, 212, 266, 276, 281
- McCarthyism, 352
- McCloy, John J., 107, 123-24, 130, 211, 264

- McCormack, John W., 49-50
 McCormick, Anne O'Hare, 306
 McKellar, Kenneth, 119
 Mackenzie King, William L., 252-53, 270-72, 301*n*
 MacLeish, Archibald, 156*n*, 159-60, 229
 McMahon, Brien, 292-93
 Macmillan, Harold, 111-112*n*
 McNaughton, Frank, 256
 McNeill, William H., 164*n*, 330*n*
 Manchuria, 78, 212, 214, 301
 Manhattan Project, 248, 250
 Marshall, George C.: on military strategy, 66-70, 74, 115, 209; on Great Britain, 67*n*; postwar relations with Soviet Union, 74, 203; military cooperation with Soviet Union, 83, 85; Soviet entry into war against Japan, 212, 214; mission to China (1946), 282; appointed Secretary of State, 345, 347-48; and Truman Doctrine, 346*n*, 348-49
 Martin, Joseph W., 291, 344
 Marxism-Leninism, *see* Communism
 Mason, Edward S., 192
 Matthews, H. Freeman, 327
Mein Kampf (Hitler), 320
 Mellow, Chester E., 255
 Messersmith, George, 49
 Mikolajczyk, Stanislaw, 144, 145*n*, 158, 173
 Mikoyan, Anastas I., 185
 Military government, *see* Army, U.S.
 Military-Political Commission, 89-90, 105-6
 Military strategy, U.S.: and relations with Soviet Union, 63-94, 206-15; and atomic bomb, 78, 213-14, 245; *see also* Public opinion, U.S.
Mission to Moscow (Davies), 35-36
 "Mission to Moscow" (film), 44-45
 Mobilization, U.S., 64, 79-80
 Molotov, V. M.: visit to London and Washington (1942), 16-17, 25, 68-69; and Eastern Europe, 16-17, 69, 144-45, 163, 171, 205; and second front, 68-69; and Berne incident, 92-94; and postwar treatment of Germany, 101, 220, 240-41, 329-30; and San Francisco Conference (1945), 172, 200-1, 225-28, 230; and U.S. economic assistance to Soviet Union, 178, 185, 190, 218; visit to Washington (1945), 201-6, 218; on Roosevelt, 205; at London Foreign Ministers' Conference (1945), 264-67, 276; at Moscow Foreign Ministers' Conference (1945), 280; and Iranian crisis (1946), 312
 Monroe Doctrine, 226
 Montreux Convention, 242, 336
 Morgan, J. P., 57
 Morgenthau, Henry, Jr.: relationship with Hull, 20; and postwar treatment of Germany, 117-25, 130-31, 331; and lend-lease to Great Britain, 120; and economic assistance to Soviet Union, 184-85, 191-94
 Morgenthau Plan, 113, 118-25, 131, 194, 236-38
 Moscow Foreign Ministers' Conference (1943), 22, 28, 78, 101, 106, 137, 140, 151, 159*n*, 177
 —(1945), 276-84, 306
 Mosely, Philip E., 113, 118
 Mowrer, Edgar Ansel, 155
 Mruk, Joseph, 142
 Mundt, Karl, 196
 Munich Conference (1938), 16, 36, 40, 287, 305, 356
 Murphy, Robert D., 9, 101, 327
 Mussolini, Benito, 5, 88-89
Nation, 44, 226, 268
 National Association of Manufacturers, 57
 National Catholic Welfare Conference, 145
 National Citizens' Political Action Committee, 230, 339
 National Council of Americans of Polish Descent, 142
 National Geographic Society, 110
 National Opinion Research Center, 151
 National Research Council, 86
 Navy Department, U.S., 213*n*, 218, 336-37
 Nazi-Soviet Pact (1939), 35, 36, 39, 74
 Nelson, Donald M., 176-77

- New Deal, 21, 57, 59, 149, 189
New Republic, 156, 166, 170, 225-26, 302, 313
Newsweek, 195, 262, 293-94, 310, 319
 New York Foreign Ministers' Conference (1946), 317, 323-25
New York Herald Tribune, 35
New York Post, 155
New York Times, 38, 45, 50, 165, 193-94, 300, 345
 New York University Institute of International Finance, 187
 Niebuhr, Reinhold, 37
 Niles, David K., 142-43
 NKVD, 38, 84*n*
 North Africa, Anglo-American invasion of, 9, 66-72, 103
- Oder-Neisse line, 129, 239-42, 328
 Office of Scientific Research and Development, 86, 250
 Office of Strategic Services, 92, 140, 145, 183
 Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, 160, 239
 O'Laughlin, John C., 286
 O'Mahoney, Joseph C., 147
One World (Willkie), 39-40
 "Open Door" policy, 214, 339, 357
 Oppenheimer, J. Robert, 251, 269
 Orlemanski, Stanislaus, 145-46
 Oumansky, Constantine, 40
 Outer Mongolia, 78
 OVERLORD, 76-77
 Overseas Press Club, 304-5, 313
- Pacific Ocean, U.S. bases in, 156
 Pacifism, 44, 341
 Palestine, 342
 Pares, Sir Bernard, 38
 Paris Foreign Ministers' Conference (1946), 317, 323-25, 328-31
 Paris Peace Conference (1946), 317, 323-25, 340
 Parks, Marion, 52
 Pasvolksy, Leo, 128*n*, 160, 277
 Paterson, Thomas G., 54*n*, 194*n*, 359*n*
- Patterson, Robert P., 249, 261, 268, 270, 318, 345
 Pauley, Edwin M., 220-21, 242, 326
 Pearson, Drew, 301*n*
 Pendergast, Tom, 243
 Penrose, E. F., 118
 Pepper, Claude, 259*n*, 309, 314
 Perkins, James A., 130*n*
 Perry, Ralph Barton, 38
 Pershing, John J., 100
 Philbin, Philip J., 58*n*
 Pius XII, Pope, 40, 53, 146*n*
 Poland: and Catholic Church, 52-53, 140; and Atlantic Charter, 55, 140; Katyn Woods massacre, 135; Soviet boundary claims in, 14, 135-61; Roosevelt on, 135-39, 144-45, 160-65, 172; and 1944 election, 138, 143-49; elections in, 162, 235; Yalta agreement on, 161-73, 201-6, 233, 265, 275, 281; and San Francisco Conference (1945), 171-72, 225, 227; and Reparations Commission, 220; *see also* Curzon line; Oder-Neisse line; Polish-Americans; Public opinion, U.S.
 —Government-in-exile (London), 135, 137, 140-41, 158, 161-62
 —Provisional Government (Lublin), 154, 158, 161-62, 225, 234
 —Provisional Government of National Unity, 163, 234-35
 Poling, Daniel A., 40
 Polish-American Businessmen's Association (Chicago), 147
 Polish-American Congress, 142-43, 148-49
 Polish-Americans: and 1944 election, 134, 138-49; Roosevelt and, 138, 156; and Yalta Polish agreement, 166-70; Truman on, 235
Polish Daily News, 142
 Polish Information Center, 144
 Political Action Committee, *see* Congress of Industrial Organizations
 Poole, DeWitt C., 145*n*
 Portal, Sir Charles, 67*n*
 Port Arthur, China, 78
 Potsdam Conference (1945): preparations for, 231-32, 235; and Eastern Europe, 235, 241-42, 263-64; and postwar

- Potsdam Conference (*Continued*)
 treatment of Germany, 238-41, 325-31; and Council of Foreign Ministers, 241; and Soviet entry into war against Japan, 242; U.S. reaction to, 242-43; and atomic bomb, 244-46
- Problems of Leninism* (Stalin), 320
- Prussia, East, 158
- Public opinion, U.S.: and Soviet Union, 3-4, 17, 46, 56, 151, 155-56, 159, 189, 206, 230, 233, 289, 315, 320-21, 356; and Eastern Europe, 17, 134, 138-39, 151, 157-60, 265, 289; and international organization, 26, 157; and communism, 32-33, 56, 257-58, 320-21; and fascism, 32*n*; and levels of information on foreign policy, 46, 321; and military strategy, 65-68, 71-72, 80; and Morgenthau Plan, 120; and Great Britain, 155-56, 159, 230; and Yalta Conference (1945), 165-66; and atomic bomb, 247, 252, 257, 269*n*; and Iranian crisis (1946), 312; and foreign aid, 346; and Truman Doctrine, 347-51
- Quebec Conference (1944), 120
- Rankin, John, 57, 258, 301
- RANKIN (C), 76*n*
- Ready, Michael J., 145
- Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, 20
- Reconstruction Finance Corporation, 287-88
- Reparations: State Department on, 98-99, 112-16; at Yalta Conference (1945), 126-29; and Russian loan, 184, 355; Truman Administration and, 215-17, 220-22, 238-41, 244; Potsdam agreement on, 238-41, 244; suspension of shipments of, 329-30
- Reparations Commission, 129, 215, 220-21
- Republican Party: and international organization, 28-30; and isolationism, 45, 169; and 1944 election, 57-59, 146-49; and postwar relations with Soviet Union, 230, 283-84, 289-96, 305-6; and 1946 election, 289, 295-96, 341, 344; and 1947 budget, 344-45
- Reston, James, 193-94, 262, 273-74, 290, 294-95, 311*n*, 314, 319
- Revisionism, Cold War, 356-60
- Reynolds, Robert R., 150
- Reynolds, Thomas F., 226
- Rhineland, 100, 103, 326
- Riddleberger, James W., 125
- Rockefeller, Nelson A., 155
- Roosevelt, Eleanor, 9, 269, 293, 309
- Roosevelt, Franklin D.: and U.S. war aims, 1-31; and lessons of the past, 2, 8-10, 11-13, 20-21, 23-31, 100, 134, 165-66; and Great Britain, 4, 66, 70; and economic assistance to Soviet Union, 5, 40, 82-88, 177-78, 191-97, 200, 215, 224; and military cooperation with Soviet Union, 5, 9, 64-66, 73, 94, 133-34; and postwar relations with Soviet Union, 6-7, 41, 47, 64, 100-1, 153; "grand design" for postwar world, 6-7, 33, 47, 66, 199; and unconditional surrender, 8-10, 100; and self-determination, 11-13, 133-34, 136; personality of, 12-14, 27, 30, 102; and Atlantic Charter, 12, 15, 134-39, 155, 165-69; and Eastern Europe, 15-18, 94, 100-1, 133-39, 144-45, 157-73; and postwar economic policy, 20-21, 115, 224; on trusteeships, 24, 136; and "Four Policemen," 24-27, 153; and international organization, 24-31, 165-71; and Catholic Church, 40-41, 146*n*, 160; and 1944 election, 59-61, 134, 138-39, 147-49; military strategy, 65-72, 75-76, 79-80, 88, 206-8; and Soviet entry into war against Japan, 78-79, 211; and Yalta Conference (1945), 78-79, 126-29, 157-73, 191-93; and atomic bomb, 86-87, 245; and Italian surrender, 89-90; death of, 93-94, 131, 170-71, 200-1; and postwar treatment of Germany, 96-97, 99-102, 105, 109-11, 113-14, 119-22, 124-25, 129-31; and State Department, 102, 126; and European Advisory Commission, 107, 114; and Polish-Americans, 138, 147-49, 161, 163; re-

- lationship with Congress, 152-57, 169-70; health of, 156, 164; and Truman, 198-200; administrative methods of, 199; *see also* Truman, Harry S.
 Roosevelt, James, 315
 Ropes, Ernest C., 184
 Rosenman, Samuel I., 60, 147
 Rossow, Robert, Jr., 310
 ROUND-UP, 68
 Rovere, Richard, 169*n*
 Rozmarek, Charles, 142, 148
 Ruhr, 120, 326, 330
 Rumania: Soviet boundary claims in, 14, 135, 158; surrender of, 90-91; occupation of, 95; Soviet influence on, 164, 171-72; peace treaty with, 263, 275-76, 279-82, 288-89, 323
 Russell, Richard, 254
 Russia, *see* Soviet Union
 Russian Orthodox Church, 33, 146*n*

 Sadowski, George, 147
 Sakhalin, 78-79
 Salvemini, Gaetano, 55
 San Francisco Conference (1945), 28-30, 164, 166, 169-72, 200-3, 222-30, 235, 257, 291*n*
Saturday Evening Post, 153
 Scott, John, 49
 Second front, 9, 16, 65-73, 356-57
 Selective Service Act, 262, 341
 Self-determination, 11-13, 50, 63, 133-34, 138, 151, 175
 Senate, U.S.: and United Nations, 28-30, 134, 149-57, 203, 225, 228; Foreign Relations Committee, 169, 254, 267, 272, 274, 277, 293; and lend-lease to Soviet Union, 196-97; Special Committee on Atomic Energy, 254, 277, 292-93; and peace treaties with German satellites, 265, 267
 Severeid, Eric, 300
 SHAEF, *see* Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force
 Sheen, Fulton J., 53
 Shuttle-bombing, 83-84
 Sino-Soviet treaty (1945), 78
 S.K.F. Industries, 187
 SLEDGEHAMMER, 69-70
 Smith, Gaddis, 3*n*
 Smith, Walter Bedell, 319, 334-35
 Sobolev, A. A., 128*n*
 Socialism, 44, 192, 342
 Soong, T. V., 214, 235
 South Manchurian Railroad, 78
 Soviet Constitution of 1936, 41
 Soviet Protocol Committee, 219
 Soviet Union: war aims of, 2-3, 354; foreign policy, motivation of, 3*n*, 201, 273-74, 283-84, 313, 318, 349-51, 354-55; military cooperation with U.S., 5, 63-94, 133-34, 158-59, 171, 207-15, 354; postwar relations with U.S., 6-7, 22, 41, 47, 64, 100-1, 153, 282-315, 356; and international organization, 28, 158, 201, 224-30; and surrender of Germany and German satellites, 73, 88-91, 94, 171; influence of bureaucracy in, 81, 359; and atomic bomb, 86-87, 244-57, 276-79, 334-35, 341; and postwar treatment of Germany, 98-99, 101-2, 128-29, 184, 239-41, 327-31; and U.S. economic assistance to, 174-90, 202, 215-24, 259-61, 338, 342-43, 355-57; demobilization in, 261*n*; and postwar economic plans, 299-300; and origins of Cold War, 353-61; *see also* Communism; Eastern Europe; Japan; Public opinion, U.S.
 Spellman, Francis, 90, 136
 Spheres of influence: Churchill-Stalin agreement on (1944), 91; in Eastern Europe, 134-35, 159*n*, 164; and international organization, 149-50, 155, 157; in Latin America, 226
 Stalin, Joseph: and unconditional surrender, 9-10; paranoia of, 10, 359; and international communist movement, 33, 48-49, 299-300, 318-23, 354-55; Davies on, 36; Chamberlin on, 42; and 1944 election, 60-61; suspicion of Allies, 80, 88, 94, 303, 316, 359; and Italian surrender, 88-91; and Germany, 92-94, 101-2, 128, 329-30, 354; and Soviet-American economic relations, 177-78, 186, 259-60; on Roosevelt,

Stalin, Joseph (*Continued*)

- 205; on China, 213-14; on lend-lease termination, 220; and atomic bomb, 244, 279*n*; and Iran, 310; *see also* Communism; Eastern Europe; Japan; Second front; Soviet Union
- Stalingrad, battle of, 48, 74, 135
- Standley, William H., 47-49, 69, 73-74, 82-84, 87, 89
- State Department, U.S.: and postwar economic policy, 20-22; and international organization, 26-29, 153, 203; Russian experts in, 44, 86*n*; and communism, 51-52, 286-87, 297-98, 301, 303; on separate peace, 73; and Soviet entry into war against Japan, 79, 211-14; and Italian surrender, 89; and postwar treatment of Germany, 96-99, 105, 109-13, 115-18, 122-27, 129-31, 209, 331; and European Advisory Commission, 108-9, 113; and Eastern Europe, 158-60, 263; and economic assistance to Soviet Union, 182-84, 191-94; and Byrnes, 238-39, 278*n*, 286*n*, 347; and international control of atomic energy, 272-73, 277; and Marshall, 347-48
- State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee, 126
- Steinhardt, Laurence A., 41
- Stettinius, Edward R., Jr.: on postwar treatment of Germany, 124-30; appointed Secretary of State, 126, 155; and Eastern Europe, 157-60, 163; on Yalta Conference (1945), 164; on postwar relations with Soviet Union, 172; on U.S. economic assistance to Soviet Union, 191; at San Francisco Conference (1945), 225-26, 291*n*; on Vandenberg, 294; appointed ambassador to United Nations, 295
- Stewart, Tom, 255-56
- Stimson, Henry L.: and military strategy, 70, 74, 77; on Stalin, 77, 94; and military cooperation with Soviet Union, 85, 93-94, 200; and postwar relations with Soviet Union, 85, 94, 209, 248; and atomic bomb, 87, 213-14, 244-45, 248-53, 264, 273, 335; and European Advisory Commission, 107; and postwar treatment of Germany, 115, 118, 123, 130, 237-38, 242; and Eastern Europe, 158, 202, 226; and lend-lease, 195, 218; on Truman, 199, 218; and San Francisco Conference (1945), 202-3, 228-29
- Stone, I. F., 167, 226
- Strout, Richard L., 156*n*
- Sulzberger, C. L., 286, 314, 319
- Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force, 116-17, 119, 122-24, 207
- Swing, Raymond Gram, 226-27, 269, 300
- Syria, 301
- Taft, Robert A., 153, 223, 344
- TASS, 311
- Taylor, Glen, 309
- Teheran Conference (1943): and military strategy, 75, 77-78; and postwar treatment of Germany, 101-2; and Eastern Europe, 137-39, 157, 161; Roosevelt on, 153
- Thompson, Dorothy, 44
- Thorez, Maurice, 327
- Time*, 49, 165, 168, 226, 235, 300-1, 307
- Toynbee, Arnold, 320
- Trade barriers, reduction of, 18-23, 63, 99, 174, 344-45
- "TRB," 156, 166, 225-26, 313
- Treasury Department, U.S.: and postwar economic policy, 20-22; and postwar treatment of Germany, 96, 117-25, 130-31, 237-38; and economic assistance to Soviet Union, 184-85, 191-94
- Trotsky, Leon, 48
- Truman, Harry S.: and postwar treatment of Germany, 131, 220-22, 237-41, 331; and economic assistance to Soviet Union, 194*n*, 197, 218-23, 260-61, 343*n*; becomes President, 198; continuity of policy with Roosevelt, 198-245; and postwar relations with Soviet Union, 198, 210, 217-18, 230, 243, 281, 283-84, 288-90, 304, 307-9, 315, 321; administrative methods, 198-99, 218*n*; and Eastern Europe, 201-6, 235, 263-64, 274; and military strategy, 206-15; and atomic bomb, 231-32, 244-46,

- 253-54, 268-73, 278-79, 293, 332-35; at Potsdam Conference (1945), 231-32, 238-44; and Hopkins mission (1945), 231-36; and State Department, 237; and demobilization, 261-63, 341; and Byrnes, 283-90; and Republican Party, 289, 292-93, 344-47; and Kennan, 303; and Turkish crisis (1946), 336-37; and Wallace, 338-41; and foreign aid, 342; and 80th Congress, 344-47; and Truman Doctrine, 346-52
- Truman-Attlee-King agreement (1945), 271-72, 277, 279
- Truman Doctrine, 317, 346-52
- Tukhachevsky, M. N., 44
- Turkey: and Potsdam Conference (1945), 242; Soviet influence in, 289, 317, 336-37; and Truman Doctrine, 348-52
- Ulam, Adam B., 261*n*
- Unconditional surrender, 8-10, 30
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, *see* Soviet Union
- United Nations: wartime planning for, 27-30, 254; and Atlantic Charter, 134; Security Council veto in, 153, 164, 229, 235, 301, 333-35; General Assembly voting procedure in, 153-54, 170; and Eastern Europe, 203, 225-26; and Latin America, 226; and international control of atomic energy, 246, 253-57, 270-72, 277, 279, 317, 332-35; and Iran, 310-12; *see also* International organization; London General Assembly meeting (1946); San Francisco Conference (1945)
- United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, 271-72, 279, 282, 314, 334
- United Nations Charter, 225, 228, 305
- United Nations Conference on International Organization, *see* San Francisco Conference (1945)
- United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, 259*n*
- United States Chamber of Commerce, 45, 185, 187
- Universal military training, 262, 341
- Vandenberg, Arthur H.: on international organization, 30, 152-54, 167-69; and Atlantic Charter, 30, 140, 146, 153, 155, 167; and U.S. communists, 61; and 1944 election, 61, 146, 149; and Poland, 140, 146, 149, 166-70, 225, 227-28; and Eastern Europe, 146, 167-68; and Polish-Americans, 146, 149, 167, 169-70; on Yalta Conference (1945), 166-70, 291; and German disarmament, 168, 328-29; and economic assistance to Soviet Union, 179; on Truman, 204; at San Francisco Conference (1945), 225-30, 291; and postwar relations with Soviet Union, 228, 291-96, 313; and international control of atomic energy, 253-56, 272, 278, 292-93; and Byrnes, 291-96, 305-6; and Council of Foreign Ministers' meetings, 317, 324-25, 340-41; and 1947 budget, 344-45; and Truman Doctrine, 349
- Vandenberg, Arthur H., Jr., 291-92
- Vernadsky, George, 39
- Versailles treaty (1919), 96
- Vishinski, Andrei, 90, 171, 296
- Voorhis, Jerry, 256
- Vorys, John, 195-96
- Wagner, Robert F., 60
- Wallace, Henry A.: on lessons of the past, 2; on economic nationalism, 20; and Soviet Union, 37, 300, 315; and vice-presidency, 198; and international control of atomic energy, 256; fired from Cabinet, 338-41, 344
- War criminals, 129, 238
- War Department, U.S.: on lend-lease to Soviet Union, 82-83, 218-19; and postwar treatment of Germany, 97, 102-5, 108-10, 121-25, 130-31, 236-37; and military government, 102-4, 116-19; and Soviet entry into war against Japan, 213
- Warner, Jack, 45
- Warner Brothers, 44
- War Production Board, 176
- Washington Times-Herald*, 50
- Wegrzynek, Michael F., 142

- Weintal, Edward, 293
- Welles, Sumner: on German invasion of Soviet Union, 4; on Roosevelt, 12*n*, 155; and Hull, 19; resignation of, as Undersecretary of State, 19, 54; on international organization, 24, 26; and Bullitt, 54*n*; on partition of Germany, 98; on postwar relations with Soviet Union, 229
- Wheeler, Burton K., 152, 156, 166, 168
- White, Harry Dexter, 22, 117-18, 120, 185
- White, William Allen, 45
- White, William L., 45
- Wickard, Claude R., 82
- Willett, Edward F., 299
- Williams, William A., 357*n*
- Willis, Raymond, 255
- Willkie, Wendell, 39-40, 48, 71
- Wilson, Edwin C., 90, 336
- Wilson, Woodrow, 11, 24-31, 134, 137, 152, 165-66
- Winant, John G., 13, 17, 89, 106-14, 118, 129
- Wolff, Karl, 92
- Working Security Committee, 108-13, 115
- World Bank, 22
- World War I, lessons of: and unconditional surrender, 8-10; and secret commitments, 13, 15-16, 150; and international organization, 25-26; and reparations, 127-28, 240, 242
- Wright, Edwin M., 311
- Yalta Conference (1945): and United Nations, 28; and Soviet entry into war against Japan, 78-79, 207, 211-15; and postwar treatment of Germany, 126-29; and Eastern Europe, 157-65; U.S. reaction to, 165-70; implementation of Yalta agreements, 171-73, 201-5, 211-15, 233, 263-66, 281; and economic assistance to Soviet Union, 191-93; *see also* Public opinion, U.S.
- Yugoslavia, 91, 220, 348
- Zhukov, G. K., 209-10, 235
- Zionism, 342