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## HISTORY OF USSR

Sudden as the actual outbreak of revolution in the Russian empire was in March 1917, its roots lay deep in Russian imperial history. Medieval Russia continued to exist, feudal in practice and concept, while other European nations developed new social practices under the stimuli of eighteenth century enlightenment and nineteenth century industrial expansion. Tsarist attempts at reform had proved inept, inconsistent, and subject to the whims of privileged persons or groups. The twentieth century found the Russian empire blocked in its foreign policy and backward in economic and social development. Weaknesses became apparent in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905 and in the abortive revolution in 1905. Faced with failure abroad and at home, and under the impact of catastrophic defeats in World War I, the entire structure collapsed.

The Russian Revolution.

The March Revolution developed unexpectedly out of strikes, food queues, and a mutiny in Petrograd (now Leningrad) before the members of the Duma, dissolved on March 12, could orient themselves. Its progressive bloc for two years had urged a constitutional parliamentary monarchy based on wide suffrage and full civil rights to citizens. Although national in character, it was not really representative of all the people. It feared to appeal to the masses because too radical a program might cause a second failure at revolution.

The Soviet of Workmen's Deputies was constituted on the afternoon of March 12. The members of the Duma, early in the morning of the next day, finally decided to form a provisional government. Thus two revolutionary centers were created: the Duma-formed Provisional Government with the formal responsibility of power, and the Petrograd Soviet with the real power. Until the Bolshevik seizure of full power (November 7), this duality was the actual relationship. On March 15, under pressure from the Provisional Government, Tsar Nicholas II abdicated for himself and his son, Alexis, and proclaimed his brother, Grand Duke Michael, as his successor. The latter was persuaded not to accept until a constitution had been adopted. The imperial family was put under arrest. Prince Georgy Lvov was named prime minister, Alexander Guchkov interior minister, and Pavel Milyukov foreign minister. The Soviet refused to enter the cabinet.

Soviets were formed throughout the country, thus disintegrating it politically. Order Number One, issued by the Petrograd Soviet on

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March 14, gradually undermined the armed forces by disrupting the discipline and introducing soldiers' committees between the men and the command. The numerous nationalities in the Russian empire began to break away, especially the Ukrainians and the Poles, first, by seeking wide autonomy, and then by demanding virtual independence. The Petrograd Soviet, in time joined by other soviets in successive congresses, began to announce the policy which it expected, and forced, the government to follow. On March 27 it formulated the policy, first, of the continuation of the war only for the defense of the revolution, and, second, of a peace without annexations or indemnities and with self-determination of peoples. The Provisional Government, which had been recognized by the Entente (England and France), failed to modify this, and Milyukov notified the Entente of the government program. On May 2 he added a covering letter to the effect that Russia's engagements undertaken in the war would be preserved. This led to a struggle between the Soviet and the Provisional Government in which the latter lost. Guchkov and Milyukov resigned, May 12-16, and the Soviet was induced by Prince Lvov to enter the cabinet to the extent of five portfolios.

As war minister, Alexander Kerensky became the leading figure in the government. He ordered an offensive against the Germans from June 29 to July 7; this ended in failure, precluding the peace aims which Russia had hoped the Entente would accept in a special conference in the event of a military success. The Russian defeat also weakened the Provisional Government's position in the Entente, which began to give less attention to its point of view. The return of Nikolai Lenin to Russia on Apr. 16, 1917, was followed by his advocacy of the policy that the Soviets should take over the whole cabinet instead of forming a coalition. Disappointed in this, the Bolsheviks staged their own coup, July 16-18, which failed. Lenin managed to escape, but Leon Trotsky and others were arrested.

The Bolshevik bid for power led Kerensky, who had become prime minister on July 20 after the resignation of Prince Lvov, to consider an appeal to all classes, parties, and organizations in order to secure a wider support. As a consequence, he called the Moscow Conference, August 25-28. The Bolsheviks did not attend. An impasse had developed which indicated, if anything, that to introduce discipline in the armed forces and order behind the front the government would have to move to the right. Thus it was that the vague scheme to include General Lavr Kornilov in a reorganization of the government was conceived, but when Kerensky realized that this might displace or subordinate him he ordered the general's arrest, and the military support behind the idea collapsed (September 9-14). This caused Kerensky to lean to the left. His attempts to get further support at the Democratic (Socialist) Congress, on September 29, and at the Council

of the Republic, on October 20, were without result.

### The Bolsheviki.

Meanwhile, the German advance in the Baltic gained momentum, and Petrograd, then the most important industrial war center, was in danger of capture. Saaremaa (Oesel) fell on October 12. The panic in Petrograd was utilized by the Bolsheviki to seize power. They had infiltrated the soviets, and in a two-month period had secured control of the Petrograd Soviet under Trotsky's chairmanship, the Moscow Soviet, and many others. They were confident that they would have a majority in the Congress of Soviets, set for November 7, and that they would control it. In the guise of protecting the Petrograd area, and in the face of vacillation and weakness by the Kerensky government, they obtained military control of the area on November 4. They seized power in the night of November 6. Kerensky's effort to get the army, under General Krasnov, to retake Petrograd failed between November 10 and 13. In the meantime the Congress of Soviets, boycotted by the moderate Socialists, had approved the Bolshevik seizure of power. The Provisional Government vanished overnight. Old Russia had completely disintegrated into hundreds of Soviets.

### Militant Communism.

On Nov. 7, 1917, the Bolsheviki organized the Council (Soviet) of People's Commissars, headed by Lenin as premier, Trotsky as commissar for foreign affairs, and Joseph Stalin as commissar for nationalities. To crush non-Bolshevik elements, the Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counter-Revolution (later known as the G.P.U., and still later as N.K.V.D.) was established. To win the favor of the peasants, since the Bolsheviki numbered only about 200,000, the November 7 decree on land ordered the distribution to peasants of land from the large estates, merely legalizing what had been taking place in the countryside since October. The banks and industrial plants were nationalized and the national debt repudiated on Jan. 28, 1918. The elections to the Constituent Assembly authorized by the Kerensky Revolutionaries returned 225 Bolsheviki. When the Assembly met on Jan. 18, 1918, it refused to recognize the Soviet of People's Commissars as the government of Russia and the next day was dispersed by the Red Guards. The Soviet Constitution, calling for monopoly of political power by one party (Communist), was approved by the Fifth Congress of the Soviets on July 10, 1918.

The decree on peace, issued Nov. 7, 1917, asked that all belligerents begin immediate peace parleys. Because only the Central Powers responded, and Trotsky knew that a separate peace

would be catastrophic, a second appeal on November 22 sought a general peace on the basis of no annexations and no indemnities. On December 5 Trotsky signed an armistice with the Central Powers at Brest-Litovsk and published the secret treaties previously negotiated by the tsarist government in order to force the hand of the Entente. The peace negotiations were stalled on December 28 because of the exorbitant demands of the Central Powers, and because it was hoped that the Entente might yet save Russia from a separate peace by negotiating a general one. The Germans forced the hand of the Bolsheviks by making a separate peace with the Ukraine on Jan. 28, 1918. Thus, without a general peace, the war was ended by proclamation on February 10, but the German advance forced the signing on Mar. 3, 1918, of the catastrophic peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which recognized the loss of the Ukraine and all the non-Russian borderlands, and virtually established a veiled German domination over Bolshevik Russia. Lenin forced its acceptance. Petrograd (Leningrad) ceased to be the capital, which was moved to Moscow. Trotsky resigned, became war commissar, and was succeeded as commissar for foreign affairs by Grigory Chicherin.

The two objectives of the Bolsheviks, who had become known as the Communist Party, were the establishment of a communist state and the encouragement of a world revolution to establish a world union of communist states. The dispersal of the Constituent Assembly and the signing of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk led to the creation of independent governments along the borders, and to the civil war and the intervention, which lasted for three years. Begun by the Social Revolutionaries, who on July 6, 1918, assassinated the German ambassador, Count Mirbach, the gathering forces against the Bolsheviks began a civil war. In turn, the latter met terror with terror on an extensive scale, thus beginning the long process of eliminating or liquidating their opponents. The British landed troops at Murmansk on June 23, and at Arkhangelsk on August 2, ostensibly to keep Allied war supplies from being taken over by the Germans, while by public announcement on August 3 the United States and Japan agreed to an international expedition to Siberia to relieve the Czechoslovaks, who, since the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, had endeavored to transfer from the eastern front to the western. An Allied blockade of Russia was begun. The war in Europe came to an end in November 1918, and the menace of German rule was removed.

These events highlighted the militant communism which gives this period its name. The crisis led the Bolsheviks to seek the immediate communization of Russia. Their efforts had two results: industrial production fell to 20 per cent of prewar output, agriculture to 50 per cent. Peasants and labor virtually engaged in a sit-down strike. Famine spread in Bolshevik Russia, which had to appeal for international assistance. This situation forced recognition of the failure of

this type of communization by the adoption on Mar. 17, 1921, of the New Economic Policy (N.E.P.). The grain tax was substituted for the food levy, free trade was allowed to peasants to dispose of their surplus, workers were paid for overtime and piece-work, and small private commercial establishments were permitted. The great industries, utilities, and mines remained nationalized.

The civil war and the intervention, continuing from 1918 to 1921, involved all of Russia and the borderlands, including Poland and Mongolia. The opposition to the Bolsheviks, starting with the liberal and socialist elements of the duly elected Constituent Assembly, gradually became dominated by conservatives and reactionaries. The intervention of the Allied powers, never concerted or in great enough force in any one area, degenerated into schemes to partition Russia. As a consequence, the peasants, who had seized the lands and feared the return of the landlords, sided with the Bolsheviks. The attempt to bring about a truce during the peace conference at Paris failed. The White armies from the Baltic, the south, and Siberia were unable to effect junction. The Red Army was able to keep them separated and to defeat them singly. Thus, Nikolai Yudenich's Baltic front ended 10 mi. from Petrograd in October 1919, and the recognition by Bolshevik Russia of the independence of the Baltic states followed in February and October 1920. Admiral Alexander Kolchak's army advanced to the Volga from Siberia in May 1919, but was beaten back through Siberia; Omsk fell November 14 and Kolchak was captured Feb. 7, 1920. General Anton Denikin advanced to Orel in October 1919, but by April 1920 he had been driven to the Black Sea coast. General Pyotr Wrangel, who succeeded him, was forced out of the Krym in November.

Meanwhile, Russia was involved in war with Poland, begun Apr. 25, 1920, in alliance with Petyura, who sought to seize the Ukraine from the Bolsheviks. The Poles took Kiyev on May 7, but the city was retaken by the Bolsheviks on June 11. A month later, the Bolsheviks took Vilnyus, and in August threatened Warsaw but were forced to retreat. The Poles had planned to exact a second Brest-Litovsk of Bolshevik Russia, and the Bolsheviks had drawn up plans to sovietize Poland. The preliminary Treaty of Riga on October 12 was followed by the definitive treaty on Mar. 18, 1921; Poland retained considerable sections of territory inhabited by Ukrainians and White Russians.

The Red Army drove the White Russian forces of Baron Roman von Ungern-Sternberg out of Mongolia in January 1921, and on July 6 the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Government was formed under Soviet protection. Unable to force the Japanese out of Vladivostok and the Coastal Province (the other foreign forces had already evacuated the region), the Bolsheviks established the Far Eastern Republic at Chita

as a buffer state. This existed until Nov. 19, 1922, after the Japanese had evacuated as a result of pressure of the United States and Japanese promises made at the Washington Conference.

Thus, in the period of about four years after their seizure of power, the Bolsheviks had weathered both the civil war and the intervention, but had failed in their effort to communize Russia. In the midst of this strife, on Mar. 2, 1919, they founded the Third International, also called Comintern, representative of all Communist parties and having the objective of encouraging world revolution. Thus, a new phenomenon developed in international relations: the duality of Soviet Russia as a state and as a revolutionary movement reaching into other states but guided from the same center.

#### The New Economic Policy (N.E.P.).

The interim of temporary retreat toward capitalism found production in industry and agriculture approaching prewar levels by the end of the period. The agrarian code and the land statute of 1922 confirmed the possession of land acquired by peasants in the revolution on the basis of hereditary leases, but with restrictions on leasing lands and hiring labor. The aim was to develop the middle peasants. A currency, chervonets, based on gold, ended the operation of the printing presses (1921). In 1923, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, with an initial federacy of four republics, was proclaimed; to this, up until 1928, twelve other republics, chiefly on the periphery, were added. The death of Lenin on Jan. 21, 1924, resulted in a serious conflict for power between Stalin and Trotsky. The latter took the stand that the N.E.P. should be ended and that the world revolution should be resolutely promoted to save the revolution in Soviet Russia. Stalin argued that socialism could be achieved in a single state and that Trotsky's policy would lead to foreign intervention which might be disastrous. In October 1926, Stalin succeeded in having Trotsky expelled, along with the radical opposition bloc, from the Politburo and from the party; on May 26, 1927, he had him banished to Alma-Ata. In 1929 Trotsky sought refuge abroad. He was murdered in Mexico, Aug. 21, 1940.

In foreign affairs, Soviet Russia sought the recognition of foreign powers, and they, except for the United States, accorded it at this time. The Treaty of Rapallo was a basic agreement with Germany, signed on Apr. 16, 1922, during the abortive Genoa Conference called to create an economic basis for relations with Soviet Russia. By this treaty, Germany recognized Russia and agreed to mutual abandonment of reparations and debts. It was supplemented by a commercial treaty in 1925 and by a further political agreement in 1926, as a reaction to the Locarno treaties. The close relations between the two countries also included co-operation in the production of war

materials until the coming of the Nazi regime in Germany in 1933. Soviet Russia participated in the Lausanne Conference, November 1922 to July 1923, but only in regard to that part of it which dealt with the Turkish Straits question. Russia argued for the closure of the straits under Turkish sovereignty and the closure, *mare clausum*, of the Black Sea to warships of nonlittoral powers, but was defeated. The straits were demilitarized and their control internationalized.

In May 1923, while this agreement was being negotiated, British Foreign Minister Cruzon issued a virtual ultimatum against Communist propaganda, to which Soviet Russia forthwith yielded. Recognition by Great Britain's Labor government followed; China established relations in 1924, and Japan in 1925. Meanwhile, in 1923, the Communists had failed to create a revolution in Germany, which was regarded as the key to Europe. In 1927 Chiang Kai-shek of China expelled the Communists from the Kuomintang, thus preventing them from seizing control of the Chinese national revolution and moving toward what was regarded as a bid for domination of Asia and the Pacific. In the same year Great Britain, as well as China, severed relations with the Soviet Union on charges of secret revolutionary activity by the Third International. The result of the aggressive propaganda of the Third International was the establishment of governments leaning toward the right in nearly all of the states bordering on Russia. The delegates of the Soviet Union, however, advocated the coexistence of the two social systems at the International Economic Conference at Geneva, May 4-23, 1927, and proposed total and immediate disarmament in the preparatory commission on disarmament of the League of Nations Nov. 30-Dec., 3, 1927.

#### Socialist Reconstruction.

The victory of Stalin over Trotsky led to the termination of the N.E.P. Soviet Russia had virtually recovered its prewar production, but faced the chance that capitalism might triumph. The idea of a series of plans to transform agricultural Russia into a sufficiently industrialized state to be able to produce its own war requirements had been under contemplation for some time. This meant stress on heavy industry (producer goods) instead of light industry (consumer goods). The first five-year plan was inaugurated Oct. 1, 1928. To provide security for food for the growing industrial cities, and to eliminate what the government termed "exploitative" kulaks, collectivization and mechanization of farms was begun in the summer of 1929. This program, which reached such extremes in the next year that Stalin was compelled to moderate it, precipitated the second agrarian revolution. The first had occurred in 1917-1918 when private ownership had been eliminated, but agriculture thereafter had still been carried out on the principle of individual farming. The move to collectivize farms resulted in a great decline in livestock, the peasants killing off and eating what they had; in the persecution

and banishment of the kulaks; and, in part at least, in the severe famine of 1932-1933. With the seizure of Manchuria by Japan in 1931 and 1932, and the coming to power of the Nazis in Germany in January and March 1933, the Russians realized that critical times had arrived—times which called for changes in internal and foreign policy.

#### Purges and Peace Efforts.

Purges and trials within the Communist Party followed from 1933 to 1937. These ruthlessly eliminated any who did not follow the Stalin policy line, and the majority of the Old Bolsheviks disappeared. To gain wider support among the nonparty people, the new constitution of Dec. 5, 1936, was promulgated. A bicameral legislature (Supreme Soviet) consisting of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities was established; it was based on universal, secret, suffrage on a territorial, not an occupational, basis. Gradually, as war drew nearer, the aggressive Communist propaganda diminished, and national history and national themes in the arts emerged. The purpose was to strengthen the regime for the storm.

Manifestly, a period of such vast reconstruction in industry and agriculture required a policy of peace for Soviet Russia. War was to be avoided, if at all possible, so that Russia could catch up with the capitalist states. Russia, Stalin had argued in 1931, had always been beaten in the past because of its backwardness. "We are 50 to 100 years behind the advanced countries," he had declared. "We must cover this distance in 10 years. Either we do this or they will crush us." Japan's seizure of Manchuria had endangered Soviet Russia's access to the Pacific via the Trans-Siberian Railway and the Amur River. The rise to power of the Nazis and the circulation of the Hugenberg Memorandum at the International Economic Conference at London, June 1933, in which Nazi Germany had asked for a mandate over Russia to end the disorder in that country, even though disavowed, had led to a series of nonaggression pacts between Soviet Russia and its neighbors. Poland, the Baltic states, Czechoslovakia, and Romania had entered into such pacts early in 1934. In addition, Russia had entered the League of Nations on Sept. 18, 1934, and had made alliances with France (May 2, 1935) and Czechoslovakia (May 16) after the failure of French diplomacy to achieve an

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The Seventh Congress of the Third International, in the summer of 1935, had called for a united front among anti-Nazi nations against the growing Nazi danger. Subject to avoidance of propaganda and to suppression of subversive international organizations (by which the Third International was meant), the United States had recognized the Soviet Union as of Nov. 17, 1933. The intention had been to strengthen the Russian position with reference to the aggressive policy of Japan, but the United States' action had its influence on Nazi Germany as well. On March 23, 1935, the Soviet Union had been



forced, as an act of appeasement, to sell at a low price its share of the Chinese Eastern Railway and subsidiaries—ostensibly to Manchukuo but actually to Japan. The danger that these two states might ally themselves against Soviet Russia had grown as a result of the German-Japanese Anti-Comintern Pact, signed Nov. 25, 1936, and adhered to the next year by Italy. While ostensibly directed against the Third International, Soviet leaders had seen in this the germ of an alliance which would ultimately seek to destroy and partition the Soviet Union, as well as other states.

The retreat of the western democracies before Germany was interpreted by the Soviet leaders as evidence in proof of their assumption. When the fatal dismemberment of Czechoslovakia was consummated at the Munich Conference on Sept. 29, 1938, to which Soviet Russia was not invited, the Soviet government protested against this and preceding instances of appeasements and called for collective action. Also, while not required to aid Czechoslovakia by the terms of alliance with France and Czechoslovakia, because France's failure to act had made them inoperative, the Soviet Union offered its assistance, which was declined.

#### World War II.

In 1939 Nazi Germany set about the destruction of Czechoslovakia (March 10-16), singled out Poland as the next victim, and annexed Memel (Klaipeda). The western democracies, about to give up the policy of appeasement, began negotiations with the Soviet Union in regard to the latter's attitude toward Germany. They failed because Poland and the Baltic states feared Russian occupation, and probable annexation, more than Nazi German aggression.

Hitler outbid the western democracies, and on Aug. 23, 1939, Germany and the Soviet Union signed a pact in which they promised not to attack each other, each to remain neutral if the other was attacked, and not to join any group directly or indirectly menacing the other. This unleashed the Nazi war against Poland on September 1. Two supplementary agreements defined the partition of the country between the two powers and led to the absorption of the Baltic states in 1940. Although the pact disconcerted the policy of Japan, and gave Russia a breathing space in respect to Germany, Russian fears of Japanese attack were not laid aside until the signing of the neutrality pact with that country on Apr. 13, 1941.

Meanwhile, the relations with Germany, which Soviet Russia assisted greatly with necessary war materials, began to deteriorate rapidly after France had collapsed in June 1940. Although the full details of Russo-German relations are still to be published, it is evident that the two powers could not agree on the division of their interests in the Balkans and the Near and Middle East. The Tripartite

Alliance (Germany, Italy, and Japan) of Sept. 27, 1940, implied Russia's neutrality, in return for the promise of the participants to leave each country's agreements with Russia in status quo. It also included a secret clause that they would not conclude an agreement with the Soviet Union contrary to the terms of the alliance. While, on one hand, this alliance led to the neutrality pact between the Soviet Union and Japan, as already indicated, the increasing rivalry between Germany and Russia centered around the domination of the Turkish Straits, control of which the Soviet negotiators demanded. Thus German control of Romania (July 1941) and Bulgaria (March 1941), the destruction of Yugoslavia (April 1941), the Russian annexation of Bessarabia and a part of Bucovina (June 29, 1940), and the Molotov conversations in Berlin (November 1940) were merely the indications of successive moves in a strenuous and veiled conflict in which the Germans finally refused to accede to Russian demands because they declared them to be exorbitant. On June 22, 1941, the Germans attacked the Russians. Although the Soviet leaders had sought to avoid war with either of the major Axis partners, they had failed. But they had succeeded in their other objective: to fight on only one front at a time.

For the Soviet Union, the war unleashed by the Nazis was a gamble for the highest stake; survival. Twice the Germans came within a hair's breadth of overrunning Russia--when their armies penetrated the suburbs of Moscow on Dec. 6, 1941, and again when they almost took Stalingrad in October 1942. They were unable to take Leningrad. In each case the Russians, steeled by reaction to an age-old enemy, held their lines. Later, reinforced by American Lend-Lease aid, they were to turn the tide against the Germans on the eastern European front in a vast counteroffensive which, because of the sacrifices of the Russian people and the ability of their strategists, will long remain among the great events of history.

When the Russians signed the joint declaration of the Allied nations on Jan. 1, 1942, so far as it pertained only to Germany (since the U.S.S.R. was not at war with Japan), they committed themselves to the terms of the Atlantic Charter of Aug. 14, 1941. Already, through arrangements on Oct. 30 and Nov. 4, 1941, the United States had extended Lend-Lease aid to Russia, and this was regularized in the agreement of June 11, 1942. Meanwhile, a 20-year Anglo-Soviet alliance was signed May 26, 1942. It was based on the Atlantic Charter and on an international organization yet to be created. Treaties with Poland, July 30 and Dec. 4, 1941, had annulled the Soviet-German agreements, but had left the boundary between the two states unsettled. The treaty with Czechoslovakia, July 18, 1941, was to lead to outright alliance on Dec. 12, 1943. The Third International was formally dissolved in June 1943.

The first tripartite conference, the meeting of United States Secretary of State Cordell Hull, British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, and Soviet Foreign Affairs Commissar Molotov, in Moscow, Oct. 19-30, 1943, initiated a series of conferences between foreign ministers and heads of states. A second front in Western Europe was definitely agreed to and the need of establishing an international organization in line with the principles of the Atlantic Charter was recognized. Declarations on policies for a democratic Italy and an independent Austria were issued. The Conference of Teheran, Nov. 26-30, 1943, attended by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Soviet Premier Stalin, and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, agreed on the timing of strategic blows against Germany, especially of the western front offensive, and formalized their aims to banish "the scourge of war for many generations." Thus, by the end of 1943, the bases of war unity among the great powers at war with Germany had been achieved. Meanwhile, the Russians sustained staggering losses, evacuated millions of people and a great deal of industry to the eastward, and began a drive to win the war. Amazing both friends and foes, the Russians displayed a high morale based on a revival of national traditions.

In 1944 the Russians drove to the Vistula River in Poland, forced Finland out of the war, overran Romania and Hungary, and encircled Budapest, while the Anglo-American armies fought their way from the Normandy beaches toward the Rhine. The following spring the Russians continued their drive to the gates of Berlin, while the western Allies overran Germany from the west, making junctures with the Russians but observing a predetermined line marking the area to be left for occupation by the Red Army. After the end of the war in Germany in May 1945, the Russians, timing their action in accordance with an agreement made at the Conference of Yalta, Feb. 4-11, 1945, moved against the Japanese in Manchuria. They began operations on August 8 after the Japanese, despite heavy reverses caused by the mounting American offensive in the Pacific, had refused to accept the Potsdam Ultimatum (July 26) of unconditional surrender. The Japanese surrendered unconditionally on September 2, after the American offensive had reached its final destructive peak, and after Russia had signed the Sino-Russian Alliance Treaty of August 14 and had occupied much of Manchuria, northern Korea, southern Sakhalin Island, and the Kuril Islands.

At the meeting of President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Premier Stalin at Yalta, in February 1945, these heads of state had agreed to the establishment of coalition governments in Poland, Yugoslavia, Romania, and Bulgaria, which would be recognized by them on the basis of free and unfettered elections. At the Potsdam (Berlin) Conference of the Big Three (United States, Great Britain, and Russia) in July 1945, the Russians were given the right to remain

in occupation of the Kaliningrad (Königsberg) area, and this right was to be supported at the peace conference by the other powers. The Poles were provisionally allowed to occupy German territory to the Oder River, including Stettin (now Szczecin), subject to later decisions at the peace conference. The military zones of occupation and reparation claims, subject to the maintenance of German economic unity, were arranged. The basis of Russian predominance in Eastern Germany and the Balkans had been established.

#### Post-World War II Period.

As outlined by Stalin in February 1946, the industrial aims of the Soviet Union included a threefold increase of iron, steel, and oil production by 1960, as compared with 1940. This was to be accomplished by continuing the series of Five-Year Plans.

Although production during 1950, the last year of the fourth Five-Year Plan, was adversely affected by the economic strain produced by the war in Korea and the midsummer drought which threatened the food supply, official sources stated in 1951 that major assignments had been exceeded by a large margin. According to figures released by the Soviets, the over-all industrial output in 1950 exceeded that of 1940 by 73 per cent. Production of ferrous metals was up 45 per cent above prewar figures; coal production was up 57 per cent; oil production was up 22 per cent; and the production of electric power was up 87 per cent. By 1950, machine building had increased 2.3 times above the 1940 level. The national income, in terms of "comparable prices," was reported to have increased 64 per cent over 1940, and the five successive sets of price reductions (three of them between 1947 and 1950) represented a considerable increase in real wages. The sixth price reduction, announced in April 1953, after the death of Stalin, covered virtually all foodstuffs and manufactured goods of general consumption.

While these figures announced in 1951 by Lavrenti P. Beria, Minister of Internal Affairs, could not be checked, they apparently showed an increase in the volume of production. However, although the Soviet Union appeared to be on its way to achieving, by 1960 or 1965, the industrial goals Stalin had set up in 1946, this achievement would bring Soviet production only to the point reached by the U.S. in 1930.

Although some doubts were expressed, after the original announcement in 1949, the consensus was that the U.S.S.R. had succeeded in detonating an atomic bomb.

Foreign Relations. Having refused any modification of the veto power in the United Nations, the Soviet Union consistently employed the

veto to block decisions which it regarded unfavorably. Outside the U.N., after rejecting the Marshall Plan for United States economic assistance toward European recovery at the Paris conference in July 1947, the Soviet Union organized her satellites into a bloc known as the Cominform. Thus the gradual formation of plans for a common European defense was balked, and the U.S. attempt to work out an all-European solution to the problem of economic recovery had been blocked. Although the Czechoslovakian cabinet had unanimately accepted participation in the Marshall Plan it withdrew its acceptance upon pressure from the U.S.S.R., and as a result treaties, for the exchange of goods were signed between the two countries.

By 1948, Russia had concluded military alliances and had as well virtually exclusive economic and commercial relations with Yugoslavia, Poland, Finland, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria; but Tito's regime so displeased the Kremlin that Yugoslavia was harshly rebuked by the Cominform, and in 1949 Russia denounced her military treaty with Yugoslavia. In the same year the U.S.S.R. recognized the Chinese Communists as the legal government of China and, in 1950, the Communist-led Viet Minh regime in Indochina. The war in Korea increased existing tensions in the Far East, and the truce talks, begun in 1951, bogged down repeatedly.

Soviet foreign policy both in Europe and in Asia created strong opposition on the part of Great Britain and the United States and led those countries, step by step, to a policy of firmness with the Soviet Union. The touchy Iranian situation, put before the United Nations in 1946, had been handled by that body's forcing the evacuation of Russian troops from Iran after an oil agreement was concluded between the two countries. The land blockade of west Berlin, conducted by Soviet troops in 1948 and 1949, was finally broken by the Berlin Airlift, a triumph of western air transport power.

While East-West relationships continued to deteriorate, the Cominform "peace" movement, undeniably appealing to some war-weary Europeans, got under way. The first World Peace Conference (Stockholm 1950) adopted the Stockholm Resolutions, an attempt to scuttle the majority United Nations plan for control of atomic energy. This was followed by other meetings and periodic calls for top-level peace conferences (which, when held, proved fruitless). Simultaneously with this use of peace propaganda, the Soviets repeatedly refused to put the disarmament question under an international authority where the veto could not be exercised. Effective propaganda use was also made of the liberation of colonial lands, playing on the new nationalism of Asia and Africa. During the last months of Stalin's life the Soviet Union disseminated "Hate America" propaganda on a hitherto-unmatched scale.

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The 19th Congress of the Communist Party was held in October 1952. Its major business consisted in revision of Party organization, rearrangement of the members of the Central Committee, and adoption of a fifth Five-Year Plan.

Post-Stalin Period.

Upon the death of Marshal Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, Premier of the Soviet Union, and Secretary General of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., on Mar. 5, 1953, Georgy M. Malenkov was appointed Chairman of the Council of Ministers (premier) to succeed him. The four Vice-Chairmen appointed were Beria, Molotov, Kaganovich, and Marshal Bulganin. A drastic reduction in the membership of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Party, established the previous October, was immediately put into effect. From 25 members with 11 alternates, membership was cut to 10 members with 4 alternates.

So far as relations with the outside world were concerned, various striking changes were at once apparent. The "peace offensive" was stepped up, the Soviets calling for Big Four talks on Germany; they compromised on the choice of a new Secretary General for the United Nations; they gave eight U.S. press and radio representatives permission to visit Moscow; and, with the resumption of the Korea truce talks, agreement was reached on the exchange of sick and wounded prisoners of war, which was accomplished shortly thereafter. The anti-Zionist campaign started during Stalin's last weeks was apparently abandoned. From virulent attacks on the "capitalist warmongers" Soviet strategy seemed to have shifted so that the emphasis for the time being lay, if not on friendship, at least on co-operation with the western world. See also RUSSIA, HISTORY OF.

R.J.K. and E.R.

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