

ПРИ ПОДДЕРЖКЕ  
ПРЕЗИДЕНТСКОГО ФОНДА  
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# Miracle in the East

Western war  
correspondents report

1941–1945



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## **Miracle in the East. Western war correspondents report. 1941–1945.**

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With acknowledgement of support from Daria Karpukhina in various stages of the work and from Igor Nogaev in processing of The Times articles.

Design by Andrey Nikulin.

This book is a part of the multimedia grant project named «The Return of Stolen Meanings. The Truth about the Great Patriotic War in English and American press from 1941 to 1945», prepared by the Foundation for Historical Outlook and sponsored by the Presidential Foundation for Cultural Initiatives.

This edition represents a collection of materials published in media outlets in Great Britain, the USA and Canada from 1941 to 1945 and dedicated to the events of the Great Patriotic War between the USSR and Germany. The book includes publications from the world's leading newspapers and magazines of the time; such as: the The Times, The New York Times, The Evening Star; weeklies like Time, Newsweek and Life and many others. Foreign correspondents working in the USSR, military analysts of allied countries and prominent international observers in their articles tell about the events of the war on the Soviet-German frontline. Among the authors cited in the book are dozens of laureates of international and state awards in the field of journalism.

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## Author's foreword.

May 30th 2024 was the final day of work on this book. It was exactly the day when the Elysee Palace officially announced that Russian delegation would not be invited to the 80-th anniversary of D-Day. At the same time, the guest list of this celebration included official representatives of today's Ukraine — the country where outspoken Nazi collaborators have been honored with the status of national heroes. And there is nothing strange in it, given that the current president of the French Republic in his speeches has repeatedly demonstrated his admiration for the personality of Marshal Pétain, the person who headed the collaborationist "Vichy regime" created by Hitler.

This happens at the same time as a number of European NGOs calls for criminal prosecution of any reporter of the Russian state media working abroad. Not only Russian journalism is being canceled these days, but also Russian culture and history. The pages of Russia's history that symbolize the ideas of its national unity and statehood are the main targets for cancellation techniques. And these are exactly the same pages that not so long ago were globally associated solely with the struggle between good and absolute evil — the genocidal ideology of Nazism. However, back in 2019, the European Parliament adopted a resolution which held the Soviet Union and Hitler's Germany equally responsible for the outbreak of World War II. This was done in disregard to the obvious historical fact that Hitler's military aggression started with invasion of Czechoslovakia and annexing part of its territory. This was mandated by the Munich Agreement of the countries, whose governments today, presenting themselves as the leaders of modern Europe, are undertaking every possible effort to erase the Soviet Union from the history of the Second World War.

The fewer are the instruments left for Russia to preserve the historical truth about the role of the Soviet Union in military defeat of Nazism, the greater becomes the importance of the voices of British and American frontline correspondents of World War II, who told their audiences day by day a story of how the Soviet people marched to the Victory and of the price they paid for it.

This is not the first time for the Foundation for Historical Outlook to address this topic. Our book "The City of Steel. The Failure of Hitler's Costliest Gamble. 1942-1943" has been published eleven years ago. It gave an opportunity to see the Battle of Stalingrad through the eyes of British and American newspapers.

Our multimedia project "The Returning of Stolen Meanings. The Truth About the Great Patriotic War in the Anglo-American press, 1941 - 1945" is supported by the Presidential Foundation for Cultural Initiatives. An integral part of it is the edition "Miracle in the East". It is a collection of wartime media publications with rather complex internal structure. One can start reading it from any page. Newspaper

articles complimented with recordings of radio programs will take a reader to amazingly interesting, heroic historical period. This would be vivid and extremely useful experience.

At the same time the content of the book was carefully selected and structured in order to present the articles in strict timeline so that they would chronologically reflect the main events that took place at the frontlines: the first months after the invasion, the defense of Moscow, the severity of the summer of 1942, the Battles of Stalingrad and Kursk, liberation of Europe and others. At the same time the book contains publications that reveal the factors that ensured the Great Victory. And these factors are the reflection of many dimensions of heroic deeds and sacrifices of the Soviet people, seen through the prism of the vision of a western war correspondent — a courageous Anglo-American intellectual.

These articles tell about the bravery of Red Army soldiers and fighters of the “invisible” partisan army, about the Soviet commanders’ talent for military leadership, about the self-sacrificial labor of Soviet women who undertook all the men’s work in all country’s industries. A reader may also find here publications about the iron will of I.V.Stalin who managed to consolidate the Soviet people, about Russians’ profound Christian mind-set, that turned out to be no less important in achieving the Great Victory. Allied aid, without which the price of the Victory for the USSR would have been enormously higher, was also not to be forgotten.

Compiling this edition, the author also tried to structure its content in such a way that each chapter could serve as a helpful set of sources for the preparation of an academic article or a student’s diploma.

Therefore, the book presents publications of newspapers and magazines that differ in their format, editorial policies and target audience.

A serious book, just like a serious person, must have a vocation... This edition is not an exception and has a very special one. Getting acquainted with the provided articles and radio programs, a reader would have an opportunity to follow day by day the creative search of the best journalists of 1940-es for the answer to the question that concerned them greatly, the question which is still relevant nowadays. It sounds a chiming tone in almost every article: How and why has the Soviet Union played a decisive role in the defeat of Hitler’s Germany?

A modern reader will certainly find it difficult to read such publications without understanding of some important aspects. How exactly the treacherous aggression of the United Europe of 1941 against the Soviet Union looked like? What exactly were the goals, that Germany and its satellites pursued in violation of the non-aggression pact? What was the strategic plot when, in the early morning of June 22, 1941, the motorized hordes from Germany, Finland and Romania crossed the border of the USSR, and thousands lined up at recruiting stations to be sent to the Soviet-German frontline as volunteers in a dozen of other countries? Which European nations fully supported Hitler’s aggression against the USSR? Which countries had maintained formal neutrality status, and how different has such “neutrality” been, for example, in the cases of Sweden, Turkey, Switzerland or Iran?

A reader may find it useful to read certain publications of American columnists about the Soviet fifth column, the Nazi's "Ukrainian project", the "national liberation movements" acting on the outskirts of the USSR that rose up to become Hitler's vassals. Some Western military observers considered these forces no less important actors in the aggression against the USSR than, for example, Italy or Hungary. It is also extremely important for modern audience to understand who, when and why supported the Soviet Union. What was the reason for the announcement of London's unconditional support for Moscow as early as June 22, 1941, and why were the comments of official Berlin so sarcastic in this regard? Why didn't Japan violate the non-aggression pact signed with the USSR? What was the reason for the long months of discussion about the provision of even minimal aid to the USSR within the American political establishment?

Readers will have the chance to find answers to these questions themselves. To provide them with such an opportunity the edition includes the most interesting opinions of military analysts and international columnists of mid-1941 not only from Washington or London, but also from foreign correspondents who had accreditation in Berlin, Tokyo, Rome or the city of Helsingfors.

In the spotlight of these publications is an attempt to analyze the goals and challenges posed by Axis powers, the forecasts of Soviet's ability to resist aggression, the coverage of bloody massacres and Jewish pogroms in the Baltic republics, "controlled leaks" from Capitol Hill and reviews of Tokyo newspapers.

The attention was also paid to the process of formation of the new system of international relations that began in the late summer of 1941, which later was called the Yalta-Potsdam system and has existed up to our days.

It sounds quite surprising today, but in August 1941 American columnists put the first All-Slavic radio meeting, that marked the beginning of Stalin's policy of uniting the Slavic peoples in opposition first to Hitler's Germany, and later to the NATO, on a par with the signing of the Atlantic Charter, which happened at the same moment. The Balkan issue has not been disregarded in this book as well.

The above-mentioned issues are treated in the first chapters of the book. The rest of the edition tells the story of how the Soviet people, against all the possible odds, withstood the pressure of Hitler's aggression and consistently marched towards the day when the Soviet soldiers raised the banner of the Victory over the Reichstag; to the day when Russian Marshal Georgy Zhukov, recognized by the Anglo-American press as the best commander in the history of wars, together with his combat colleagues from the Allied Powers, accepted the surrender of Germany.

In order to achieve maximum objectivity, an extremely wide range of periodicals was used in the compilation of this book. Today, almost everything that has ever been printed can be found on the Internet. Tens of thousands of digitized newspaper pages, many hours of old time radio broadcast records were used in this work. The members of our team also paid great attention to the British press, especially The Times publications and B.B.C. radio programs.

Nevertheless, the focus in the selection of material has been placed precisely on

the publications of American daily newspapers and weeklies. There is a reason for such decision. World War II turned out to become a unique period in the history of U.S. when an unprecedented reassessment of certain values had taken place. Thus, according to polls carried out by The Fortune magazine in the spring of 1940, the vast majority of Americans had such a negative attitude towards the USSR that they were ready to equate it with Nazi Germany. However, similar polls conducted in 1943 showed that more than 80 percent of Americans referred to the Soviet Union as America's primary and key partner in both the war against the Axis powers and in building a postwar global order. American reporters of that time repeatedly wrote about the amazing closeness of the mindsets of the people of the United States and Russia. Our country had been the subject of thematic issues of illustrated weeklies published in millions of copies. In American academic periodicals of those years one can find publications devoted to certain questions of Soviet history, that have never found the reflection they deserve even in our own historiography.

Publications of all leading Anglo-American news agencies of that time — Associated Press, United Press, Reuters — were widely used in this book. Their correspondents worked in the USSR from the very first days of the war and constantly traveled to the battlefield. In the most difficult year of 1942 they visited besieged Leningrad, witnessed smoking ruins of Stalingrad in February 1943 and liberated Minsk, Kiev and Odessa; they have seen Katyn Forest and the mountains of human bodies in Majdanek. They interviewed privates and marshals of the Red Army, German POW and residents of Odessa, liberated from Romanian occupation.

The edition includes publications of American periodicals aimed at broad variety of target audiences. A reader will find a number of articles from The New York Times and Los Angeles Times, which at that time urged for cooperation with the USSR most strongly. These newspapers still reflect vibrant atmosphere of the liberal-minded urban areas of the West and East coasts. As a sort of counterbalance, we used a number of publications with completely different ideological charge taken from The Chicago Tribune, the mouthpiece of at that time extremely conservative Midwest. Of considerable interest are the in-depth analytical articles of The Christian Science Monitor, which is still being published in Boston, MA, the university capital of America and the historic center of intellectual and academic life of the country. Of course, we didn't leave aside The Washington Post, the voice of the federal bureaucracy, and, for sure, of the "deep state" with its "controlled leaks" from the Capitol Hill and the White House. The book contains many articles of The Evening Star — an unfortunately little-known nowadays, but extremely popular and influential newspaper in those years. It was home for such famous columnists as Dorothy Thompson and Constantine Brown.

Publications from The Boston Globe, The New York Herald Tribune, and a number of other periodicals, including "segregated" at that time African American press, represented in the USSR by renowned war correspondent Homer Smith, were used in the book. One cannot imagine world press without the American weeklies such as LIFE, TIME or Newsweek, with their colorful illustrations and op-eds reaching widest



audience. It was at the turn of the 30s and 40s when this format gained enormous popularity among American readers. During the war years they published editorials full of such level of respect and admiration for the heroism of the Soviet people that they might have competed in that with Moscow newspapers.

Unfortunately, for almost eighty years the editorial policy of Time Inc. during WWII years was considered as solely determined by the personal position of its founder Henry Luce, who allegedly received a kind of “order” from F.D. Roosevelt for a series of “pro-Soviet” publications. There is no exact answer whether it is true, not true, or partially true. But, it is obvious that the Office of War Information, established in 1942, did work closely with certain newspaper moguls and movie producers. Their task-list included the formation of a positive image of the Soviet Union in American public opinion. This was done to promote the so-called “Four Policemen” ideology - the future model of the post-war global order, which was based on the foundation of the United Nations with permanent membership of the Soviet Union in the Security Council — the main cause of the last years of F.D. Roosevelt’s life. In order to eliminate speculation about certain bias in the selection of materials, in addition to Time essays and articles from LIFE we included a number of publications from their closest competitor, Newsweek, owned by Averell Harriman at the time. This major industrial tycoon and diplomat, who served in 1945 as U.S. Ambassador to Moscow after the death of F.D. Roosevelt, set a world record for the speed of transatlantic flight on the B-24 Liberator bomber plane used by him as an analog of modern personal business jets with only one goal — to get to the Oval Office to meet the new President and to convince him of the USSR’s ambitions for world domination as quickly as possible. He was definitely not a friend of Moscow. But this was also the time when the press was independent.

In addition, the book includes publications from such America’s leading literature and art weeklies as The Saturday Evening Post, Colliers and This Week Magazine.

The book is illustrated with audio materials. The reader will have the opportunity to listen to the epochal speech of W. Churchill delivered on June 22, 1941 and his explanation of the essence of the Atlantic Charter, and a very emotional interview to the B.B.C., given by the Soviet Ambassador to Great Britain Ivan Maisky on the occasion of shipment of the first batch of British tanks to the Soviet Union. Among the presented audio recordings is one of F.D.Roosevelt’s last speeches — an account of his visit to the Yalta conference.

A reader will hear the voice of the American war correspondent, famous writer Erskine Caldwell, who witnessed the invasion of the USSR from very first day — a story about the progress of mobilization in the beginning of the war, about the transfer of Soviet military enterprises beyond the Urals mountain ridge, about the strength of the Russian spirit.

The book includes the speech of the famous frontline correspondent of Colliers Magazine Quentin Reynolds after his returning from the Soviet Union on the self-speaking subject: “ The Russians are our kind of people!”. Besides that, our collection includes radio reports of American and British correspondents on the Battle of

Moscow, from Stalingrad, from the the Elbe river, where Soviet troops had met Americans, and, of course, from the ruins of defeated Berlin.

The book also includes an unexpected discovery — a radio drama called “The Last Days of Sevastopol” produced by NBC in 1943, written in the besieged city by the frontline correspondent of Soviet newspaper “Pravda”. Once wired to the United States, it became the only radio play in the world history whose script was transmitted by cable via encrypted military channels.

We live at the time of information warfare and hybrid wars, in the era of so called “post-truth”. Nowadays in international conflicts media is used mainly as a weapon aimed at demoralizing the opposing side by using the most filthiest technologies to manipulate the mass consciousness.

The main role of media during World War II was completely different. The entire units of US Army personnel in Africa, in Europe, all over the vast Pacific Theater of Operations gathered together to listen to radio programs like Soldiers of Press or War Telescope. From the broadcasts they learned that the advance of the Allied forces deep into France after landing in Normandy has been supported by the Russian operation with a code name Bagration, during which the Red Army units at the cost of enormous losses not only crushed the Wehrmacht, but also pulled the best German reserves eastwards. All of it made Allied servicemen stronger and more confident in their success in further smashing Nazis in the advance of Operation Overlord.

Wives and mothers of American servicemen, working as welders in Henry Kaiser’s shipyards, learned about the labor heroism of Soviet women from the illustrated weeklies, and then huge transport vessels of the Liberty series were launched even faster, sometimes in an unthinkable record of 4 days and 16 hours after laying.

As part of the northern convoys, these ships delivered to the Soviet Union everything that was vitally important for the victory over the common enemy — airplanes, cars, machinery ... All of this was bringing the end of the war closer and reduced the casualties of Allied powers, so more men returned back home from Stalingrad, from the shores of the Channel, from the Solomon islands.

Most likely the memory of the horrors and losses of World War II prevented the Cold War from escalating into World War III in the twentieth century.

The meaning of this book is to convey to contemporaries the message of the frontline correspondents of World War II. The victory over Hitler’s Germany is the result, witnessed and precisely documented by war correspondents. It is the result of the joint heroism of the peoples, of their unprecedented common sacrifice, of their capacity to overcome ideological disagreements, and of cooperation based on the principles of equality and mutual respect. Such experience had no analogues in world history.

Without cherishing and respecting the historical truth and memory of this experience, the world’s leading powers will never be able to unite once again in confronting and overcoming of the global existential challenges facing humankind.

## CHAPTER I PRELUDE TO THE STORM

The Times, May 8, 1945

### **Rise and Fall of the Third Reich: Long Road to Victory**

On September 1, 1939, German armour crossed the Polish frontier and German aeroplanes attacked Warsaw. Ten days earlier the signature of a Russo-German non-aggression pact<sup>1</sup> had proclaimed the imminence of war and the Germans had now completed their preparations for its outbreak. They had perfected a new method of warfare, later to be known as Blitzkrieg, by a development of the tactics which had finally overcome the static defense systems of the last war. They now put into execution their plan for overrunning Poland in a mechanized offensive of hitherto unknown mobility. The air arm led the way, attacking the enemy's centres of communication, scattering his columns on their way to their concentration points and blinding him by rendering his airfields unserviceable. Tanks formed the spearhead of the ground attack. They were followed by convoys of motor transport conveying infantry and guns. Thrusting into Poland from north, west, and south, these forces converged on Warsaw before the Polish High Command could establish

control over the troops dispersed along the country's frontiers.

The campaign developed at a pace which amazed the world. Within a fortnight all western Poland was lost and the Polish army, so far as it was still in being, had withdrawn behind Warsaw, already closely invested. On September 17th the implications of the Russo-German pact began to be revealed. Russian troops entered Poland from the east and a few days later the stricken country suffered its fourth partition. By the middle of October organized resistance in Poland had been crushed. Thereafter, for more than 18 months, the war in the east was to be conducted mainly under diplomatic forms.

### **FALL OF FRANCE**

In the opening days of the war a British Expeditionary Force which eventually amounted to 10 divisions crossed the Channel, Lord Gort<sup>2</sup> was in command. The Armies took up their positions on their prepared lines. The world waited. Nothing happened. Both sides armed, the Germans more rapidly because their war industries were in full operation. Germany matured her plans. Britain and France faced an unreal present and a menacing future; and America talked of "phony" war. The weakest point in the German front was the long line of sea communications with Narvik and the North Swedish iron fields. It was secured

against British sea power by the German rise of sheltered Norwegian waters. In February the British, impatient of this abuse of Norwegian neutrality, broke in to rescue British prisoners from a German ship. On April 9th Germany decided that neutrality had served its purpose and invaded Denmark and Norway. The Danes yielded, the Norwegians fought on and Anglo-French Army went to their aid. Imperfectly trained, inadequately munitioned, and lacking air cover, it was forced to retire on its bases, from which it was later withdrawn. During this brief campaign the Germans revealed two more of their secret weapons — the one military, the other political. The almost simultaneous seizure of all the key points in Southern and Western Norway was made possible by the employment of parachute troops, and the formation of the country's puppet government after its conquest was entrusted to a Norwegian traitor, one Quisling<sup>3</sup>, who "by merit raised to that bad eminence," was to give his name to the whole contemptible breed of which he was the first notorious example.

The unhappy issue of the Norwegian campaign had immediate and decisive political repercussions in Britain. At the close of a debate in the House of Commons a division was challenged. The strong opposition vote decided Mr. Chamberlain to resign. After consulting the Opposition leaders the retiring Prime Minister advised the King to send for Mr. Churchill. Labour, which had hitherto held aloof from office, entered the new Government representative of all parties in the State. Its core was a small war Cabinet with Mr. Churchill as Prime Minister and Minister of Defence. Mr.

Churchill took office on May 10th, a day of momentous events in Europe. Happily for Britain the hour had produced the man.

### **THE MIRACLE OF DUNKIRK**

On the same day the Germans opened the campaign intended, according to Hitler, to settle the course of history for 1,000 years. Holland and Belgium were invaded simultaneously on what appeared to be an expanded version of the old Schlieffen plan<sup>4</sup>. The allies hastened to the support of Germany's victims the British to fill the gap between the Belgians and the French, the French to act as the link between the Belgians and the Dutch. The Germans did not interfere with these movements. Their main blow was to be struck elsewhere. Realizing that motorized forces need not be held up by different country, they traversed the Ardennes crossed the Meuse between Sedan and Namur, and sent armoured divisions, with effective air support, on their race to the Channel ports. In the closing days of May the Germans secured both Boulogne and Calais, and split the allied forces in two. The position of the British in the North was now critical. Holland had capitulated on May 15th, and Belgium on May 28th. The seaway to England was accessible only through Dunkirk. Through this narrow gap there were safely evacuated in less than a week some 330,000 men nearly two-thirds of them British. But all their equipment was lost.

While these events were moving towards their climax the French Prime Minister, M. Reynaud, sought to remedy an almost desperate situation by making two appointments, of which one proved

futile and the other disastrous. Dismissing General Gamelin, he entrusted the French command to General Weygand, who had been Foch's Chief of Staff. To strengthen his Cabinet he recalled Marshal Pétain from his Madrid Embassy and gave him the post of Vice-Premier.

Unable to stem the German rush to the coast, Weygand reformed his armies behind the Somme and the Aisne and a small British Expeditionary Force was landed in their support. It was too late, and on June 14th the Germans entered Paris, which had been declared an open city. From Bordeaux whither it had withdrawn, the French Cabinet requested the British Government to release it from its obligation not to make a separate peace. To this the British Government — the Coalition Ministry which Mr. Churchill had formed a month before — was prepared to consent if the French fleet first sailed to safety in British ports. But the British proposal went farther. It offered the union of the two States in a common citizenship if France would fight on. The French Cabinet rejected this proposal. M. Reynaud, who had favoured it, resigned and the octogenarian Pétain took his place to become the central figure in the most humiliating episode in French history.

Pétain's first act was to ask the Germans for terms, and on June 22 an armistice was signed at Compiègne. It divided France into two zones, the one occupied, the other unoccupied, which were roughly equal in area but were so designed as to give the Germans every military and economic advantage. The Germans occupied the whole of northern France down to the Loire valley as well as the entire Atlantic coast to the Spanish

frontier. The facilities for submarine warfare thus provided were promptly strengthened by the occupation of the Channel Islands. Two days later the armistice with Italy — Mussolini had found it opportune to declare war when the Germans forced the Somme barrier — drew France's teeth in the Mediterranean by binding her to demilitarize Toulon, her African ports, and a considerable stretch of her African territory.

It remained for Pétain to complete the destruction of the Third Republic. President Lebrun transferred his constitutional powers to Pétain, who at once proclaimed himself Chief of the French State. As such he formed a Government in which his evil genius, Pierre Laval, was given the key post of Foreign Minister and thus placed in charge of future negotiations with the Germans.

But though France had fallen, there were still Frenchmen. Before the armistice was signed, General de Gaulle had issued his first call for continued resistance. When all seemed lost he crossed to London, where on June 28 the British Government recognized him as a Leader of the Free French. Before August he has won most of French Equatorial Africa had rallied to his standard, the Cross of Lorraine, but late in September his movement received the first check through his failure to gain Dakar. Nearly five years were to elapse before the patriot and soldier who had organized new French forces in England and in the French colonies and had fostered the resistance movement in Metropolitan France was to re-enter Paris as the living symbol of his country's resurgence.

## PRELUDE TO RUSSIAN WAR

After the conquest of Poland the aim of Russian policy, with a view of German intentions that events were to confirm in full, was to control the buffer zone lying between the new German lines and Russian territory proper. Her first step was the absorption of the three Baltic States under the form of mutual assistance pacts —Estonia before September was out, Latvia and Lithuania early in October. Only Finland proved recalcitrant and resisted by force the Russian claim to control both the land and the sea approaches to Leningrad. At first the Finnish resistance was brilliantly successful. Gradually, however, the main Finnish position, the so-called Mannerheim line guarding south-eastern Finland, was broken up by Russian artillery, and by mid March, 1940, there was again an apparent peace in Eastern Europe.

It lasted until the following October, when Italian troops invaded Greece and soon showed themselves increasingly unable to make headway against their plucky and determined enemy. For the moment, the Germans were content to watch events in Eastern Europe, but in the spring of 1941 they developed elaborate plans, political and military, which included aid to their embarrassed ally. Bulgaria and Romania passed voluntarily into the German orbit the latter after the loss of Bessarabia and the Bukovina to Russia and Yugoslavia would have followed their example had her people not revolted against their Government. After a few tense days the Germans struck on April 6th sweeping aside the main Yugoslav forces, they penetrated the Monastir gap, occupied Salonika, turned upon the Greek army which was

driving the Italians out of Albania. And on April 27th announced in words which symbolized the condition of Europe, that the swastika was floating over the Acropolis.

## WAR IN THE AIR

The R.A.F.<sup>5</sup> at once took the offensive with raids on the German naval bases and at the end of September the first serious air fight took place over Helgoland<sup>6</sup>. But the clash of arms in the air developed slowly, and for some months the R.A.F.'s main contacts with the enemy arose out of Coastal Command's cooperation with the Navy in keeping the seas clear. During this period, however, the leaflet war on Germany was giving R.A.F. bombers invaluable experience in night flying. Not till May 1940, did German bombs dropped in Kent and on Middleborough give hints of what was to be full. The Battle of Britain opened on August 8th. It lasted for a month and was then gradually merged in the Battle of London, familiarly known as the Blitz. The original aim of the Luftwaffe was to prepare the way for the invading German armies by depriving the R.A.F. of the airfields in South-Eastern England from which its lighters could take off. This battle reached its height on August 15, when 182 German aircraft were destroyed in an attack on Croydon aerodrome. Damage was done to other fields and some were temporarily put out of service in attacks which reached their second climax on September 15th with 185 German aircraft, destroyed, but the soil of England was kept inviolate by a few hundred young men flying machines inferior to the enemy's in numbers but superb in design. It was to these days that Mr. Churchill referred in his famous











phrase: Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few.”

Defeated in its cooperation with the military the Luftwaffe fell back on its second function — that of terrorizing civilians. The first daylight attack on Central London took place on August 24th, the first all-night attack two nights later. Early in September the Blitz began. At its height it was maintained for nearly 610 consecutive nights, Buckingham Palace was damaged on September 11th, and on the same night an unexploded bomb, happily removed in time, threatened St. Paul’s. The great incendiary attack on the City took place on the night of December 29, 1940, and the Blitz is considered to have ended with the attack of May 10, 1941, which destroyed the House of Commons and damaged the Abbey. Before this date the Luftwaffe had again changed its tactics. In its attempt to hamper British war production it had launched its attacks on Coventry, Birmingham, and Liverpool, and in the hope of neutralizing the British command of the sea it had bombed Plymouth, South Hampton, and Portsmouth. Meanwhile the R.A.F. still gathering its strength, had begun the daylight sweeps over France and the night attacks on German cities which were later to exercise so profound an influence on the course of the war.

### **WAR AT SEA**

On the first night of the war a German submarine sank the Athenia and opened what became the Battle of the Atlantic. The conflict was intense and prolonged, but the Atlantic lifeline was maintained. Though still neutral the United States showed its concern

to maintain it. In September, 1940, the transfer of 50 American destroyers to the British flag in connection with the lease of bases in the Atlantic and the Caribbean eased the strain on escort vessels, and in the following spring the American Lease-Lend Act — first fruits of President Roosevelt’s re-election to a third term of office — ensured the flow of goods. In home waters large defensive minefields were laid and the new German device of the magnetic mine countered by “degaussing” apparatus. There was little surface fighting. After the invasion of Norway the Navy forced its way to Narvik in two brilliant engagements. Later it covered the evacuation of the allied troops from Namsos and Narvik at the cost of the loss of the aircraft-carrier *Glorious*, and took its great and gallant share in the operations off Dunkirk. In the outer oceans three British cruisers sought and found the German battleship Admiral Graf Spee and with magnificent audacity forced her into the River Plate. When she came out she scuttled herself by Hitler’s order. This was in December, 1939, and not till early in 1941 were German surface ships again active. The *Scharnhorst* and the *Gneisenau* broke out in February and were eventually driven to shelter in Brest, where they became targets for the R.A.F., and on the night of May 21st *Bismarck* sailed out of Bergen. Three days later, when brought to action between Iceland and Greenland, she sank the *Hood* and damaged the *Prince of Wales*, but while making for a French Atlantic port she was attacked by aircraft of the Fleet Air Arm. Her rudder and propellers were damaged by air attack, and next day, May 27th, the Navy closed its net on her and sent her to the bottom.

Meanwhile Italy's entry into the war in June 1940, had transformed the naval situation in the Mediterranean. It was essential that the powerful French fleet should not fall into enemy hands. The French vessels at Alexandria were successfully neutralized, but the admiral commanding the powerful squadron at Mers et Kebir rejected the proposals made to him and on July 3th the British reluctantly opened fire. A French battleship was blown up, two more were driven ashore, four with some destroyers escaped to Toulon. Four months later, on November 11th, the command of the Eastern Mediterranean was secured when the Fleet Air Arm crippled the Italian fleet as it lay at anchor in Taranto harbour. Not till the end of the following March did the Italian fleet again put to sea. Ordered by the Germans to break British communications with Crete and Greece, it was brought to action off Cape Matapan and driven back to its home ports after serious losses, but the Germans had now taken over the Mediterranean war, and before launching their attack on Russia they safeguarded their southern flank by using air power against sea power. In the summer of 1941 British naval strength in the Eastern Mediterranean was weakening and Maltese heroism was already enduring the grim ordeal of an air siege.

### **IN THE MEDITERRANEAN**

The last six months of 1940 were full of peril to Britain's position as an imperial Power. Italian armies in Africa threatened Egypt, the Suez Canal, the Red Sea, and, with the Italian Navy still in being, British supplies and reinforcements had to be sent round the Cape. Actually the Italians

achieved nothing beyond the occupation of British Somaliland. Early in December, three months after Marshal Graziani<sup>7</sup> had begun his lumbering advance across the Egyptian desert, Sir Archibald Wavell struck back with the imperial forces under his command. The Italian Army broke and surrendered, and the offensive, whose original objective was Tobruk, swept on until on February 6, 1941, Australian troops entered Benghazi.

In mid-January British, Dominion, Indian, and East and West African forces advanced from the Sudan and Kenya into Eritrea, Abyssinia, and Somaliland and in four months destroyed Italy's East African Empire. Keren, the Eritrean mountain fortress, fell on March 27th. Thereafter events moved swiftly. On May 5th, five years after Mussolini had proclaimed his Empire in the Piazza Venezia, Haile Selassie<sup>8</sup> reentered his capital, and a fortnight later the Italian Viceroy, the Duke of Aosta, was a prisoner in British hands. The last remnants of Italy's Ethiopian empire vanished with the surrender of Gondar on November 27th, 1941.

Even before General Wavell<sup>9</sup> launched his attack, British aid had been sent to Greece. In the spring of 1941 the German menace to the Balkans compelled further diversions of strength. A few days before the German onslaught on Yugoslavia the German Africa Corps under Rommel showed its strength in Africa and compelled the evacuation of Benghazi. A series of rearguard actions followed as General Wavell retreated, leaving a strong garrison in Tobruk to withstand a historic siege. The full scope of the German plan of campaign was now revealed. It proposed to combine the German forces in Libya and Greece as elements in a common offensive to secure

command of the Eastern Mediterranean and safeguard the southern flank of the armies soon to be launched against Russia. Accordingly, on May 20th strong German airborne forces were dropped in Crete. The attacks of German bombers had compelled withdrawal of the British fighters and the garrison had to light without cover. The Navy, though sustaining heavy losses, prevented an invasion by sea but more troops were dropped from the air and after 11 days' heavy fighting all Crete passed into German hands.

The stage was now set for the attack on Russia. A few uneasy weeks slipped by during which German and Russian forces gathered all along the line from the Baltic to the Black Sea. It may well be that the resistance in Greece and Yugoslavia imposed a fatal delay upon the German concentration. Not till June 22 did Hitler, satisfied that he could better Napoleon's example, give the order to march on Moscow.

## (Endnotes)

1 On August 24, 1939, Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union signed a nonaggression pact in Moscow. The news came as a bolt from the blue. Thousands of Soviet people wrote letters to central and local newspapers, expressing their anger and dismay, as the Soviet Union and the Third Reich were mortal enemies.

In the late 1930s, the USSR was the only European nation whose soldiers and officers fought face to face with Nazi Germany and its satellites. Undeclared wars were raging in Spain, where the Soviet government supported the Republicans, China, which was on the defensive against Japan's aggression, and Mongolia, where a large-scale offensive started on August 20, 1939, near the Khalkhyn Gol River – only three days before the signing of the treaty.

Driven by the ambition to destroy the USSR and simply out of cowardice, Britain and France

made unprecedented concessions to Hitler.

There were many reasons for the unexpected shift in the Soviet Union's foreign policy, and you have to understand the complicated background. We should start with the foundation of the Versailles-Washington system that was established after WWI. Many historians agree that inequality was the foundational principle of the world order that existed between the two wars. The so-called Great Powers, i.e. Britain, France and the US, sought to secure their dominance by targeting and undermining the positions of potential rivals. Germany's rights were limited, it was demilitarized and had to pay humiliating reparations. The Ottoman Empire and Austria-Hungary faced division of their territories, while Soviet Russia experienced international isolation.

Along our western border there was now a "cordon" consisting of the countries that had emerged on the rubble of the Russian Empire, and many of the new states had nationalist regimes. Poland with Józef Piłsudski at the helm, the largest of these countries, gained Russia's territories in western Belarus and western Ukraine in 1921. By the end of the 1920s, forced Polonization of the local population had spiraled into blatant state terrorism. The situation in the neighboring Baltic region was no better.

Great Britain and France revealed their true feelings towards "Europe's back-door entryway" in the 1925 Locarno Treaties. Fearing the growing rapport between the Weimar Republic and the Soviet Union, the guarantors of the Treaty of Versailles moved to make a distinction between Germany's western borders that could never be disputed, and eastern borders, where Germany was given significant leeway. In other words, it was decided that Germany's rising revanchism should not be suppressed but rather "properly" channeled eastwards. Thus, it is not surprising that when the Nazis rose to power in Germany, the calls to "*conquer more living space in the East and unmercifully Germanize it*" became the focal point of the Third Reich's foreign policy.

When some power seeks to rule the world, whatever their pronounced goals might be, it will inevitably lead humanity to a tragedy.

Driven by the ambition to destroy the USSR and simply out of cowardice, Britain and France made unprecedented concessions to Hitler.

The policy of appeasement made it easier for the Nazis to create a capable army, have a

convenient training camp in Spain, and recapture demilitarized Rhineland in 1936.

The appetite of the aggressor, unaccustomed to resistance, only grew with time. In March 1938, Hitler, with the connivance of Britain and France, concluded an Anschluss of Austria and started the Sudetenland Crisis that ended with the shameful Munich Betrayal. On September 12, right before his meeting with the Führer, the leader of the British ‘appeasers’ Neville Chamberlain proclaimed that Britain and Germany were *“the two pillars of European peace and buttresses against communism.”* After that came the division of sovereign Czechoslovakia, whose representatives, for the record, were not even invited to the negotiating table.

*“What happened in Munich was the end of Bolshevism in Europe, the end of any political influence of Russia on our continent,”* Italian dictator Mussolini said in triumph. It became clear that abstract matters like international law would not stop the fascist aggressors and their supporters. The Soviet Union found itself in a truly difficult situation and had to urgently adjust its foreign policy priorities.

It should be noted that ever since the Nazis came to power in Germany, the USSR pursued a policy of collective European security. In 1934, the Soviet government supported the proposal of French Foreign Minister Louis Barthou to sign the Eastern Pact that would bring together all countries of Eastern and Central Europe, including the USSR and Germany. For reasons that became obvious later, Hitler categorically refused to enter into such treaty. Ironically, it was Poland that strongly supported Germany. The blatant anti-Soviet attitude of the *“colonels’ regime”* had been pushing Poland towards Hitler’s sphere of influence for a long time. Germany encouraged them at first, even gave Poland part of Czechoslovakia in 1938, and then dangled Soviet Ukraine with Black Sea access in front of them. At least this is what was mentioned during the meeting of Germany’s foreign minister, Joachim von Ribbentrop, with the head of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jozef Beck, in January 1939 in Warsaw – Soviet intelligence operatives were able to obtain the recording of that conversation.

The central tenet of history holds that one should never assess past events exclusively from a present day viewpoint.

In March 1939, Europe was shaken by yet another diplomatic crisis. Despite all the assurances given to Britain and France in Munich, Hitler occupied the Czech Republic and proclaimed Slovakia a protectorate of the German Reich. Building on this success, Hitler annexed the Memel territory in Lithuania and delivered an ultimatum to Romania and Poland. The prospect of a new great war breaking out in Europe was now clear to all.

Having found themselves under tremendous public pressure, London and Paris condemned Germany and recalled their ambassadors from Berlin. The entirety of March 1939 was marked by intense international discussions and consultations – this time, with full involvement of the Soviet Union. In response to British proposals, the Soviet government put forward an initiative to negotiate a new Anglo-Franco-Soviet mutual assistance treaty, and as an appendix to it a tripartite military convention. Thus, on April 17, 1939, at the precipice of war, the Soviet-British-French talks started in Moscow – a desperate last-minute attempt to forge an anti-Hitler coalition, doomed to fail. It is symbolic that just days before the launch of the talks, on April 11, 1939, the German General Staff adopted the infamous Fall Weiss plan, which involved a surprise attack on Poland.

To this day, historians argue as to what caused the Anglo-Franco-Soviet initiative to fail. First of all, it is noteworthy that neither the British nor the French leader wanted to meet with Stalin personally. Former British Prime Minister David Lloyd George described it this way: *“Mr. Chamberlain negotiated directly with Hitler... He and Lord Halifax paid a visit to Rome... But whom did they send to Russia? They have not even sent an ordinary minister. No, they sent a clerk from foreign office. It is an insult.”*

Documents, some of which were obtained by Soviet intelligence, show that London did not even attempt to negotiate with Moscow. Unlike the French, who were well aware of the threat to their national security, the British still saw Hitler as an unruly ally who needed to be *“tamed”* by invoking a hypothetical alliance with the Russians. It is also clear that the ‘appeasers’ did not mind negotiating a new Munich Agreement, now with Poland as its target. Up until August 1939, Soviet intelligence was regularly informing the country’s leadership on communications of that nature between London and Berlin.

In July, Latvia and Estonia announced their refusal to accept Soviet guarantees and entered into non-aggression treaties with Germany. Thus, the entire Baltic region was turned into a springboard for Germany's invasion of the USSR. Realizing the imminent threat, the Soviet Union suggested abandoning political consultations and moving directly to military talks. Stalling for time, British and French diplomats chose the longest travel route to Moscow possible: first to Leningrad by sea, and then to Moscow by train. Furthermore, upon their arrival, it turned out that General Joseph Doumenc, the lead French delegate, was only authorized to discuss and negotiate, while British Admiral Reginald Drax came to Moscow with no powers whatsoever.

The deciding factor, or rather the final straw, were the disagreements regarding the Red Army's passage through the territory of Poland. Poland, still in denial about its situation, emphatically refused to allow the Soviet troops to pass through. Even pressure from Paris could not change Warsaw's position. *"It will be Poles, not Germans, who will charge deep into Germany in the very first days of the war!"* responded Poland's ambassador Juliusz Łukasiewicz boldly to every attempt at persuading him. Later, seeing off the Western military delegations, Marshal Kliment Voroshilov said to Admiral Drax bitterly, *"So does this mean we should have conquered Poland first, in order to offer them our help? Or maybe we should have gotten down on our knees and begged the Poles to let us save them?"* As we know now, history itself answered this rhetorical question.

After this, events started to unfold at a lightning pace. Seeing no promise or progress in the consultations with London and Paris, the Soviet leadership reaffirmed its readiness for direct talks with Germany. And on August 23, 1939, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Third Reich Joachim von Ribbentrop arrived in Moscow with an urgent visit. German diplomacy made unprecedented concessions in order to secure Soviet neutrality ahead of the Poland campaign. The draft treaty was approved on the same day, and signed in the Kremlin the following night. This tactical agreement with Hitler allowed the coalition of Anglo-French 'appeasers' and the axis powers to be split, bought the Soviet Union a couple more years of peace and helped push the border with Germany westwards. The main

reasoning behind the treaty was national security – by that time, no one actually believed in lasting peace with the aggressor.

The signing of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact was completely ignored by Warsaw, but strongly condemned by Tokyo. The developments at Khalkhin-Gol didn't benefit the aggressor, which made Germany's betrayal a particularly painful blow to Emperor Hirohito. Five days later, the entire anti-Soviet government of Kiichiro Hiranuma resigned. Once again, the Japanese could see that Hitler was a man driven by political opportunism and expediency. In fact, some historians believe that this very lesson kept Japan from attacking the USSR in the fall of 1941.

A week later, on September 1, 1939, the Second World War broke out in Europe. This was the single largest failure of the British and French governments, diplomacies and intelligence services. In an effort to protect themselves and push Germany to attack the Soviet Union, the 'appeasers' fell victim to their own schemes. *"I must admit that the Soviet Union was clever in its foreign policy,"* said Finnish leader Karl Mannerheim, who, it should be noted, was never a big fan of the Soviet political system.

Further events confirmed that, had it rejected Ribbentrop's proposals, the Soviet Union could have found itself in a significantly worse situation – militarily and politically. Having overestimated its importance in the eyes of its senior 'partners', Poland ultimately received no actual help from Britain or France. Just two weeks into the war, it ceased to exist as an independent state, and the promises given by Western leaders resulted in diplomatic asylum for the Polish government-in-exile.

Despite Hitler's insistent demands, Soviet forces had not crossed over to Poland's territory until the Polish Army stopped resisting and the government of the Polish Republic evacuated. On September 17, 1939, the first Red Army units crossed the Soviet-Polish border. Commander-in-Chief of Poland's armed forces Marshal Edward Rydz-Smigly took a rational approach and ordered his troops not to engage.

Making rapid advances, the Red Army reached the old borders of the Russian Empire in five days (let me remind you, only 18 years had passed since these former Russian territories became part of Poland under the Treaty of Riga). The effects of forced Polonization were felt throughout the region, and Red Army soldiers were often

welcomed as liberators, while anti-Polish guerilla units were spontaneously formed in some areas. One of the most significant episodes in the liberation movement was the Skidel Revolt in western Belarus. As a result of this uprising, a major Polish contingent was basically paralyzed.

It is important to note that Soviet military presence both in Poland and later in the Baltics prevented large-scale pogroms that were often initiated by local Nazi thugs who attacked Jews even before their German masters got there. We must take all these factors into account as we assess the Soviet Union's foreign policy during that period.

The new Soviet-German border was implicitly recognized at the international level. Winston Churchill stated in his address, *"That the Russian armies should stand on this line was clearly necessitated for the safety of Russia against the Nazi menace."* Paris also gave its implicit consent to the territorial changes.

And the Soviet government used diplomatic channels to inform Britain and France that *"the current demarcation line is not to be considered an official state border between Germany and the USSR"*, and the future of Poland *"will depend on many factors and opposing forces that are impossible to take into account at this point."*

As we know, the beginning of the Great Patriotic War ended up being the main factor. In 1941-1944, Polish national units were formed and armed behind the Soviet frontlines. Soldiers of the First Polish Army fought shoulder to shoulder with Red Army troops liberating their homeland from the Nazis. Over 600,000 Red Army soldiers gave their lives fighting in Poland. Together with their brothers in arms they liberated the prisoners of Auschwitz, Majdanek, Treblinka...

Let me give you one more detail: after the victory over Nazi Germany, it was the Soviet Union that made sure that major industrially developed territories like Silesia, East Prussia, and Pomerania, would become part of Poland. Through the efforts of Soviet diplomacy, the Polish Republic expanded by almost a quarter. So our Polish partners should look for the right role models in their past – I doubt that Polish nationalists, whose only deed was to flee the country in grave danger, deserve to be commemorated. (From the article of *Sergey Naryshkin, chairman of the Russian Historical Society and head of Russia's foreign intelligence agency SVR*)

2 **Field Marshal John Standish Surtees Prendergast Vereker, 6th Viscount Gort** (10 July 1886 – 31 March 1946) was a senior British Army officer. As a young officer during the First World War, he was decorated with the Victoria Cross for his actions during the Battle of the Canal du Nord. During the 1930s he served as Chief of the Imperial General Staff. He is best known for commanding the British Expeditionary Force that was sent to France in the first year of the Second World War, only to be evacuated from Dunkirk the following year. Gort later served as Governor of Gibraltar and Malta, and High Commissioner for Palestine and Transjordan.

3 **Quisling Vidkun Abraham Lauritz Jonssøn** (18 July 1887 – 24 October 1945) was a Norwegian military officer, politician and Nazi collaborator who nominally headed the government of Norway during the country's occupation by Nazi Germany during World War II.

In 1933, Quisling left the Farmers' Party and founded the fascist *Nasjonal Samling* (National Gathering). Although he gained some popularity after his attacks on the political left, his party failed to win any seats in the Storting, and by 1940, it was still little more than peripheral. On 9 April 1940, with the German invasion of Norway in progress, he attempted to seize power in the world's first radio-broadcast *coup d'état* but failed since the Germans sought to convince the recognized Norwegian government to legitimize the German occupation, as had been done in Denmark during the simultaneous invasion there, instead of recognizing Quisling. On 1 February 1942, he formed a second government, approved by the Germans, and served as minister president and headed the Norwegian state administration jointly with the German civilian administrator, Josef Terboven. His pro-Nazi puppet government, known as the Quisling regime, was dominated by ministers from *Nasjonal Samling*. The collaborationist government participated in Germany's war efforts, and sent Jews out of the country to concentration camps in occupied Poland (General Government).

Quisling was put on trial during the legal purge in Norway after World War II. He was found guilty of charges including embezzlement, murder and high treason against the Norwegian state, and was sentenced to death.



4 **The Schlieffen Plan** is a name given after the First World War to German war plans, due to the influence of Field Marshal Alfred von Schlieffen and his thinking on an invasion of France and Belgium, which began on 4 August 1914. Schlieffen was Chief of the General Staff of the German Army from 1891 to 1906. In 1905 and 1906, Schlieffen devised an army deployment plan for a decisive (war-winning) offensive against the French Third Republic. German forces were to invade France through the Netherlands and Belgium rather than across the common border.

5 **The Royal Air Force (RAF)** is the air and space force of the United Kingdom, British Overseas Territories and Crown Dependencies

6 The islands are located in the **Heligoland Bight** (part of the German Bight) in the southeastern corner of the North Sea. They are the only German islands not in the vicinity of the mainland. They lie approximately 69 kilometers (43 miles) by sea from Cuxhaven at the mouth of the River Elbe. During a visit to the islands, August Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben wrote the lyrics to «*Deutschlandlied*», which became the national anthem of Germany.

7 **Rodolfo Graziani**, 1st Marquis of Neghelli (11 August 1882 – 11 January 1955), was a prominent Italian military officer in the Kingdom of Italy's Royal Army, primarily noted for his campaigns in Africa before and during World War II. A dedicated fascist and prominent member of the National Fascist Party, he was a key figure in the Italian military during the reign of Victor Emmanuel III.

8 **Haile Selassie I** (23 July 1892 – 27 August 1975) was the Emperor of Ethiopia from 1930 to 1974.

9 Field Marshal Archibald Percival Wavell, 1st **Earl Wavell**, (5 May 1883 – 24 May 1950) was a senior officer of the British Army. He served in the Second Boer War, the Bazar Valley Campaign and the First World War, during which he was wounded in the Second Battle of Ypres. In the Second World War he served initially as Commander-in-Chief Middle East, in which role he led British forces to victory over the Italian

Army in Eritrea-Abyssinia, western Egypt and eastern Libya during Operation Compass in December 1940, only to be defeated by Erwin Rommel's Panzer Army Africa in the Western Desert in April 1941. He served as Commander-in-Chief, India, from July 1941 until June 1943 (apart from a brief tour as Commander of American-British-Dutch-Australian Command) and then served as Viceroy of India until his retirement in February 1947.

## CHAPTER II THE INVASION

Time Magazine,  
June 30, 1941

### How long for Russia?

*A German crouched behind a tree peering across at the Russians. He was in uniform, but he had no gun. He was talking excitedly into a field telephone, but he was not communicating with headquarters.*

*He was one of Herr Dr. Goebbels' propaganda boys, selling the home folks another war. His voice was elated, but it was also as genteel as if he were describing the tennis matches at the Red-White Club in Berlin. "It is a fine summer morning," he said, "and the action here is wonderful."*

*He told how the German machine had swept into action at 3:05 a.m., the planes going forward to wake the enemy to death, then the pioneers creeping forward to do little engineering tricks, then the full German mechanized weight, noisy, swift, flaming, reaching out to crush and sear the great unknown weight across the way.*

*At this moment the unit he was covering somewhere along the 3,000-mile front was about to storm a section of Russian defenses—tank traps, blockhouses, barracks. The announcer*

*said: "The Russian fire is not enough to hold up our infantry. [Chatter of machine guns; bombs falling.] Light machine guns are now going forward. The bunker over there still answers. It is not made of concrete, but of logs. The Russians are coming forward now [staccato of rifles] but naturally they are stopped. Again we see our infantry going ahead. . . . The bunker is ours. Apparently the first Russian prisoners are in our hands. . . ."*

*Thus, with every detail worked out, even to the designation of the trees behind which broadcasters should crouch, the veteran German Army took on its hugest job. Though bigger potential armies (10,000,000 Russians, 9,000,000 Germans) had never fought on a bigger potential front, the weathered Germans began fighting Russia just as they had opened against all the other opponents, with apparent calm, with obvious savvy.*

*They opened with blows which had become familiar even to the civilians of the world. The airmen executed "rolling attacks" on Russian concentrations, matériel dumps, communications. Other bombers Blitzed cities. The tricks and the gadgets were all used: fog screens, pontoons, tanks, parachutes, flares, flamethrowers, motorcycles, tommy guns. Pioneers exploded casemates with experienced precision. Engineers built bridges where they were needed. Infantry advanced fluidly.*

ASSOCIATED PRESS, JUNE 23, 1941  
**NAZIS PREPARED FOR A YEAR  
 BEFORE ATTACK ON RUSSIA**

Germany's invasion of Russia marked the end of an even year of preparation which began when France signed capitulation terms, well-informed sources asserted today.

These sources said more than 100 divisions were kept constantly along the Russian-German border established in Poland and that extensive road building was undertaken on the German side to expedite the movement of troops in that area.

German military experts, it was declared, knew that until they captured a certain amount of Russian rolling stock the Russian railways would be completely useless, since they purposely were built on a wider gauge than Germany's.

Even during the Yugoslav campaign, these sources continued, more than half the German army was kept at the Russian border in Poland. Germany assured herself access to both flanks of the Russian defense of Ukraine by the occupation of Rumania and later by the concentration of large units in Finland, they said.

There were substantial, but unconfirmed, reports that Germany had built extensive fortifications along the Russian border in Poland and that these were partially matched on the Russian side.

ASSOCIATED PRESS, JUNE 23, 1941  
**EUROPE UPRISING?**

Continental Europe was described by an authorized German spokesman today as being in a "spontaneous uprising" against Soviet Russia.

*"It is an historic coalition of the*

*continent for a common purpose, to eliminate once and for all the common danger,"* the German spokesman said.

*"The extent of this feeling of solidarity and purpose is surprising to us. Germany is proud of its leadership in this crusade and proud of the response of these states to the call of the hour."*

A German High Command war bulletin asserted that the first five days of the struggle proved "that Soviet Russian armies had been ready to attack central Europe."

This, it said, was apparent from the disposition of Red Army forces on frontier lines "unsuitable for defensive purposes" at the outset of the eastern battle.

The communiqué, issued again "from the Führer's headquarters" and still without specific detail on the situation, asserted that the Germans encountered "masses of Russian troops ready for attack" when the drive into Russia began.

Los Angeles Times,  
 June 22, 1941  
**Italy declares war on Russia;  
 Calls it Crusade  
 Oil, Wheat for Long War-  
 Are Other Objectives.**

Italy declared war on the Soviet Union today, following Germany's lead in what Italians called at once a "crusade of liberation" against bolshevism and a drive for supplies of wheat and oil for a long struggle against Britain and the United States.

How, if at all, Italy would participate actively was not learned, but some observers said it was almost certain that Premier Mussolini would want at least

symbolic representation of Italian airmen on the Russian front. Italians indicated the Russian front was too far from the Mediterranean for their troops to join the Germans in battle.

The likeliest points of belligerent contact between Italy and Russia were at sea. It might become Italy's task to cooperate with the Germans in an attempt to block the western entrance of the Dardanelles against passage of Russian ships.

A statement handed to the foreign press sought to give the war the character of a united European struggle against bolshevism and against Russia, Britain, and the United States. Adolf Hitler's war decision was said to be *"the logical consequence of proposals and a policy of healthy European reconstruction."*

Virginio Gayda<sup>1</sup>, chief editorial spokesman for Fascism, wrote that the drive into Russia was to gain food for Europe to counter the allied blockade. He charged that the United States wants to starve all Europe.

News that Italy had taken on another belligerent fell quietly on Rome in the middle of a stuffy summer day, with the exception of blackouts, minor transportation annoyances, and food restrictions, Rome has never seemed like a wartime capital.

The Italian government informed the Russian ambassador, Nicolai Gorelchin, that a state of war existed between Italy and his nation as from 5:30 a. m. today.

Fascists declared unofficially also that the Russian campaign would result in bringing Spain into the axis lineup of all Europe, implying Portugal too would have to come into the German-Italian camp eventually.

UNITED PRESS, JUNE 23. 1941

## **Finns Battle Reds by Side of Germans Troops Fighting Under Hitler Leadership, President Ryti Broadcasts to People**

President Risto Ryti<sup>2</sup> announced to the Finnish people tonight that their armed forces have taken up the battle against Russia *"for the liberty of the fatherland"* side by side with the German troops under *"their genial leader, Reichschancellor Adolf Hitler."*

The announcement that Finnish troops actually are fighting Russia for the second time within two years followed Russian air raids on Helsinki and other cities.

Until the President's nationwide broadcast, Finnish policy in the new war had been based on a statement by Premier Johan Rangall that "Finland has been attacked and will defend herself with all means."

Ryti said Finnish troops had taken up the battle against the Red army to protect *"our living space, our people, the faith of our fathers and our free social order."*

*"The armed forces of the greater German empire under the command of their genial leader, Reichschancellor Adolf Hitler, now wage a successful battle beside us against the Soviet Union forces,"* as he announced. *"Pressure from the East is always threatening us!"* Ryti said in explaining Finland's decision.

ASSOCIATED PRESS, JUNE 22. 1941

## **GENERAL ANTONESCU CALLS FOR "HOLY WAR" ON REDS.**

General Ion Antonescu<sup>3</sup> sent Rumania's army against Soviet Russia today as a full fledged ally of Germany, ordering his

troops to recapture Rumanian soil and “free your oppressed brothers from the Red yoke of bolshevism.”

The general’s order of the day to Rumanian forces told them the hour had struck for a holy war to erase the stain of disgrace from Rumania’s people and to fight for the rights of the church.

“FREE YOUR BROTHERS”

“Free your oppressed brothers from the Red yoke of bolshevism.” he exhorted. “Bring old Bessarabia and the woods of Bukovina, your fields and meadows, back into the *fatherland*.

*“Soldiers, you will fight shoulder to shoulder and heart to heart with the strongest military force on earth. You will fight for the soil of Moldavia and for justice in the world. Be worthy of the honor which history, the army of the Great Reich, and its extraordinary leader, Adolf Hitler, have given you. Fight to avenge injustice. Our people, our king and your general demand this of you.”*

### **CROSS RUSSIAN FRONTIER**

Advices to London from axis and axis influenced sources said the Rumanian army already has smashed across the frontier of soviet Russia on the southern flank.

Reuters, British news agency, said the Rome radio announced that Rumanian forces had crossed the Prut river at 3 a. m. Sunday and said Rumanians had occupied the town of Bolgard, across the Bessarabian border in Russia.

Reuters said one of General Ion Antonescu’s first steps was to assume power of a Generalissimo in Rumania and relinquish his civil role of premier to his nephew, Mihail Antonescu, minister without portfolio in the Bucharest cabinet.

### ASSOCIATED PRESS, JUNE 27. 1941 **CROATIA: READY!**

Croatia is “*ready at any time to fight to the last soldier for the country that freed her – Germany!*” Dr. Ante Pavelitch, Poglavnik<sup>4</sup>, or Führer, of the new Croatian Government, declared.

He did not say, however, whether the Nation carved out of fallen Yugoslavia immediately would take up battle positions beside Nazi troops fighting the Russians, as have the soldiers of another state which the Reich staked to its existence – Slovakia.

### ASSOCIATED PRESS, JUNE 27. 1941 **HUNGARY: WAR!**

Premier Laszlo de Bardossy <sup>5</sup>told Parliament today that “*Hungary is at war with Russia*” and will pay back attacks made upon its territory by the Soviet Air Force!<sup>6</sup>”

The announcement was received enthusiastically by the House. Members of the Hungarian Nazi Party immediately demanded that five Social Democrat deputies be excluded from Parliament.

Chicago Tribune Press Service.  
June 23, 1941

### **Russian Chiefs Slain as Baltic Nations Revolt**

**By Donald Day<sup>6</sup>**

A declaration of Lithuanian independence was broadcast today from the Kaunas radio station. The station was captured by German parachute troops and Lithuanian soldiers who were recruited from thousands of refugees who had

crossed the East Prussian frontier fleeing from the reign of Red terror inaugurated by Russia.

Other German parachutists have landed at various points in both Latvia and Estonia, where Germany's declaration of war against bolshevism was the signal for uprisings among local populations. Pogroms were reported at Mariampol and other Lithuanian towns where many soviet officials and Jews were killed. The former governments of both Lithuania and Latvia had given refuge to 20,000 Jews from Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, and Germany.

Many of these refugees were accused of being revolutionaries. During the Bolshevik occupation of the Baltic states, they were accomplices of Soviet officials who arrived from Russia, according to Lithuanians.

The Kaunas radio broadcast an announcement of the Lithuanian army staff head said it was collaborating with the German army staff there.

From the Koenigsberg [East Prussia] station I heard a voice making a speech in Lettish. Listeners identified the speaker as Karl Ulmanis, former Latvian president who was deposed by Moscow. Swedish reports a year ago said he had been killed by political assassins. The speaker told the Latvians that within a few days they would be freed "from their Bolshevik oppressors."

HELSINGFORS, Finland, June 24. Revolts against bolshevik rule spread today in three Baltic states — Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia. Civil warfare raged as the German army pressed forward in its invasion of Russian territory.

A division of Letts, organized and trained by the Germans, is advancing thru Latvia toward Riga, the capital, having captured Kuldiga last night. Advance

detachments contacted Soviet forces near Tukums.

#### *Estonians Join War.*

Another powerful column containing two regiments of Estonian volunteers who have been organized as an armored division are included in the Invading force, but they will not enter action until Riga has been captured and the fight to free Estonia begins.

Only two of Latvia's four radio stations continued communist broadcasts. They were the Madona and Riga stations. The Libau and Kuldiga stations have been seized by invading forces.

Latvia's farmers, armed with weapons dropped from German planes, attacked Russian garrisons.

Civil war also grips Estonia, where the Estonians, operating in the districts of Narva, Tartu, and Pechori, have cut off the retreat of Russian forces which occupied their country.

Small bands of men, Estonian home guards have been concentrating their attacks wherever possible upon the portable radio stations of the Red army. Many Russian divisions are isolated, because all telephone and telegraph lines of the Baltic states were severed. Sunday night at many points, especially in the forested areas where farmers ambushed and massacred Soviet repair detachments.

Los Angeles Times, July 26, 1941

### **Sweden Gives Nazis transit to Finland**

The Swedish government announced tonight that it had agreed to permit the passage of a German force of not more than one division across its territory











from Norway to Finland. The Germans will travel by the Swedish railways. The government said its action was taken after consulting parliament.

A communiqué said, however, that “Sweden will firmly pursue her efforts to maintain her liberty and independence and to stay outside warlike conflicts.”

The following communique was issued after a secret meeting of the Riksdag (parliament). “In the situation which has arisen through war breaking out between Germany and the U. S. S. R., Sweden will firmly pursue her efforts to maintain her liberty and independence and to stay outside warlike conflicts.

“The new situation has, however confronted us with certain specific questions. Thus both from the Finnish and the German side a demand has been made for permission to transport a force not exceeding on division on Swedish railways from Norway to Finland. The government, after consulting the Riksdag has agreed to this taking place in a form compatible with Swedish sovereignty!

Spokesmen of the foreign office when asked about other questions said there was no discussion of any but practical questions,

Christian Science Monitor,  
June 26, 1941

### **Hitler Plan to Defeat Soviet: “Trojan Horse’ Behind Front”**

**By Edmund Stevens<sup>7</sup> and Emlin Williams**

*Revolutions and fifth column plans made to sap Russian war effort from within.*

*Russian Quislings and fifth-column organizations have big assignments in*

*Hitler’s plan to blitz the Soviet bear. Their main jobs will be to foment dissension in the rear, thereby cracking from within the resistance to German onslaught and organizing sabotage in factories and railway lines. In conquered areas they will be used for setting up puppet independent governments.*

The Nazis hoped to bring about mass uprisings in the three recently absorbed Baltic countries — Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

In fact, almost before the first gun of the German-Soviet war was fired, Berlin and Nazi news channels elsewhere were feeding the news — hungry foreign press with reports of revolts in these countries, probably straight from Dr. Goebbels’ files, complete with the names of the purported leaders.

Later when this copy had run out and there was no action to justify the reports, Berlin officially disowned the story but their outfielders kept the play going a little longer.

This by no means implies that there is not plenty of latent opposition to the Soviets in these small countries, so recently deprived of their independence. But despite the Nazi plans there is reason to believe Hitler is finding that this Russian anti-Russian feeling will not flow in Nazi channels. Take Lithuania, its principal cities of Kaunas and Vilna have a Jewish majority of approximately 80 per cent who are not likely to favor pro-Nazi putsches. While the Lithuanian peasants have little affection for the Soviet, they dislike the Germans far more.

### **CHERISH NO ILLUSIONS**

In Riga and Tallin, in the late fall of 1939, it was the almost universal consensus of opinion among the Letts

and Estonians that Russian rule at its worst was preferable to Nazi rule at its best. These people have been living too close to Germany for too many years to cherish any illusions about Hitler as an emancipator. They realize that there is only one thing worse than being conquered by Hitler: to be liberated by him.

Even the Finns, with all their pent-up feeling against the Soviets and with a German Army in their midst to push them on, hesitated before taking the final plunge, knowing full well for whose benefit they would be fighting.

The fifth-column element that Hitler clearly hoped to rely on were the hundred-odd thousand "Baltische Deutsch," "those descendants of the German crusading knights that had preserved their nationality on these foreign shores for seven centuries and remained docile tools of the fatherland.

But "it takes a thief to catch a thief." The Soviet leaders were well aware of these possibilities and in their original agreement with Germany over spheres of influence in eastern Europe, they stipulated that these Germans must be called "home to the Reich."

The amazing mass transplantation of the Baltic Germans in October, 1939, thus acquires special significance in retrospect. Of course the Nazis, while forced to comply with the Soviet request, tried to leave a sprinkling behind. These the Soviets proceeded to sweep up with an iron broom when they finally annexed the Baltic States outright. Every remaining German was summarily arrested in the first three weeks of July 1940 and everyone who could speak German was called on to account for himself. Thus

was Hitler's fifth-column effectively "liquidated."

### **TACTICS IN POLAND**

After the tactics the Germans employed in their portion of Occupied Poland, it was unlikely that the Polish population that was taken by Russia, for all their dislike of their new rulers, would provide material for German fifth-column organizers.

By process of elimination, this leaves the Western Ukraine as the one important border area where the Germans, despite all their efforts, might rustle up some substantial fifth-column support.

Ukrainian nationalists were equally embittered against the Poles and the Russians, as their autonomous movement was subject to violent persecution on either side of the old Soviet-Polish border. Because of this, they easily fell for the bait of German propagandists many years ago. Almost since the inception of the Nazi Regime in Germany, Ukrainian nationalists have received German support of their political agitation in behalf of an independent "Greater Ukraine."

Under German aegis the various conflicting groups among the Ukrainian nationalists, gradually have been brought into a single organization of the Ukrainian nationalists variously known as the OUN or UNO. Old enemies like Gen. Pavel Skoropadsky, whom the German Army installed as Ukrainian Hetman or king in 1918, and Col. Andrei Melnyk, who as Simeon Petlioura's Chief of Staff, dethroned General Skoropadsky, have now joined hands with the various remnants of the apocryphal "green" and "white" armies of the Russian civil war.

For 23 years since his hasty departure from Kiev, General Skoropadsky has led an obscure existence in Berlin.

### **NAZIS RECOGNIZED VALUE**

The Nazis early recognized his potential value and added him to their political menagerie. He and his pictures have now been dusted off and are reported circulating in German-controlled areas of Polish Ukraine.

Assisting General Skoropadsky is General Pavlenko, former champion of the short-lived Ukrainian nationalist Rada, a more leftist political group, General Pavlenko, who lived in Prague for the past 10 years in extreme poverty, appears to be leading the field as candidate for the job of Ukrainian Quisling — his services to Germany in the past war are the best qualification — Colonel Melnyk might prove to be a serious rival. At one time, in fact, he seemed to be the German favorite, but unsavory publicity has damaged his chances.

In the days after Munich the Russian-speaking western province of Czechoslovakia-Ruthenia — renamed Sub-Carpathian Ukraine by none less than Hitler himself, seemed destined for the role of Prussia or Piedmont in the unification of “Greater Ukraine.” Colonel Melnyk, who for 18 years had lived quietly in Lemberg, Poland, administering property of the Orthodox Church, suddenly left his retirement and toured Europe, visiting his old friends in the various capitals.

### **UKRAINIAN ARMY RECRUITED**

Afterwards, instead of returning to Lemberg<sup>8</sup>, he took up residence in Chust, newly proclaimed the Capital of

the Sub-Carpathian Ukraine. Here with the recently arrived German Consul General, Colonel Melynuk unfurled the Ukrainian blue and yellow flag with its trident insignia — a black trident on a blue and yellow background — and began recruiting his “Ukrainian National Army.”

The purpose of this army was in the words of Hitler’s Dr. Alfred Rosenberg — himself a former Russian citizen — to “liberate the Nordic bastion of the Ukraine from Mongoloid Russia.”

This was in the days of the initial German pressure on Poland after Munich. For reasons hard to determine, Hitler then abandoned his plans for the “Sub-Carpathian Ukraine” and allowed Hungary to annex it. Colonel Melnyk was left holding the bag. He re-emerged, however, somewhat tarnished, after the German invasion of Poland.

Colonel Melnyk’s present job appears to be chiefly that of contact man between the various local organizational centers, and the headquarters for the whole movement which has been transferred to Rome.

Colonel Melnyk is also the link with the Russian emigré groups whom Hitler has recruited to help him, particularly the Russian National Committee with headquarters in Warsaw, Poland.

### **UKRAINIANS FAVOURED**

In those areas of occupied Poland with an Ukrainian population, the Germans have gone out of their way to recruit popular sympathy. The Ukrainians have been subject to none of the restrictions and discriminations imposed on their Polish and Jewish neighbors. While Polish institutions of learning were closed, including universities, a Ukrainian university and numerous Ukrainian

high schools have been opened by the Germans. The importance of this may be realized by recalling that Polish suppression of Ukrainian schools was one of the sorest issues of these people's lives in the past. In other respects the Ukrainians receive much of the same treatment as the members of the German minority groups — special jobs, including service on the police force are open to them. They have their own clubs, hotels, restaurants, etc., from which Poles and Jews are excluded. Hitler's efforts to woo the Russian emigrés have met with less success than in the case of the Ukrainians. For most of these Russians, though opposed to Bolshevism, consider themselves patriots and are opposed to any scheme to carve up their country for Germany's benefit. This applies, with few exceptions, to the leadership and rank and file of the Russian Military Union, the Czarist officer organization, including such figures as General Denikin, commander of the White armies in the south.

Hitler's Russian support is drawn almost entirely from the extreme Right Wing, from the violently reactionary anti-semitic "Supreme Monarchist Council." These include: officers of the former Imperial Army who lived in Paris and who, since the Nazi occupation, have received preferential treatment, have different ideas regarding the future of Russia. Some see it as a Nazi monarchy with a Russian flavor or Communist modification, but are willing to welcome Hitler as a temporary emancipator.

### **RESTORATION POSSIBLE**

It is not inconceivable that he might play with the idea of the restoration of the Russian monarchy in the person of

the German Prince Louis Ferdinand who, through his marriage into the Russian Imperial family a few years ago, unites the Hohenzollerns and Romanoffs. Should it suit his purpose, Hitler certainly would not hesitate to do this, even though Prince Louis Ferdinand's sympathies were hardly Nazi before the outbreak of this war.

Hitler certainly will allow "destruction of Bolshevism" to be interpreted for the benefit of any possible ex-Czarist supporters as "Romanoff restoration" even though it will be by Hitler's grace.

Among such Czarist adventurers is General Biskupsky and Adjutant Chouhoutoff, former colonel of the Russian Imperial Guard. General Biskupsky was acquainted with Alfred Rosenberg during the latter's student days at St. Petersburg during the World War. After the Bolshevik revolution, General Biskupsky settled in Munich in 1920 where a close friendship developed. Mr. Rosenberg never has denied that General Biskupsky was his mentor and Hitler's in Russian revolutionary tactics and propaganda.

During the chaotic first year of Nazi rule, General Biskupsky was imprisoned by Ernst Röhm, Storm Troop head, as a reactionary despite the protests of Mr. Rosenberg and Hitler's displeasure. This was because General Biskupsky criticized the Nazi Regime as a "robber state," according to a German imprisoned with him. But General Biskupsky has long been won over to Hitlerism through which he hopes the Russia of yesterday will be restored.

### **ECCLESIASTICAL AID**

Hitler also has not neglected possible aid from ecclesiastical circles and had cleverly benefitted from sharp divisions

between the two parties of the Russian Orthodox Church-in-exile. A leader of one section is Metropolitan Anastasius, now living at Carlovci in Serbia. Even before the outbreak of war, he published an open letter to Hitler in which he declared: "You are our Führer."

To this Section, Hitler has granted a cathedral and educational institution and confidently hopes to use the Russian Church in both Germany and occupied territory as a means of conquering the Ukraine.

Inside Russia, the Soviets have gone to extreme lengths in seeking to eradicate possible material for Nazi fifth-column activity.

Wherever areas of German settlement existed like the Volga German Republic or the German districts of the Ukraine, vigorous steps have been taken to cut off all possible links with the fatherland and nip any signs of Nazi sympathy in the bud. Time was when the Hitler-sponsored "Brothers in Need" organization in Germany sent parcels and money to these scattered German communities by mail and Nazi organizers and agitators found ways of smuggling themselves and their propaganda material into the country.

Since the days of the purge of 1936-38, however, most of the underground channels have been sealed and the German communities have been subject to a regime of intense police scrutiny while offending villages have been broken up or else deported wholesale to Siberia. This ruthless and inhuman method has served its purpose and today there are no longer compact German-speaking groups with a cultural life of their own anywhere in Russia.

While the existence of a widespread latent opposition to the Bolsheviks is undeniable among the Russians themselves, it appears unlikely that many of these disgruntled elements will throw in their lot with the Nazis. When fighting a foreign invader internal politics become a side issue.

Just as in the days of the Romanoffs. Napoleon had the whole of the Russian people to contend with, so Hitler may find himself, to his surprise and chagrin, faced by an entire nation.

ASSOCIATED PRESS, MADRID,  
JUNE 23, 1941

### **Global Reaction: Pro... Et Contra.**

#### **Cabinet of Spain Meets on sending troops against reds**

The Spanish cabinet held an urgent cabinet meeting tonight without announcing decision on whether a voluntary Spanish expeditionary force would aid Germany against the Russians. A communiqué said merely that the session will be continued further, indicating the ministries have not reached a decision. Alexander W. Weddell, the American ambassador, requested an urgent interview with Generalissimo Francisco Franco.

A spokesman made it clear that Spain, if she fought, would not be fighting to aid anyone but rather against the country "we fought for three years in the civil war." He added that enlistment offices "might" be established later here and throughout the country to handle the applications of those wanting to fight the Russians.

A foreign ministry spokesman said that he was "not authorized" to say whether or not volunteers would be<sup>9</sup>.

Chicago Tribune Press Service,  
June 22, 1941

## **Germany's blow at communism cheers French**

### **Chance to Lighten Own Burden Also Seen**

The German war on Russia brought smiles today to most French faces. There were apparently two reasons. First, the German attack against Russia is considered less an offensive than a reaction of the "new Europeanism" against bolshevism. Communism has been branded a serious menace in France for months. Perhaps 15,000 persons are held in detention camps or jails for communist activities, and Chief of State Petain only recently appealed to the French to beware of communism.

### **EXPECT OWN BURDEN TO SHRINK**

Second, the French believe the occupation of France may be lightened thru the withdrawal of German troops to fight Russia.

French unofficial sources believe German possession of the Ukraine, Russian granary, against which the Nazi army is supposed here to be aimed, would benefit all Europe since it would put the Ukraine's wheat and oil into the hands of the Germans.

French spokesmen stressed that the German blow at Russia represented "*Europe's will to get rid of the baneful influence of the Soviets.*"

It was said unofficially that Russia never was inspired by any real desire to collaborate, much less to work sincerely for European reconstruction. Furthermore, according to the same sources, the soviet

attitude was dominated by self-interested calculations.

### **RED ARMY DISPARAGED**

French sources also reechoed the idea that Germany is placing itself in the vanguard as European leader and that as, German troops raise a bulwark against the orient, they destroy that "element of dissension in Europe which bolshevism represented."<sup>10</sup>

French commentators suggested that a reverse for the Russian armies, which they do not regard highly, would possibly lead to disintegration of the Soviet Union and the detachment of its many republics from Moscow. On the other hand, French military critics discuss Russia's chances cautiously because of the enormous spaces over which an attacking army must operate.

Chicago Daily Tribune, June 23, 1941

## **Drive on Russia is applauded by catholic paper**

Catholic spokesmen today rejoiced over the German attack against what the Catholic newspaper *Avvenire* called "The Anticipation of the Anti-Christ."

The *Avvenire*, it was pointed out, is not a Vatican newspaper.

"Two years of intimate suffering between idealistic imperatives and the compromises of reality have finally ended," the *Avvenire* goes on. "We are above all believers. We believe and hope that the anti-bolshevist drive is the sign of predestination and the protection of evidence. England and the United States can no longer make men believe in the good faith of those who fight for Russia."



The Times, June 23, 1941

## **Full British Aid To Russia**

### **Prime Ministers' declaration of British Policy**

The Prime Minister broadcast last night a declaration of British policy in the new situation created by the German war on Russia.

He promised Russia that every possible help would be given her steadfastly to the end; announced that she had already been offered technical and economic aid; foreshadowed ever-increasing day and night bombing of Germany; and repeated that Britain would never parley with Hitler or his gang.

Audiofile: 1941-06-22\_BBC\_Winston\_Churchill\_Germany\_Invades\_Russia

Заголовок-

Winston Churchill broadcast on Soviet German War

The New York Times,

June 25, 1941

## **Averting of British Defeat Seen in Attack on Russia**

The Nazi attack on Russia probably will save Great Britain from defeat, Col. Josiah C. Wedgwood, British M.P. said here today, predicting that Russians, "unlike other driven people," will be able to fight guerrilla warfare behind the lines and successfully hold out.

The dean of the British Labor party told 75 members of the British Empire Chamber of Commerce in the United States that the greatest joy of his life was to hear of the invasion of Russia. "I

hope that this will bring Russia nearer to our way of thought, to some form of democratic freedom," he said.

Predicting that the next peace treaty will be drawn up "not in Versailles but in Washington," Col. Wedgwood asserted that England is "through" with the responsibility of solving the problems of Europe which she has done for the past 300 years "We've had enough of it. It's time we passed on the baby to the Americans."

The only end of this war in "union between America and Great Britain," he declared, with other democracies eventually joining in the "union" for the "preservation of world peace."

Chicago Tribune. June 23, 1941

## **The President aligns America with Red Russia**

President Roosevelt today aligned the United States with Russia against Germany in the extension of the war in Europe. Whether material American aid will be furnished Russia, however, was not clear. In a conference with Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles<sup>11</sup>, the President said that if he were asked about the possibility of extending aid to Soviet Russia under the lend-lease act he would not know at this time what answer to give.

This question, it was indicated, would be decided when and if the, Russian government asks the assistance of the United States.

ASSOCIATED PRESS, JUNE 25,  
1941, BERLIN

## **NAZIS LINKEN STATESMANSHIP OF ROSEVELT TO STALIN'S**

The German press drew parallels between democracy and Communism in comment today on President Roosevelt's offer of United States aid for Soviet Russia. "There is very little difference between the statesmanship of Roosevelt and Stalin," declared the Boersen Zeitung.

"Plutocracy and Bolshevism come from the same Jewish root," the Berlin financial news paper added. "They are only two different methods of reaching the same antisocial objectives, President Roosevelt's promise to help Moscow has made this fact clear before the eyes of the world." Adolf Hitler's Berlin news paper, Voelkischer Beobachter, put its comment under a three column headline saying: "Roosevelt Gives Blessing to Moscow- London Wedding."

The United States President, who was going to save democracy, it said, "now steps out as a playmate of Bolshevik world revolutionist."

"Even American armament makers" it added "evidently are prepared to bury their enmity toward Communism."

The Washington Post,  
June 25, 1941

## **World Rule Declared Proved as Nazi Aim**

**By Edward T. Folliard<sup>12</sup>**

Germany's attack on Russia ought to prove beyond all doubt that Adolf Hitler plans domination over every country in the world — it was said yesterday in State Department circles.

The Nazi onslaught, it was further stated, was another evidence that Hitler's word was worthless; that a nonaggression pact simply provided Germany with an opportunity if and when she desired to attack the other party to the pact.

Government officials remained tight-lipped over the question of whether the United States would list Russia as a victim of aggression and extend her aid under the Lease-Lend Act.

Two points of view on this question were quickly discerned in Congressional circles. One was that the United States ought to forget Russia's own record of betrayal and aggression and give her aid; the other was that the United States ought to remain aloof and regard the Nazi-Soviet war as a dog-eat-dog contest.

Chicago Tribune ,  
June 23, 1941

## **America Should Attack Nazis Now, Correspondent Believes**

### **Time Ripe for Naval and Air Support to Allies Before Russian Resources Taken, Expert Says**

**By John T. Whitaker<sup>13</sup>**

The Invasion of Russia may prove to be Germany's decisive blunder leading on to as bleak a chapter for Hitler as Napoleon's retreat from Moscow. But this will be true, in the opinion of military expert, only if Hitler's enemies make it happen, to be more precise, if the Americans choose this moment to strike.

Underneath the worldwide jubilation, welcoming a struggle between the two most hated tyrannies of modern times, there is the more somber judgment of those who foresee a German war machine

provided at last with oil, minerals and wheat necessary for the conquest of the entire world.

### **WOULD BE STRONGER**

Germany's generals believe, your correspondent can reveal on good authority, that they can knock out Russia in about one month. If their time table is right they would be ready for the conquest of Britain and the Western Hemisphere while Britain is without an effective ally and America is still debating.

The moment has come for America to throw its destroyers into the battle of the Atlantic, ferreting out submarines and releasing British warships for service in the Mediterranean where Prime Minister Churchill has little of his fleet left.

The moment has come for America to throw in the vanguard of its air force to provide that preponderance of bomber strength that will give Britain mastery over the German skies while Reichsmarshal Herman Goering's luftwaffe is occupied with Russia's inferior but enormous air force.

### **PURPOSE OUTLINED**

This is not a Nazi war against Communism. There is no essential difference between Nazism and Communism.

This is a war of the German military to gain raw materials needed for the conquest of America and to destroy the Russian war machine on Germany's flank, as this correspondent revealed last week. Heretofore, the German military have always opposed war on two fronts.

Los Angeles Times,  
June 26, 1941

### **Isms Declared in Death Battles Senator Wheeler Hits at American Program to Assist Russia**

Senator Wheeler<sup>14</sup> (D.) Mont., tonight asserted that with the spread of the war to Russia, the conflict had ceased to be one between England and Germany but had become, instead, death struggle between the armed might of Nazism and Communism."

Contending that a Russian victory would mean a "Communist in Europe." Wheeler asked at an America First outdoor rally: "Do you Americans want to send American money or American boys to fight side by side with Joe Stalin in order to establish Communism throughout Europe and the world – anymore than you want the international socialism of leaders of the English Labor Party or the National Socialism of Hitler?"

### **BOOS AND SHOUTS**

That was not what "the American people want," asserted the Montanan as he expressed the conviction that to remain a democracy the United States "must remain free from foreign wars."

From the crowd, estimated at 5500 by Deputy Police Chief Michael J. Godfrey, came hoos and shouts of "no" at the mention of American help for Russia.

"The war between Germany and Russia has drastically altered the international picture of only a few days ago," he said, "it is no longer a war between England and Germany. It is a death struggle between the armed might of Nazism and Communism."

## **BUFFER TO RUSSIA**

In invading Russia, Wheeler, said, Hitler "was playing the role written for him by cold and dispassionate English diplomats."

The British permitted and even encouraged the rearming of Germany. Hitlerism was not checked in its infancy because England saw Hitler as a buffer to Russia." Wheeler termed both Stalin and Hitler "ruthless dictators."

"Only yesterday, Stalin's godless Communism was the sworn brother of Hitler's Nazism. Today they battle and tomorrow the doctrines of the victor will engulf.

Chicago Daily Tribune,  
June 23, 1941

## **Non-Interventionists in Congress assail alignment with reds**

Noninterventionists in congress today denounced the Roosevelt administration's alignment of the United States with soviet Russia in the extension of the war in Europe. "It's a case of dog eat dog," said Senator Bennett Champ Clark [D., Mo.]. "Stalin is fully as bloody handed a murderer as Hitler, and communism is certainly as inimical to our ideals of government, life, and religion as is Naziism."

Senator Robert M. La Follette recalled that some interventionists "have tried to smear with communism" those who would keep this country out of war. "Now the shoe is on the other foot," he added. "In the next few weeks the American people will be told to forget the purges in Russia, the confiscation of property, the

persecution of religion, the invasion of Finland, and the vulture rôle Stalin played in Poland, Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania. These will be made to seem the acts of a 'democracy' preparing to fight Nazism."

TOKYO, ASSOCIATED PRESS,  
JUNE 23, 1941

## **NAZI MOVE PUTS TOKYO LEADER INTO DILEMMA JAPANESE PRESS TONE IS CAUTIOUS AS OFFICIALS CONFER**

Japan's highest officials held important conferences today obviously on the dilemma that confronted this nation since Germany and Italy, its Axis partners, went to war against Russia, Japan's new treaty friend.

Premier Prince Fumimaro Konoye met with Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka who previously had conferred with Emperor Hirohito, Matsuoka also talked for an hour with Maj. Gen. Eugen Ott, German Ambassador.

An urgent conference of the cabinet and military leaders was postponed for six hours.

The vernacular newspapers almost unanimously concluded that Japan's future course must be based on her own strength. One commentator said the Japanese can now see how unreliable international treaties are and that reliance must be put only upon the nation.

Observers noted objective handling of the news and the lack of speculation on the attitude of the Japanese government in Japanese newspapers. Some neutral sources suggested a parallel in the Russian-German conflict with the China affair, for Russia's vast territory made possible the same scattered resistance as Chungking's.

**Some Japanese newspaper comment:**  
**Yomiuri Shimbun**<sup>15</sup> — “At present what is watched with keen interest is the future attitude of Britain and the United States. It is a question whether Britain will make a start for peace with Germany, taking the opportunity to cooperate and present a united front against the Soviets, or whether in concert with the Kremlin it will continue the war. The United States, however, has the initiative in continuance of the anti-German war, and Britain herself cannot afford to decide on a peace. In any case, Japan will be affected, and the empire should be cautious and not take the wrong course”

**Asahi Shimbun** — “Hitler has come to feel the necessity for making preparation for a long war instead of adhering to the tactics of carrying out landing assaults against the British Isles. It is advantageous to Germany to knock down the Soviet before the United States participates.”

**Hochi Shimbun** — “Japan shouldn’t indulge in utilitarianism, but should always keep in mind the international facts and world peace, which are the supreme conception of the imperial diplomacy, strictly refraining from rash actions.”

The most significant fact to this empire, was that pressure Britain and the United States, thus seemingly had been removed from permitting the United States fleet to remain in the Pacific.

Japan was reliably reported to have tried unsuccessfully to intervene in the German-Russian crisis, and the United States was said to have been informed of the Japanese efforts.

The semiofficial Domei news agency said the feeling in Tokyo was that the new hostilities might well turn the war into

an actual world-wide conflict. The first concrete development, it said, might be the welding of Britain, the United States and Russia into a solid front.

The Japanese-Russian friendship treaty, signed April 18, provides that “should one of the contracting parties become the object of hostilities on the part of one or several third powers the other contracting party will observe neutrality throughout the duration of the conflict.”

Under the tripartite pact of September 27, 1940, Japan is pledged to help Germany if either is “attacked by a power at present not involved in the European war.”

The Russian Embassy yard was guarded as usual by Japanese police. Inside the gates women and children talked in excited clusters.

The New York Times,  
 June 26, 1941

### **Italian Admiral Urges Japan Enter War Against Soviet**

Japan today was urged to enter the war against Soviet Russia and to forestall the United States by seizing Sakhalin and part of Kamchatka in an article by Admiral Gino Ducci, one of Italy’s most important naval officers. Admiral Ducci is the president of the Committee of Admirals.

Writing in the *Giornale d’Italia*, Admiral Ducci suggested American aid first will take the form of sending planes from Alaska via the Aleutian Islands, and also naval vessels to Petropavlosk in Kamchatka and even to Vladivostok. In that case, “the strategic situation of Japan which the pact of Moscow had bettered

would be gravely compromised," he wrote. Concentration of American planes on the Manchzhurian frontier would force the Japanese to send their troops and planes back to the north, he suggested. Moreover, the industrial and military centers of Japan, herself, would be within easy reach and thus "the United States, without greatly compromising herself, would regain the advantages she lost by the Moscow pact.

Admiral Ducci then presented the argument that the United States might enter the war suddenly and, ipso facto, find itself allied to Russia against Japan. Therefore, he went on, Tokyo should act in the present moment, in contrast to her passivity in the spring of 1940, when she failed to profit by Germany's great success.

ASSOCIATED PRESS, JULY 24, 1941  
**WHITE RUSSIANS WOULD AID REDS**

A number of White Russians, some of whom served the Czar and others who left Russia as children when the Bolsheviks took over, have asked the British to help them get back to their homeland to help the Red Army in its fight against Germany. "We never thought we'd want to fight beside the Reds, but now that Russia is in danger we're all Russians," one of them said. "We love our country as only men who have been separated from their homeland 20 years, and are always longing for it, can love a country." These men, strangely, are only 13 days removed from fighting against the British. They were part of the French Army which opposed the British – de Gaullist invasion of Syria.

Among Legionnaires seeking a way out of Syria with the idea of joining in the war against Germany are former Spanish Republicans, who fled over the Pyrenees into France when Gen. Francisco Franco unloosed his fascist forces against the Spanish republic. The men were kept in vast concentration camps in the South of France, but with the outbreak of European hostilities many joined the Foreign Legion. Two battalions of them were sent to Syria. Some of the Spaniards deserted into Palestine where a company of them was formed by the British. Both Russian and Spanish Legionnaires fought against the Australians on the coastal road leading to this capital. They underwent at Damour, south of here, an artillery barrage in which the Australians and the Royal Navy were estimated to have hurled 17,000 shells before breaking through Beirut's outer defenses.

The New York Times,  
 June 23, 1941

**Kerensky Urges Russians of all creeds to aid nation**

Pessimistic of Russia's chances with Germany, Alexander Kerensky, once head of the invaded nation, urges Russians of all political creeds to unite to save the country.

Kerensky, who 24 years ago helped overthrow the Tsarist regime and briefly headed the provisional government until the Bolshevik revolution forced him to flee, says his country is weak and Joseph Stalin bankrupt.

Russia stands face to face with Hitler's panzer divisions," he said yesterday,

“She cannot expect direct assistance from anyone. Nevertheless, we Russian patriots are grateful to Prime Minister Churchill for his promise of giving the Russian people whatever help may be within the power of England.”

He said Russians were deprived of the fruits of victory in the last World War by the “so-called revolutionary aims” of Lenin, but that the country’s position today is “even more tragic.”

“Stalin,” he declared, “is the victim of his own treacherous policy, both domestic and foreign. Now Stalin is bankrupt. Now he must look for help from the same democracies and ‘plutocracies against whom he had conspired with Hitler,

“However, this is not the time to be settling accounts with Stalin. The new peril that ham now descended upon Russia requires the unification of all Russians who place the security and independence of their country above everything else.”

Communist party leaders in the United States declared the homeland was “waging struggle for the cause of the freedom of all nations and asked Americans to give full support to the Soviet Union,

A joint statement issued by William Z. Foster, party chairman, and Robert Minor, acting party secretary, also called upon American workers to oppose all “those reactionaries of every stripe who seek in any manner to aid Hitler’s attack against the Soviet Union.”

### **Winston Churchill broadcast on Soviet German War**

**Audiofile**

ASSOCIATED PRESS, JUNE 24, 1941

### **Queen Wilhelmina Supports Russia<sup>16</sup>**

Refugee Queen Wilhelmina of The Netherlands in a broadcast to her people today said her government has decided to fight by the side of the Russian people despite its hatred of Bolshevism.

“We may never forget,” she said, “that we reject absolutely the principles and practices of Bolshevism, but we are full of compassion for the Russian people who have to undergo such terrible ordeal.”

She “welcomed the British Empire’s statesmanship in the approach to the new conflict and asked the Dutch people to fight the Nazi.

### **(Endnotes)**

1 Virginio Gayda (12 August 1885–14 March 1944) was prominent Italian fascist journalist during Fascist Italy. Mussolini raised no public objection when Gayda warned against the likelihood of a swift victory one week after start in June 1941 of the Axis invasion of the Soviet Union. However, on 17 February 1943, Gayda provoked the second incident by stating in *Il Giornale d’Italia* that the Axis powers had difficulties in the war of attrition. Since the Allies were understood to have more industrial power than the Axis, that was seen as a tacit admission of a likely defeat. As a result, Gayda did not appear in *Il Giornale d’Italia* again until 23 March. He was replaced as editor of *Il Giornale d’Italia* by A. Bergamini after the fall of the fascist regime on 25 July 1943.

2 Edmund William Stevens (22 July 1910, Denver – 24 May 1992, Moscow) was an American journalist and documentary writer. He won the Pulitzer Prize for International Reporting (1950). Studied international law at Columbia University in New York. In 1934 he took a position in the Moscow office of the Cunard Line shipping company, while studying at Moscow University.

Stevens quickly learnt Russian and a year later took a job as a translator for a state publishing house that sold literature about the Soviet Union abroad. He also began writing reports from the USSR for British newspapers such as *The Manchester Guardian* and the *Daily Herald*.

He maintained close contacts with the US ambassador Joseph Davis. Stevens became a war correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor*, which published his reports from the theatre of war in Western Europe and North Africa. In 1942, he returned to Moscow. Enjoying the special confidence of U.S. Ambassador Averell Harriman, Stevens was part of the American delegation to the meeting between Stalin and Churchill as a counsellor. On 21-22 January 1944, Stevens participated in a trip from Moscow to the site of the Katyn massacre, which was organised by the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs for Western journalists. The delegation numbered 17 people: eleven Americans, five Britons, and one Frenchman. Stevens adhered to the Soviet version of the investigation.

During the Stalinist era, in his reports from Moscow, Stevens praised Stalin and called the Soviet Union a democratic country. He defended the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. In 1945, Stevens, along with Jerome Davis, John Hersey, Richard Lauterbach, Edgar Snow, and Alexander Werth, participated in a campaign by pro-Soviet journalists against publisher and journalist William Lindsay White, who described Soviet society in his book.

3 **Ion Antonescu** (14 June 1882 – 1 June 1946) was a Romanian military officer and marshal who presided over two successive wartime dictatorships as Prime Minister and *Conducător* during most of World War II. Having been responsible for facilitating the Holocaust in Romania, he was tried for war crimes and executed in 1946.

4 **Ante Pavelić** (14 July 1889 – 28 December 1959) was a Croatian politician who founded and headed the fascist ultranationalist organization known as the Ustaše in 1929 and served as dictator of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH), a fascist puppet state built out of parts of occupied Yugoslavia by the authorities of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, from 1941 to 1945.

Pavelić and the Ustaše persecuted many racial minorities and political opponents in the NDH during the war, including Serbs, Jews, Romani, and anti-fascists, becoming one of the key figures of the genocide of Serbs, the Porajmos and the Holocaust in the NDH

5 **László Bárdossy de Bárdos** (10 December 1890–10 January 1946) was a Hungarian diplomat and politician who served as Prime Minister of Hungary from April 1941 to March 1942. He was one of the chief architects of Hungary's involvement in World War II

6 **Donald Satterlee Day** (May 15, 1895–October 1, 1966) was a controversial American reporter in northern Europe for the *Chicago Tribune* in the 1920s and 1930s. As a broadcaster on German radio for several months during World War II. Following the Allied victory in Europe, he was twice arrested by U.S. authorities and investigated for treason and espionage for Soviet Union, but no charges were brought. According to some unofficial data due to his position in eastern Europe as a reporter for many years, Day was able to provide the U.S. government with tips about Soviet espionage agents, which played a part in his charges being dropped.

7 **Edmund William Stevens** (22 July 1910, Denver – 24 May 1992, Moscow) was an American journalist and documentary writer. He won the Pulitzer Prize for International Reporting (1950). Studied international law at Columbia University in New York. In 1934 he took a position in the Moscow office of the Cunard Line shipping company, while studying at Moscow University. Stevens quickly learnt Russian and a year later took a job as a translator for a state publishing house that sold literature about the Soviet Union abroad. He also began writing reports from the USSR for British newspapers such as *The Manchester Guardian* and the *Daily Herald*. He maintained close contacts with the US ambassador Joseph Davis. Stevens became a war correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor*, which published his reports from the theatre of war in Western Europe and North Africa. In 1942, he returned to Moscow. Enjoying the special confidence of U.S. Ambassador Averell Harriman, Stevens was part of the American delegation to the meeting between Stalin and



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8 **Lviv** is the largest city in western Ukraine, as well as the sixth-largest city in Ukraine, with a population of 717,273 (2022 estimate). It serves as the administrative center of Lviv Oblast and Lviv Raion and is one of the main cultural centers of Ukraine. Lviv also hosts the administration of Lviv urban hromada. It was named after Leo I of Galicia, the eldest son of Danil, King of Ruthenia.

9 For nearly three years, 45,000 Spanish soldiers served under German command on the Russian front

10 Frenchmen enrolled by force in the German army numbered around 150,000. Between 18,000 to 22,000 fought voluntarily in the Waffen-SS.

11 **Benjamin Sumner Welles** (October 14, 1892 – September 24, 1961) was an American government official and diplomat. He was a major foreign policy adviser to President Franklin D. Roosevelt and served as Under Secretary of State from 1936 to 1943, during Roosevelt's presidency.

12 **Edward Thomas Folliard** (May 14, 1899 – November 25, 1976) was an American journalist. He spent most of his career at The Washington Post, for which he covered the White House from the presidency of Calvin Coolidge to that of Lyndon B. Johnson. He had friendly relations with both Harry S.

Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower that continued beyond those men's presidencies. In addition to covering the presidency, Folliard also reported on many major news events such as Charles Lindbergh's transatlantic flight. During World War II, he reported from European battlefronts and POW camps. He won several awards, including the 1947 Pulitzer Prize for Telegraphic Reporting (National) and the Presidential Medal of Freedom, which was presented to him by President Richard M. Nixon.

13 **John Thompson Whitaker** (January 25, 1906 – September 11, 1946) was an American writer and journalist who served as a correspondent for several prominent newspapers in different parts of the world. In mid-1939, in connection with World War II, working for the *Chicago Daily News* and the *New York Post*. He moved to Rome, from where he reported the war and the activities of the National Fascist Party. As a convinced democrat, his articles criticized the atrocities of the regimes of Mussolini and Hitler. This made the fascist regime uncomfortable, and in 1941 he was ordered to leave Italy. At the time of his expulsion from Mussolini's Italy, Time reported that Whitaker's dispatches were "displeasing" to the government. The Italian government was reluctant to formally expel the reporter on whom they had bestowed the Italian War Cross five years earlier, and officials told Whitaker they had "nothing personal" against him and advised him, "You are not expelled, but you must leave." Whitaker reportedly insisted on being formally expelled.

14 **Burton Kendall Wheeler** (February 27, 1882 – January 6, 1975) was an attorney and an American politician of the Democratic Party in Montana, which he represented as a United States senator from 1923 until 1947. After the start of World War II in Europe, Wheeler opposed aid to Britain or France or Soviet Union. On October 17, 1941, Wheeler said: «I can't conceive of Japan being crazy enough to want to go to war with us.» One month later, he added: «If we go to war with Japan, the only reason will be to help England.» Following Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor, Wheeler supported a declaration of war saying, "The only thing now to do is to lick the hell out of them."

15 The ***Yomiuri Shimbun*** is a Japanese newspaper published in Tokyo, Osaka, Fukuoka, and other major Japanese cities. It is one of the five major newspapers in Japan; the other four are *The Asahi Shimbun*, the *Chunichi Shimbun*, the *Mainichi Shimbun*, and the *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*. It is headquartered in Otemachi, Chiyoda, Tokyo

16 **Wilhelmina** ( Wilhelmina Helena Pauline Maria; 31 August 1880–28 November 1962) was Queen of the Netherlands from 1890 until her abdication in 1948. She reigned for nearly 58 years, making her the longest-reigning monarch in Dutch history, as well as the longest-reigning female monarch outside the United Kingdom. Her reign saw World War I, the Dutch economic crisis of 1933 and World War II.

## Chapter III: What are the Chances?

*Time Magazine, June 30, 1941*

### How long for Russia?

*The initial success was familiar: Ten miles here & there the first day, minor breakthroughs at many points on the second. The initial taciturnity of the High Command rang true: "Operations are proceeding satisfactorily and according to plan." The initial preposterousness of such German "unofficial sources" as D.N.B.<sup>1</sup> was the same as ever: it was claimed that 1,200 Russian planes were destroyed in the first two days.*

*How long would the Russians last? Almost no one except the Russians was convinced that they could trounce the Germans. But if the Russians could put up a long and bitter fight on their own soil, if they could make Hitler pay far more than he thought he was going to have to pay, especially if they could prolong the war into one more winter, then they might give the Battle of Russia a glory commensurate with its size.*

*What were the chances of their doing this? The Russian chances of holding out indefinitely were conditioned by timing; by geography; by the quantity and quality of the opposing armies; by the quality of the opposing leaders. On these grounds their chances were not too bright.*

## LIFE Magazine, July 7, 1941 Hitler Invades the Soviet Union and adds to U.S defense the whole Red Army

On the second day of the summer of 1941, Nazi Germany promoted Soviet Russia to the select company of its fighting enemies. By so doing, it temporarily increased the defenses of the U.S. by the whole Red Army, consisting of perhaps 140 infantry divisions, 33 cavalry divisions, 10,000 tanks and 4,000 combat planes. For Hitler's treacherous attack on his Communist ally was a gigantic stroke of luck for hard-pressed Britain and the unprepared U. S.

Hitler proposed to destroy the Red Army in a month. Even if the invasion of all the Russia turns out to be longer and more expensive than he expects, it may still give him the large industrial production and raw materials.

On this vast battlefield at least five million men in German gray-green and Russian khaki maneuvered. In the first dark week of battle, the Russians fought hardest to defend the Ukraine in the south, and there in Bessarabia and Galicia the Germans made slow going. In the north, between the Pripet Marshes and Lithuania, the Germans struck with all their might.

Even educated Americans know very little about this greater Europe east of



Vienna, home of 200,000, 000 Poles, Rumanians, Great Russians, White Russians, Finns, Ukrainians, Germans, Hungarians and assorted Slavs, Mongols and what not. Even less do Americans know the bloody story of huge, silent wars fought since the pre-dawn of history in these parts.

The rampaging hordes of Scythians, Avars, Goths, Huns, Slavs, Bulgars, Magyars crawled endlessly up one another's hacks. They were all swept aside by the Mongols of Genghis Khan. A thousand years ago began the shifting feud between the Teutons and the Russians. In 1410 the Teutonic Knights were at last smashed by the Slavic Poles and Lithuanians. Headed by the Romanovs, the Great Russians made themselves slowly the masters of half the known world and 188 obscure races.

At Poltava in 1700 Czar Peter the Great smashed the famed Yellow, Blue and Green infantry of the Swedes. At Friedland in 1807, Smolensk and Borodino in 1812, Napoleon smashed the Russians, but he lost his army in the undisciplined march home from burned Moscow. The Russians tried to gobble the crumbling empire of the Ottoman Turks and were opposed by the British and French at Balaklava and Inkerman in the Crimea. At Plevna in 1877 the Russians won an unprofitable victory over the Turks.

But the greatest and costliest war between the Germans and Russians was that of 1914-18. On the remote Eastern Front, such men as Hindenburg, Ludendorff, Hoffman, Mackensen won their laurels. The first three conspired to win the most complete victory of the war in its first month at Tannenberg destroying the army of Samsonov, who committed suicide. Then at the Masurian Lakes the

same three drove Rennenkampf off. But meanwhile the Russians had roundly defeated the rotten Austro-Hungarian Army at Lemberg and the Germans went south to help their allies. For lack of troops at critical times, Hoffman called it the War of Lost Opportunities. But at Gorlice and Riga, the Germans began to win, experimenting with infiltration tactics.

It was the German General Staff which helped on the Bolshevik Revolution by rushing Lenin across Germany in a sealed train from Switzerland to the Russian frontier in April 1917. Lenin offered the Germans peace and they made him pay for it with the brutal Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which set up puppet states in the Ukraine, Poland, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia and Finland, and exacted a "non-indemnity" of 300,000,000 gold rubles from the Bolsheviks. The Russians escaped from this treaty only because Britain, the U.S. and France won the war. But in the 1918 breakdown of all the Russia, the German Army swept ever eastward, until it stood along the banks of the Don River and the Sea of Azov.

Of that "unknown war" of 1914-17 on the Eastern Front, Winston Churchill once wrote: "In its scale, in its slaughter, in the exertions of the combatants, in its military kaleidoscope, it far surpasses by magnitude and intensity all similar human episodes, it is also the most mournful conflict of which there is record. All three empires, both sides, victors and vanquished, were ruined. Ten million homes awaited the return of the warriors. But all were defeated: all were stricken; everything that they had given was given in vain. The hideous injuries they inflicted and bore, the privations they endured, the

grand loyalties they exemplified, all were in vain. Nothing was gained by any. They floundered in the mud, they perished in the snowdrifts, they starved in the frost. Those that survived, the veterans of countless battle-days, returned, whether with the laurels of victory or tidings of disaster, to homes engulfed already in disaster.”

Newsweek, June 30, 1941

## **Germany’s Strategy in the Attack on Russia**

**by Maj. Gen. STEPHEN O. FUQUA,  
U.S.A . Retired<sup>2</sup>**

The “great monolithic mass sprawled over the top of the world from the Baltic to the Bering Sea,” as Trotsky<sup>3</sup> described Russia, has been invaded. The appeasing bystander, Joseph Stalin, must now marshal the entire economic, industrial, and military strength of the Soviet Union to battle against the German invader to save those basic needs of Russia set forth in the Lenin creed – “Peace-Bread- Land.”

Since the Greek campaign<sup>4</sup>, Hitler evidently has been sparring for position, politically, economically, and strategically, in preparation for the launching of the long-prepared plan of the German High Command for war against Russia.

The German Army never launched a campaign under more favorable conditions. The British have been driven from the Balkans, and Turkey’s neutrality is guaranteed. The Italian Army is available for pressing the British on the Libyan frontier, and the main German Army is in a position of readiness for the Russian kill, with the armies of the border states from the Arctic to the Black Sea dominated

by the Nazis. Control of the ports of the west coast of the Black Sea is in their hands. The British Army is engaged in the Middle East, where Frenchmen are fighting Frenchmen, and the British are blocked by a neutral Turkey in an advance northward from Syria.

Thus Germany has both flanks protected, bases near, lines of communication and supply safe and adequate, and all danger of stabs in the back removed. Hitler has complete freedom of movement, choice of time and place, and is fortified by the element of surprise through initiative of action.

An analysis based upon past German plans, concentration of forces, and direction of air and ground attacks launched at the beginning of the week, indicates the vast pattern of the Hitler invasion project as extending from the Arctic Ocean across the Black Sea to the Caucasus. For reference purposes in this analysis, the three suitable areas for offensives will be referred to by the objective toward which they are launched.

### **BALTIC STATES LENINGRAD AREA**

This region can be attacked in a two pronged drive. The very first announcement after the war started was that the troops operating against the Baltic States of Lithuania and Latvia had crossed the East Prussia frontier to tackle the Red Army occupying these countries. The first German objective is to gain the coast lines. The drive in the north consists of a German-Finnish command. The line of approach here for one column is in the Arctic sector, while the main column moves from Finland against the Karelian Isthmus (partly Finnish before



**1** The main German idea of the Nazi campaign against Russia is shown above. Here are probably more than half the German divisions, armor, infantry and air. They face perhaps 600,000 Russians, not really big stuff in the battle, and about 23 Russian tank brigades. The Baltic and the Pripet Marshes across the Baltic attack. The immediate objective is Minsk, which they secured last week, and beyond that, following the rail-road, Moscow. Parallel with this German idea is the way up the Baltic coast to Leningrad, through Russian-ruled Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, defeated by perhaps 600,000 Russians in 18 divisions. This road to Minsk is precisely that followed by Napoleon in June and July 1812. If the Germans take Leningrad, they can supply troops also by ship.

**2** To close up the far north, Germany is using Finland. Last week Finland declared a "defensive war" against Soviet Russia but, without official diplomatic touch in the U. S. and Britain, did not expel the Russian Minister. However, Finland would be likely to refuse "aid" and to get back what Russia took last year. German troops, culled from Norway under Goebbels last week, headed for Murmansk and Kandalaksha, Russian coasts to the Arctic Ocean and possible links for U. S. supplies. Meanwhile German and Finnish troops may strike through the battered Mannerheim Line at Leningrad but the main line of Leningrad will come from the south. Various Finnish battalions in the 1939-40 war with Russia are Kainari, Jalla and Suomussalo, where Russians learned many a good lesson.



**3** The second heavy smash of the German attack is in the direction of the top arrow above. It points toward Kiev, the capital of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, and the wheat-belt in the Dnieper River. Then, with its left flank protected by the Pripet Marshes, the German Army will try to enclose all the Russian troops between Bessarabia and the Dnieper, hammer them to pieces on the slower German advances shown by the two other arrows. Once at the Dnieper, the Germans are in the heart of the great Donets Basin industrial development, the huge Dniep-Dnestr and the Ukrainian wheat belt. But last week the Russians, who had concentrated their largest force here, defeated the attack with fury, repeated vast tank battles close to the border and the regular of every German and Russian attack into Bessarabia.

**4** The overall plan for the capture of Moscow is shown in its simplest terms below. It assumes that the Germans have successfully reached Leningrad, Smolensk and the long line of the Dnieper River. By that time, the Germans hope, they will have destroyed a large part of the Red Army by their pincer operations and most of the remaining Russian men will fall back on Moscow. The great German ring may then close in on Moscow, just as they closed in on Warsaw in 1939 and Paris in 1940. While this huge movement is going on, only small detachments will be diverted to pick at the rich Ukrainian industrial zone around the top of Kiev. The fall of Moscow would presumably launch up the complex administrative system by which the sprawling Soviets are ruled. Then the Nazis will mop up of their losses.



the recent war with Russia). The objective of this effort is against Leningrad and the industrial area of Western Russia. The spearhead of this column and the one coming up from East Prussia are designed to meet in the Estonia sector. The ultimate objective of these moves with the push against Hango, the Soviet naval base in Southwest Finland, is to close the Baltic Sea to Russia. Success would give the Germans realization of their time-old dream to dominate the shores of the Baltic. Such an achievement would, among other benefits, permit a much desired shift of some of the naval-base activities of North Germany, now frequently bombed by the RAF, to the ports of the Eastern Baltic.

### **THE UKRAINE**

The main force to attack this region probably is the German Army massed along the Rumanian and East German frontiers, aided by the Rumanians on their own territory. The first objectives of the Ukraine offensive will be the key regions along the 275-mile line of Kiev to Odessa, the latter of which is the anchor of the main Russian defense position along the Dniester. This main drive for the Ukraine may be expected to include a great sea and air attack against the Russian Black Sea naval bases and the isolated fortress of Crimea.

### **CAUCASIAN AREA**

This offensive, if Turkish territorial integrity is to be respected, must be an air and over-water expedition against the Batum-Baku oil region of Georgia. The launching of this drive may be coincident with the push into the Ukraine or may await the initial result of this effort. This

offensive, if successful, would ultimately carry the German troops to the Iran frontier, from which position Hitler could challenge the British Army in the Middle East.

The Washington Post,  
July 25, 1941

### **Turkey Hears Of Nazi Plan To Split Soviet**

**By Preston Grover<sup>5</sup>**

ISTANBUL, July 25 (delayed).—A detailed report that Germany plans to partition European Russia when and if she conquers the U. S. S. R. up to the Urals Mountain Divide and then offer a “painless peace” to the British Empire gained credence today in pro-British circles who said it came from an Axis diplomat.

The diplomat, a representative of one of the Axis satellites, was said to have outlined the broad scheme in a private conference with an Allied official here. The conference was said to have come during a stopover by the diplomat en route home from his war advocated post at Moscow.

### **NAZIS RULE UKRAINE**

From him, a pro-British source said, was gained Germany's general plan for a quick peace before United States interest in the war becomes so deep as to make the envisaged peace impossible. The plan and subordinate factors in it were outlined as follows:

1. Russia up to the Urals would fall dividend into two classifications: one to include the Ukraine under a German governor and the other to be divided among Rumania, Turkey and Poland.



Rumania's would be a strip along the Black Sea coast, including Odessa; Turkey would get part of the Caucasus wherein lie Turkish minorities, and Poland, to be reconstituted in some form not fully independent, would get back all the territory Russia occupied in September, 1939, and possibly more.

2. Japan wants Russian territory from Vladivostok westward to Lake Baikal. It is not said definitely that she will get it. Former Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka once pledged Japanese entrance into the war (according to the outline of the German plan), but Germany does not want her to fight now because of the likelihood it would bring in the United States.

3. France not mentioned

## Washington Post, July 25, 1941 **Nazis Ready To Take Over Red Industries**

By Louis P. Lochner<sup>6</sup>

*BERLIN, July 25. More than 1,000 German administrative, industrial, engineering and business experts, headed by the ideological leader Alfred Rosenberg<sup>7</sup>, are waiting on Adolf Hitler's word of command to send them swarming all over occupied Russia to take a conquered country under German administration.*

Rosenberg already has a complete ministry staff pledged to work under his direction. Every Russian automobile plant, airplane factory, chemical works and engineering concern already has its appointed German administrator who is ready to move in when and if this territory is safely in German hands.

It is no secret that Rosenberg is slated to head this minutely organized machine with the title of Reichsminister for the occupied eastern areas. His realm would be the Baltic states, the Ukraine and Russia proper.

It would not include Poland, which is Reichsminister Hans Frank<sup>8</sup>'s domain, where he already is entrenched firmly as governor general.

Many names have been bandied about in the German capital regarding the personnel chosen by Rosenberg. The following appear to be the men selected:

State secretary (in charge of administrative details)—Dr. Alfred Meyer<sup>9</sup>, gauleiter for the North Westphalian district. Administrator for the Ukraine—Herbert Backe<sup>10</sup>, state's secretary in the Reich's agricultural ministry.

Administrator for the Baltic states Heinrich Lohse<sup>11</sup>, gauleiter for Schleswig-Holstein.

Administrator for Russia proper—Erich Koch<sup>12</sup>, gauleiter for East Prussia.

Christian Science Monitor,  
July 14, 1941

**Self-sufficient areas are result of wide plans; break in Stalin line<sup>13</sup> would not be end.**

**By Edmund Stevens.**

***Special Correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor who has covered the war en four major battle including the Russo-Finnish campaign.***

*If Hitler breaks through the Stalin line it will not mean the end of Soviet resistance. Five economically self-sufficient Russias,*

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, BOSTON, MONDAY, JULY 14, 1941

## Russia's 'Front Behind the Front' an Industrial Backstop



Soviet Plants Built on Sites Planned to Be Far From Grasping Hands of Invader

Development of great industrial regions in the Urals and farther east in the Kuznets basin and in the far east of Siberia are shown to be deliberate attempts of the Soviet Government to build up industries far out of reach of German attack, so that even if the Germans overrun the Kiev-Moscow-Leningrad area there will still remain great centers of industry from which Russia can present a new front.

*each with its own natural resources, industry and agriculture have reached a stage of development where each might survive and feed and equip an army, though cut off from the rest of the country.*

Only two of these areas that embracing the older industrial centers of north and west Russia, including Moscow and Leningrad, and the Don Basin – Ukrainian region, lie in Europe. The rest the Urals area, the Kuznets Basin and the Far Eastern Pacific area – are all in Asia. Even if he got to Moscow, the brown Napoleon would still be nearly a thousand miles as the crow flies from the low-backed billowing Ural Mountains—the geography book boundary between Europe and Asia, which is now the Soviets second line of industrial defense.

The building of centers of industry well out of enemy reach has been a major principle of Soviet economic planning from the outset. That is why the Union's center of gravity steadily shifts eastwards. No cosmic affinity with Asia, but realistic considerations of military strategy have impelled the Kremlin leaders to gaze into the sunrise. Under the first and second five year plans industrial giants like the Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Plant and the Kuznets Metal Works rose on the treeless eastern slopes of the Urals or the bleak Siberian steppes, each capable of producing more than the total Russian output of iron and steel before the industrialization program. Originally designed to be greater than the Gary steel mills, the Magnitogorsk project was eventually whittled down

to half its intended size, but even so it is the Soviet Union's number one producer of iron, a stupendous undertaking which has brought into being a boom city of 200,000 inhabitants. In 1938 Magnitogorsk produced one and one half million metric tons of pig iron and one million seven hundred thousand tons of steel – more than the combined total production of Sweden, Czechoslovakia and Poland in a normal pre-war year. There are other iron and steel mills in the Ural region, as well as copper and aluminum mills, in operation and under construction, all of them industrial heavyweights. The Chelyabinsk tractor plant, which produces two-thirds of Soviet tractors and tanks, is also in this district.

### **PLANES AND ARMS**

There are, in addition, plants for the manufacture of airplanes and guns and shells of every caliber. Though figures or details have been kept strictly secret, the Russians have hinted that these Ural plants alone could keep their troops armed and supplied. Fifteen hundred miles to the east of the Urals is the Kuznetz Basin, in the very heart of Siberia, the great eastern industrial center Lenin dreamed of. The Kuznetz Basin today produces nearly one fifth the total coal mined in the U.S.S.R., ranking next to the Don Basin. Most of its output is at present shipped to the Urals, to Magnitogorsk, Nizhni Tagil and the other plants. But there are also extensive deposits of iron, copper and manganese in the region and two big iron and steel mills are already in partial operation, as well as a vast chemical products plant and two rubber factories.

As the rise of Nazi militarism increased the threat of invasion the Soviet push towards the east accelerated, but the strategy of Soviet economic defense first took shape in the early months of 1939, when the details of the third five-year plan were announced two years late.

### **FIVE COMPLETE AREAS**

The chief feature of this strategy was the subdivision of the Soviet Union's industrial and economic map into five self-sufficient units, each with its own raw material sources, agriculture and industrial plant, equal to or greater than a major European power. The new plan stressed the development of local fuel supplies and the location of new industrial plants in the vicinity of their raw material sources. Wherever possible food was to be produced locally. To encourage this laws were passed forbidding the shipment by rail of potatoes and other bulky edibles from one administrative district to another. To take care of local climate conditions research workers in botany were assigned to developing types of wheat, potatoes and garden vegetables suited to cultivation in the Far North and in arid places. The immediate avowed objective of this drive toward local autarchy was to ease the strain on the overworked railway lines- cement, lumber and other building materials were placed on the forbidden list of goods that could not be shipped by rail from Siberia to European Russia-but the fundamental reason was to enable each self-sufficient district to continue functioning and resisting in time of war, if it were cut off from other districts.

### **DESCRIBED IN 1939**

The blueprints of Soviet economic defense in the coming invasion were presented more or less in detail by Premier Vyacheslav Molotov in March, 1939, at the Eighteenth Communist Party Congress, in his speech on the third five-year plan. Never an exciting speaker, the dramatic implications of his theme were lost in his dry, halting presentation. With few exceptions, the outside world, including the press, completely overlooked them. After the sensational treason trials, five-year plans had lost their news interest, especially when Hitler's march into Prague claimed undivided attention. The principal weakness of Mr. Molotov's plan lies in the gap between plan and fulfillment. There has not yet been sufficient time to develop self-sufficiency to the required level in all the areas. The most developed are the older areas, those nearest the invader. A concerted effort in recent years to stem the expansion of the Moscow-Leningrad region by banning the construction of new enterprises, does not reduce their importance in the national balance sheet.

### **DON BASIN IMPORTANT**

Far more important is the Western Ukraine Don basin region. Here the Krivoi Rog iron mines produce over sixteen million metric tons of iron or a year – 59 per cent of the total for the Soviet Union — while the blast furnaces in the same area produce nine million tons of pig iron and eight and one-half million tons of steel – over half the total Union output. The area's production of manganese amounts to one — third of the total manganese output. The loss of the Don Basin—Ukraine area would more than halve the Russians' industrial

output. It would also deprive them of about one-quarter of their grain output. Even with these staggering losses the remainder of the country would still be able to carry on. Of the three industrial areas in Asia, the Urals area is the richest and best developed. The Kuznetz has made considerable progress and the Far Eastern is still in the rudimentary stage. All areas produce enough grain to feed themselves and a surplus population. More serious is the oil situation.

### **PRINCIPAL OILFIELDS**

The chief Soviet oilfields, at Baku, are 700 miles southeast of the Don. Both they and the Grozny Fields north of them are protected from overland invasion through Europe by the lofty and rugged Caucasus Mountains. Any effective attack would have to come by sea or through Turkey. After their occupation of Syria the British are in a good position to assist the defense of the Caucasian oilfields. Although 90 percent of Soviet oil comes from the Caucasus, the Third Five Year Plan calls for the development of a «Second Baku» between the Volga and the Urals where the reserves are supposed to be the richest in the world. So far this district produces about two million tons a year, although the plan called for eleven million tons by 1942, although refining facilities for a greater amount already exist at Orsk, on the upper reaches of the Ural River, 160 miles south of Magnitogorsk. The Emba basin oilfields east of the Ural River and Ishimbayev fields in Bashkiria close to Magnitogorsk produce about one million tons a year each. Oil reserves have been located at numerous points in Siberia, including the Kuznetz basin and farther east on Lake Baikal and on the Lena River.

There is also oil on the peninsula of Kamchatka. This is the result of rather superficial surveying and additional tests are expected to reveal oil at many other points.

### **FAR EAST OPERATIONS**

In the Soviet Far East, according to information available, are on the Lena River and on Sakhalin island, which produces slightly more than pre-war Poland. About half this source has been leased to Japan. While the oil problem would present serious difficulties if Baku were lost, considerable sources would still be available and on a long-term basis the problem could be solved. The double-tracking of the trans-Siberian railway and the approaching completion of the Baikal-Amur line are expected to alleviate the transportation problem. While the plan for economic self-sufficiency, like all Soviet planning, falls far short of the ideal contemplated in the prints, its partial successes should nevertheless render continued Soviet resistance possible, even if Hitler does break the present deadlock on the Stalin line. Hitler could only achieve complete victory if he succeeded in annihilating the Russian Army and in further preventing the recruiting of new units from the country's inexhaustible manpower reserves.

### **WIDE MILITARY TRAINING**

This task is complicated by the fact that a very large proportion of the Soviet population, including even women, has received military training. The civilian defense organization «Osoaviakhim» has taught millions of members of both sexes how to handle a rifle and a machine gun, as well as air-raid precaution.

Every factory worker is expected to qualify for the Voroshiloff marksmanship badge which means that the wearer can shoot as well as the former War Commissar. Many citizens have also been trained in more specialized branches of warfare – including flying, parachute jumping and guerrilla tactics. Soviet defense has thereby acquired a mass basis that extends far beyond the regular Every Russian defense plan since the days of Genghis Khan has assumed the occupation of large tracts of territory by the invading force. Almost once a century for the last 600 years Moscow has been captured by a foreign foe by Tatars, Lithuanians, Poles and French. Each time the Russians have managed to save a part of their army and after rallying elsewhere and raising new forces they have thrust the invader out.

Evening Star, June 26, 1941

### **This Changing World**

**Russian 'Retreat Strategy' Declared Useless; 'Generals Mud and Rain' Can't Stop Nazis**

**By CONSTANTINE BROWN.**

In military quarters, it is believed, the traditional strategy of the Russian general staff to withdraw deeply into the country and lay waste to everything that might be useful to the conqueror cannot work in the present German-Russian war. The famous Russian generals, Mud, Snow, Rain and Devastation, who in the past have defeated those who have tried to conquer the vast country, are considered by modern strategists as shelved. They can do little to stop the Nazis' mechanized hordes.

When Adolf Hitler made his unprovoked attack against his erstwhile partner, it was generally believed the Russian strategy would be to harass the advancing Germans and avoid at any price a major battle between the opposing armies. This cannot happen because in modern warfare industry plays an overwhelming role. Most of the Russian industrial centers are situated in the west. If they are lost the Russian armies would not have more military value than the Serbs or the Greeks. There was manpower in the Balkans — more fighting men than the Germans put into action. But they were armed with rifles, hand grenades and machine guns and could not stop an enemy relying on airplanes and tanks.

#### **MANPOWER IS NOT ENOUGH.**

The day the Russians lose their industrial centers, where tanks, guns and airplanes are being manufactured, or the regions whence they draw their raw materials—many of them are situated in the south — all they will have left is manpower. And this is of relatively little importance these days. During the last war, the Russians had more than any of their antagonists. Yet they could never stem a determined German offensive because of the German superiority in artillery and infantry equipment. In the First World War, artillery and adequately equipped infantry were the determining factors in battle and their coordination was of utmost importance. The teamwork on the battlefield of today is between airplanes and tanks. Besides the quality and speed of these two modern weapons, a nation must have ample replacement resources to repair the inevitable heavy loss. The

general belief that the Germans have been able to go through their opponents like a knife through cheese—without important losses—is erroneous. Germany lost heavily in the Polish, Western European and Balkan campaigns. But, the general staff, once the attack begins, does not care how many lives or how many machines are sacrificed so long as the military objective is attained. The important surprise element cannot be fully taken advantage of unless it is followed up. In the Polish campaign, the German air force managed to surprise the Poles and destroy part of their airforce within a few hours after the beginning of the war. But even after the Poles were warned, the Nazis came back to attack. This time they were received with heavy fire. Hundreds of planes were lost in those ‘repeats,» but that did not bother the general staff. They have ample reserves and their factories work at full speed. Retreat Is Best Strategy. News from the battlefield necessarily is skimpy at present. There are no foreign observers anywhere and one has to rely exclusively on the communiques and reports from Nazi and Soviet sources. There is no question that the Germans are attacking regardless of cost. The hundreds of planes and tanks which are being lost can be replaced without a day’s delay. The Russian’s, on the other hand, don’t have such complete replacement facilities. It would seem logical that their strategy should be to retreat as they did in Napoleon’s day. But from the moment they allow their industrial centers and the source of their raw material to fall into the enemy’s hands, their power of resistance will be seriously jeopardized. The destruction of towns and villages, as was done to hamstring Napoleon, will be of little aid to the Russians this time. In fact,

the Germans are doing the job for them. If the Reich were in immediate, desperate need for food, there is no question that destruction of food stuffs would worry the German high command. But the real sufferers would be the Russians themselves. The only thing that can save the U. S. S. R. is the possibility that its army can attain a stalemate until Russia's new and potential allies can start an effective bombing of Germany's industrial centers and thus weaken seriously the Reich's industrial potential.

Associated Press, June 23,  
1941

### **Italy Sees Early Russian Collapse**

#### **Nazi Forces Will Complete Campaign Before Il Duce's Men Could Arrive, Rome Believes!**

*An authoritative source indicated today that Italy expected the German army to produce another blitz campaign against Russia which would end hostilities before forces from Italy could arrive.*

The source said no arrangements had been made for immediate Italian military aid in the war against the Soviets which Italy formally entered yesterday. Whether Italian troops would be sent, he said, probably would depend upon developments.

The Italian high command communiqué made no mention of the Russian hostilities. Fascist newspapers, however, devoted columns to editorials explaining that the battle against the Bolsheviks had long been in the cards. Russia was pictured as having menaced Italy by her advances in the Balkans. Soviet Ambassador Nicolai

Gorelchin communicated with the Foreign Office on imminent departure of the Soviet diplomatic mission, Russian diplomats and the lone Russian correspondent in Italy now are under house surveillance, The correspondent is expected to be treated as a diplomat in accordance with precedent.

The authoritative Fascist editor Virginio Gayda said the short summer nights in Russia — «white nights» which are never completely dark would make war on that long front «unusually intensive since everything is visible and clear even from afar throughout 24 hours.»

Writing in *Il Giornale d'Italia*<sup>14</sup>, he said one could not «see exactly in what manner and amount» American and British aid could reach Russia considering that supplies which the United States can send to Britain «already are difficult.»

The new Axis move against Russia, Gayda said, would reinforce the war in the Mediterranean.

«Proofs will be seen soon,» he said. «The Mediterranean war will remain essential to one of the first plans for victory over England».

The New York Times, July 13,  
1941

### **Question of Time**

**By C. Brooks Peters reporting  
from Berlin**

Russia's armed forces already have been defeated and their final capitulation or annihilation is now but a question of time, in the opinion of authoritative quarters in the Reich's capital tonight.

In the double battle of Minsk and Bialystok, the Germans assert, the enemy

lost his best troops and the most modern equipment in his entire arsenal with the reported break through the «vital positions of the Stalin line on all fronts, they say, all of European Russia now lies exposed to the assaults of the Reich's motorized and tank divisions.

In the middle sector the Germans claim to have trapped sizable enemy forces in a pocket east of Vitebsk, and to the north, German tanks and motorized formations are reported closing in on Leningrad, which for days has been referred to as Petersburg in the German press.

Thus, with their drive reportedly man leaders found it unnecessary this afternoon to release any new information in their daily communiqué relative to progress of the campaign in the east, it was explained.

Emphasizing that the Stalin line represented the last line of defense which the Russians present in Europe, informed German quarters declare that there are four phases of the invasion which are now obvious.

The first phase was the cracking of the Red positions on the border. The second comprised the twin battles between fixed German and Russian forces around Bialystok and Minsk – in which two Soviet armies were reported wiped out. The third was the conquering of the Stalin Line, these quarters continue.

Having broken that line, or lane of enemy defenses, in all its most vital points, they add, what now remains is merely the annihilation of those portions of the Russian armed forces which still find themselves west of the Volga – or in European Russia.

Having disrupted the Russian railway system, the Germans are confident that

not much of the enemy forces will be able to retire safely behind any natural geographical obstacles, such as the Volga or the Ural Mountains. All of which means merely that in the German view victory against the Soviet forces, excepting for the final cleaning-up operations, has already been achieved.

### **FRONT DELINATED**

According to local circles the front at the present moment runs somewhat as follows:

In the South those forces operating at far north as the Marshes are in advance along the entire line of their attack. The northern wing of these forces has advanced so successfully, it is believed here, that they are close to Kiev, capital of the Ukraine.

North of the Pripet Marshes the Germans have made inroads into enemy territory which has pushed them some 60 miles to the east of the Stalin Line. The Dnepr River has been crossed at many points and the thrusts of German motorized and tank units carried well beyond the enemy's last line of organized defense.

The Washington Post,  
July 25, 1941

### **Today and Tomorrow**

#### **Russia, Then Latin America**

**By Walter Lippmann**

The extraordinary fury of the current Nazi propaganda against the United States is an interesting development. It indicates that there was something wrong in the accounts of the plan of which so much was heard from so many



German sources in the early days of the Russian campaign. Hitler, it was said, would conquer Russia and then propose to make peace with Britain. Though this report was undoubtedly circulated by German agents, and though many well-informed persons took it very seriously, there was always something about the tale which did not carry conviction.

It was that since Hitler must know that he could never persuade Mr. Churchill or Mr. Roosevelt to negotiate with him just because he had defeated Russia, there must be more to the plan than had been disclosed. There must be something else Hitler meant to do which he hoped would compel the British and American governments to negotiate. There are reasons for thinking that the outbursts of violence by the Nazi propagandists are in part preparation for the hidden plan and in part an exhibition of rage because Berlin realizes that the American Government has not been caught napping.

The real Nazi plan, it is now obvious, is not to let the west alone, defeat Russia, and then propose peace: the real Nazi plan, in addition to conquering Russia and stirring up trouble in the Pacific, is to use Admiral Darlan<sup>15</sup> and Gen. Franco to strike a tremendous blow at both Britain and America in the South Atlantic and in South America. The Vichy government is to prepare and provide the African base of operations. Gen. Franco is to carry the propaganda war into Spanish-speaking America. Conspiracies, already organized in South America, are to prepare pro-Nazi and anti-American revolutions.

At the proper moment, which would be when Germany is able to disengage forces from the Russian campaign, the Battle of the South Atlantic would be

precipitated as suddenly as Hitler's attack on Russia. The Nazis would appear at Dakar, their submarines and raiders' and aircraft would range the South Atlantic, and rebellions would break out in the key places of South America. If the campaign was successful, the position of Britain and the United States would be so compromised that a dictated peace, disguised perhaps as a negotiated peace, would perhaps have become a practical possibility.

There is really no doubt whatever that this South American campaign is being prepared. The government, as the President and Gen. Marshall<sup>16</sup> and Secretary Welles have indicated, has information which for good reasons, no doubt, it is not yet prepared to disclose in detail. But the sudden and exceptional violence of the Nazi propaganda immediately following the Bolivian affair is probably no mere coincidence. For there is obviously more to the Bolivian affair than has yet been disclosed, much more than Berlin wished to have disclosed at this time.

This whole business is one enterprise, extending from Berlin through Vichy, Madrid and Lisbon to West Africa and then to every capital in Latin America. The enterprise is not fully organized either in West Africa or in South America, and the time to set it in motion is not quite now while Russian resistance is causing such a lot of trouble. North Africa is not altogether under control and the installations there, though they are being made, are not completed. Obviously, the Bolivian affair went off too soon, and the explosion has probably uncovered much that at this moment was to have remained hidden. Hence the ferocity of the Nazi

reaction about Bolivia at a moment when, one would otherwise suppose, they had plenty of other things to excite them. It is extraordinary, for example, that they are more exercised about the uncovering of a conspiracy in the Andes Mountains than about the bombing of German cities.

The character of the Nazi attack on the President is in itself strong evidence that there is being prepared an attack via France-Spain-Portugal-West Africa on South America. The Nazi propaganda is making tremendous play of the well-known and unconcealed fact that Mr. Roosevelt, like so many other American Presidents, is a Mason. To those who know something of the politics of Latin countries, the Nazi use of this particular device of propaganda will be a certain sign that they are organizing a new front from France and Spain to South America against the United States. Their propaganda is obviously designed to introduce a religious issue in South America which will disrupt that continent and get the United States embroiled in dangerous factional issues. All these things lie on the surface. They are impressively confirmed by every piece of information which comes from informed observers in South America and in France, Spain, Portugal, and Africa. After the President's remarks in his recent message, and after the public testimony of Gen. Marshall and the statement of Undersecretary Welles, there can be no doubt that the information in possession of the Government would confirm what can readily be deduced in general terms from what is already publicly known.

Time Magazine, September 22, 1941

## **World War: Napoleon to Hitler**

Napoleon Bonaparte started for Moscow on June 24, 1812. Adolf Hitler started on June 22, 1941. Napoleon, whose fastest unit was the horse, reached Moscow on September 14. This week, on September 14, Hitler, whose fastest unit is the plane, was fighting Russian counter-attacks some 200 miles from Moscow. Napoleon stayed in Moscow for nearly six weeks, suffered cold and defeat in the frigid Russian winter, was back in Paris by December 18. Later Napoleon said:

*«I made a mistake in attacking Russia. I thought the whole world would be with me. Everybody turned against me. . . . One shudders when one thinks of such a mass as Russia that one cannot attack either from the side or from the rear. . . . She overflows on you if you lose; she retires into the middle of the ice banks if you win, and suddenly comes out again like the head of the Hydra. ... It is not in our province to attempt such a Herculean task, and I tried it stupidly. That I must admit.»*

**Last week Adolf Hitler ordered the requisitioning of all skis, ski poles and snowshoes in Germany, all furs suitable for military wear.**

**MBS commentator Wise Williams on fighting in Russia**

**Audiofile**



## (Endnotes)

1 **Deutsches Nachrichtenbüro**  
— official *German News Agency* under Hitler's Minister of Propaganda Joseph Goebbels. *DNB* became an organ of the state devoted to propaganda.

2 **Stephen O. Fuqua** (December 25, 1874 – May 11, 1943) was a career officer in the United States Army. A veteran of the Spanish–American War, Philippine–American War, Pancho Villa Expedition, and World War I, he attained the rank of major general and was a recipient of the Army Distinguished Service Medal from the United States, and the French Legion of Honor (Chevalier), and Croix de Guerre. After retiring, Fuqua resided in Biarritz, France before relocating to Manhattan. He authored books on military topics and was a columnist for *Newsweek* magazine. In addition, at the start of World War II, Fuqua provided frequent on air analysis for radio news programs.

3 **Lev Davidovich Bronstein** (7 November 1879 – 21 August 1940), better known as **Leon Trotsky** was a Russian revolutionary, Soviet politician, journalist, and political theorist. He was a central figure in the 1905 Revolution, October Revolution, Russian Civil War, and the establishment of the Soviet Union. Alongside Vladimir Lenin, Trotsky was widely considered the most prominent Soviet figure and was *de facto* second-in-command during the early years of the Russian Soviet Republic. Ideologically a Marxist and a Leninist, his thought and writings inspired a school of Marxism known as Trotskyism.

4 **The Greek campaign**, codenamed '**Operation Marita**' by the Germans, commenced on 6 April 1941, when the Germans simultaneously attacked Greece through Bulgaria and Yugoslavia in a pincer movement designed to encircle the Greek troops fighting the Italians on the Albanian front, as a result of Italy's declaration of war on Greece on 28 October 1940.

5 Preston Grover, who covered World War II in Germany, the Mediterranean and North Africa as a correspondent for The Associated Press, He was on British ships twice that were divebombed and sunk in the Mediterranean.

He flew with a German bomber that cruised for hours off southeast England without drawing fire, and was visiting a German factory when it was bombed by the British.

6 **Ludwig "Louis" Paul Lochner** (February 22, 1887 – January 8, 1975) was an American political activist, journalist, and author. During World War I, Lochner was a leading figure in the American and the international anti-war movement. Later, he served for many years as head of the Berlin bureau of Associated Press and was best remembered for his work there as a foreign correspondent. Lochner was awarded the 1939 Pulitzer Prize for correspondence for his wartime reporting from Nazi Germany. In December 1941, Lochner was interned by the Nazis but was later released in a prisoner exchange.

7 **Alfred Ernst Rosenberg** (12 January 1892 – 16 October 1946) was a Baltic German Nazi theorist and ideologue. Rosenberg was first introduced to Adolf Hitler by Dietrich Eckart and he held several important posts in the Nazi government. He was the head of the NSDAP Office of Foreign Affairs during the entire rule of Nazi Germany (1933–1945), and led Amt Rosenberg («Rosenberg's bureau»), an official Nazi body for cultural policy and surveillance, between 1934 and 1945. During World War II, Rosenberg was the head of the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories (1941–1945). After the war, he was convicted of crimes against peace; planning, initiating and waging wars of aggression; war crimes and crimes against humanity at the Nuremberg trials in 1946. He was sentenced to death by hanging and executed on 16 October 1946.

8 **Hans Michael Frank** (23 May 1900 – 16 October 1946) was a German politician, war criminal and lawyer who served as head of the General Government in German-occupied Poland during the Second World War. After the German invasion of Poland in 1939, Frank was appointed Governor-General of the occupied Polish territories. During his tenure, he instituted a reign of terror against the civilian population and became directly involved in the mass murder of Jews.<sup>[1]</sup> He engaged in the use of forced labor and

oversaw four of the extermination camps. Frank remained head of the General Government until its collapse in early 1945. During that time, over 4 million people were murdered under his jurisdiction. After the war, Frank was found guilty of war crimes and crimes against humanity at the Nuremberg trials. He was sentenced to death and executed by hanging in October 1946.

9 **Gustav Alfred Julius Meyer**<sup>1</sup> (5 October 1891 – 11 April 1945) was a Nazi Party official and politician. He joined the Nazi Party in 1928 and was the Gauleiter of North Westphalia from 1931 to 1945, the Oberpräsident of the Province of Westphalia from 1938 to 1945 and the Reichsstatthalter of Lippe and Schaumburg-Lippe from 1933 to 1945. By the time of his death at the end of World War II in Europe, he was a State Secretary and Deputy Reichsminister in the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories (Reichsministerium für die Besetzten Ostgebiete or Ostministerium). He represented the ministry with Georg Leibbrandt in the January 1942 Wannsee Conference, at which the genocidal Final Solution to the Jewish Question was planned. Meyer committed suicide in April 1945.

10 **Herbert Friedrich Wilhelm Backe** (1 May 1896 – 6 April 1947) was a German politician and SS Senior group leader (SS-*Obergruppenführer*) in Nazi Germany who served as State Secretary and Minister in the Reich Ministry of Food and Agriculture. He was a doctrinaire racial ideologue, a long-time associate of Richard Walther Darré and a personal friend of Reinhard Heydrich. He developed and implemented the Operation Hunger that envisioned death by starvation of millions of Slavic and Jewish «useless eaters» following Operation Barbarossa, the 1941 invasion of the Soviet Union. He was arrested in 1945 at the end of World War II and was due to be tried for war crimes at Nuremberg in the Ministries Trial but he committed suicide in his prison cell in 1947.

11 **Hinrich Lohse** (2 September 1896 – 25 February 1964) was a German Nazi Party politician and a convicted war criminal, best known for his rule of the Reichskommissariat

Ostland, during World War II. Reichskommissariat Ostland comprised the states of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, and parts of modern day Belarus. On 6 May 1945, Lohse was unseated as *Oberpräsident* of Schleswig-Holstein (by the 5 May German surrender at Lüneburg Heath) and shortly thereafter imprisoned by the British Army. (Germany itself surrendered on 7 May and was disestablished on the evening of 8 May). Lohse was sentenced in 1948 to 10 years in prison, but was released in 1951 due to illness. Two inquiries were launched by German prosecutors against him; the grant of a high-presidential pension, for which Lohse was fighting, was withdrawn under pressure from the Schleswig-Holstein *Landtag*. Lohse spent his twilight years in Mühlenbarbek, where he died.

12 **Erich Koch** (19 June 1896 – 12 November 1986) was a *Gauleiter* of the Nazi Party (NSDAP) in East Prussia from 1 October 1928 until 1945. Between 1941 and 1945 he was Chief of Civil Administration (*Chef der Zivilverwaltung*) of Bezirk Bialystok. During this period, he was also the *Reichskommissar* in *Reichskommissariat Ukraine* from September 1941 until August 1944 and in Reichskommissariat Ostland from September 1944. After the Second World War, Koch stood trial in Poland and was convicted in 1959 of war crimes and sentenced to death. The sentence was later commuted to life in prison and Koch died of natural causes in his cell at the Barczewo prison on 12 November 1986.

13 **Stalin Line** was a line of fortifications along the western border of the Soviet Union. Work on the system began in the 1920s to protect the USSR against attacks from the west. The line was made up of concrete bunkers and gun emplacements, somewhat similar to the Maginot Line, but less elaborate. It was not a continuous line of defense along the entire border, but rather a network of fortified districts, meant to channel potential invaders along certain corridors. In the aftermath of the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact, with the westward expansion of the USSR in 1939 and 1940 into Poland, the Baltic and Bessarabia, the decision was made to abandon the line in favor of constructing the Molotov Line further west, along the new border of the USSR. A number of Soviet generals felt that it would be better to keep

both lines and to have a defense in depth, but this conflicted with the pre-World War II Soviet military doctrine. Thus, the guns were removed, but were mostly in storage as the new line construction began. The 1941 Axis invasion caught the Soviets with the new line unfinished and the Stalin Line largely abandoned and in disrepair. Neither was of much use in stopping the onslaught, though parts of the Stalin Line were manned in time and contributed to the defense of the USSR.

Following World War II the line has not been maintained, in part, due to its wide dispersal across the USSR. Unlike Western Europe, where similar fortifications were demolished for development and safety reasons, much of the line survived beyond the breakup of the USSR in 1991 due to being ignored. Today, the remains of the Stalin Line fortifications are located in Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine (plus possibly the eastern parts of Moldova).

**14 Il Giornale d'Italia** is an Italian online newspaper. It was founded in Rome in 1901 by the prestigious liberal politicians Sidney Sonnino and Antonio Salandra, both of which were part of the Liberal Constitutional Party. The original paper ceased publication in 1976, following a long decline in sales. It was later relaunched as the party organ of the Movimento Pensionati Uomini Vivi and had a brief revival, only to cease publication again in 2006. The paper was relaunched again, this time as an online publication, on 10 October 2012.

**15 Jean Louis Xavier François Darlan** (7 August 1881 – 24 December 1942) was a French admiral and political figure. Born in Nérac, Darlan graduated from the *École navale* in 1902 and quickly advanced through the ranks following his service during World War I. He was promoted to rear admiral in 1929, vice admiral in 1932, lieutenant admiral in 1937 before finally being made admiral and Chief of the Naval Staff in 1937. In 1939, Darlan was promoted to admiral of the fleet, a rank created specifically for him. Darlan was Commander-in-Chief of the French Navy at the beginning of World War II. After France's armistice with Germany in June 1940, Darlan served in Philippe Pétain's Vichy regime as Minister of Marine, and in February 1941 he took over as Vice-President of the Council, Minister

of Foreign Affairs, Minister of the Interior and Minister of National Defense, making him the *de facto* head of the Vichy government. In April 1942, Darlan resigned his ministries to Pierre Laval at German insistence, but retained his position as Commander-in-Chief of the French Armed Forces. Darlan was in Algiers when the Allies invaded French North Africa in November 1942. Allied commander Dwight D. Eisenhower struck a controversial deal with Darlan, recognizing him as High Commissioner of France for North and West Africa. In return, Darlan ordered all French forces in North Africa to cease resistance and cooperate with the Allies. Less than two months later, on 24 December, Darlan was assassinated by Fernand Bonnier de La Chapelle, a 20-year-old monarchist and anti-Vichyiste.

**16 Major General Richard Jaquelin Marshall** (16 June 1895 – 3 August 1973) was a senior officer in the United States Army. He served in the 1st Division during World War I and became the Chief of Staff of United States Army Forces in the Pacific Theater of Operations by the end of World War II. In 1945, with entry into Japan after the surrender, Marshall became Deputy Chief of Staff of SCAP (Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers). On October 10 he was ordered to Headquarters in Tokyo to take over as the Chief of Staff. On September 2, 1945 he accompanied MacArthur on board the USS *Missouri* for the signing of the surrender treaty with the Japanese delegation.

## Chapter IV

### Russia's Great Machine Starts Rolling

Time Magazine, September 29, 1941

#### 175,000,000 Faces

The faces of Russians were drawn last week. Not only high cheekbones, not only the Slavic nose, not only whiskers identified 175,000,000 Russian faces. Anxiety lined all those faces. It was not terror that made their lips tight, their eyes tired; not despair, not resignation. It was the awful waiting.

There was so much of importance in abeyance that waiting for the little things—for the factory whistle, for the streetcar, for Pravda<sup>1</sup> with its reassurances—had become almost intolerable.

When would the glorious Red Armies win? For years one had watched tanks clanking through the streets, and outside the villages one had seen the parachutes pouring down like crazy cotton snowflakes; one had accumulated tremendous faith in this power. But this power had been pushed back, now, deep into Russia, had been cut at Smolensk, cupped at Leningrad, driven even beyond the ancient Golden Gate of Kiev.

When would the generals make use of clever strategies? When would the marshals, who wear gold stars studded

with diamonds, show their worth to the men who have never had any badge but mud? Certainly the leaders would not capitulate—there were still many soldiers and much land to fall back upon. One heard that there were 4,000,000 fresh soldiers near Moscow; it would take weeks, perhaps months, to engage them.

If the Red Armies were losing, perhaps everyone would be given a chance to fight. But when? Comrade Stalin had just decreed that every able-bodied man between the ages of 16 and 50 years should go out each day after working hours to learn how to handle a rifle and throw a grenade. It would take many days before one man could learn the little killing tricks which must be learned, many weeks before 25,000,000 men could be turned into anything like an effective reserve.

#### The Evening Star, June 26, 1941

### Russia's Great War Machine Starts Rolling Without a Hitch

*Editor's Note: Henry C. Cassidy<sup>2</sup>, Associated Press chief of bureau, in Moscow, gives the following First hand report on Russian civilians under blitzkrieg on the basis of unusual experience of war reporter. Cassidy, a native Bostonian, member of the Paris staff when Germany invaded France and saw the masses of civilians who clogged French roads in light.*

*The contrast he presents in the following dispatch is the first eye-witness account of wartime Russia outside Moscow by an American newspaperman.*

**From the Black Sea to Moscow through regions rarely seen by foreigners recently, even in peacetime, I have watched from behind the Russian lines as the Soviet provinces went to war with Germany. The general impression was that the Soviet forces got off to a smooth start, mobilization was carried out without any apparent hitch. The black-out was installed effectively. Trains were running promptly. Agriculture and industry appeared to be working at top pitch. The Soviet countryside showed two striking contrasts to France of a year ago.**

First, there was no panicky rush of refugees to tangle transport. In fact, I found it difficult for a civilian to move at all unless he had a real reason. Second, the people maintained complete Slavic calmness and confidence. War nerves never reached these remote districts. The skies over central European Russia appeared to be under absolute Soviet control. Through the Ukraine I saw no German planes, not even the scouting craft such as penetrated deep into France in the early days of the war there.

The population stiffened suddenly and listened open-mouthed to a broadcast of Foreign Commissar Molotov's speech announcing the German attack.

The outbreak of fighting brought a surge of patriotic emotion, Broadcasts of marching songs echoed through the mountain valleys of the Caucasus after Molotov's speech. Successive news broadcasts brought bursts of cheering and hand-clapping from steadily growing

crowds. Uniformed troops on leave lined up at railway stations to rejoin their regiments. Newly mobilized men marched in shirt-sleeves through the streets. Army cars and trucks raced by. Houses were transformed into barracks.

Blue light bulbs (for black-out illumination) were produced for public buildings, candles were distributed in hotel rooms and the Russian Riviera plunged that night into obscurity.

Chicago Sunday Tribune,  
July 27, 1941

**Moscow to Cost Hitler Deadly  
Writer Tells of Seeing Good Army in Russia.**

**BY CAPT. M. M. CORPENING.**

**Observations and contacts that I made during three months' travel in Russia and Germany last summer make the clash between these two countries the most interesting phase of the European war.**

In dispatches from abroad I repeatedly stated that Russia had a better army than the world believed. Although it is not so well equipped, nor so smoothly working as the German army, it deserves to be ranked among the big armies of the world. While it is scattered all over the country, its strongholds are on the Manchurian border facing Japan and in the west facing Germany.

Japan challenged the Reds for exercise in 1938 on the Manchurian front. The Japs were chastised in these clashes. The Germans are now trying them out in the west. Hitler will find Moscow, if captured, an expensive conquest.

Two popular prejudices causé

Americans to minimize the Red army: The murder of Russian officers in the purge of March, 1938, and the poor' showing made against little Finland. Both may prove to be fallacies. How much military talent was eliminated is unknown, but there is certainly a lot left.

### **FINN TEST EXPLAINED.**

The Russians did not take the Finnish war seriously. It was bad fighting country, bitterly cold, and time made no difference. The troops sent to Finland at first were mostly undisciplined reprobates who were more or less given the choice of execution at home or a chance with death against the Finns. According to neutral sources in Moscow, Stalin finally got provoked and sent regular troops to the Finnish front one week after their arrival the Finnish peace commission left for Moscow with instructions to sign capitulation terms.

It was also reported in Moscow that the generals executed were eliminated more on account of their unwillingness to modernize their views according to Stalin's ideas than for treasonable activities.

Be this report true or not, no army could have the training equipment, snap and discipline of the Red army, as observed by this reporter in Russia, without military minds and ability in the background.

### **GOOD PLANES WELL FLOWN.**

Russia introduced mass parachute operations and mass plane flights 15 years ago. The planes I saw in Russia all the way from Manchouli to the western border, both fighter and bomber, appeared to be modern and skillfully

handled. Most of the bombers were four motored. Fighter craft and bombers greatly resembled our American models. The Russians have also copied American automobiles. The motorized and mechanized equipment appeared to be modern and on a par with the Germans. Close inspections were not permitted. The precision with which the vehicles moved and the snap and dress of the soldiers were impressive. Only a trained military observer could determine which was the better exhibition the parade troops in Moscow's Red square or in Berlin's Unter den Linden. The German troops were more finished, the officers were better dressed, and the equipment showed better care.

Both officers and men in the Russian army were young and physically fit. I did not see a fat soldier in either Russia or Germany. As for dress of the soldiers and the fit of their uniforms, there was little difference between the Germans and the Russians. In physique, maybe, the Russians had the edge. I saw a battalion of troops detraining in a little town in central Siberia. The men showed every evidence of being thoroughly trained. They fell into formation, came to a snappy attention, and marched away like veterans of any first class army. Every man had full equipment and identical, well fitting uniforms. In addition, each appeared to be less than 25 years old and 6 feet tall.

### **SKI TROOPS WIORK IN EARNEST.**

Ski troops were maneuvering as I passed thru Siberia. About 200 with full equipment were executing a military problem and seemed to be putting their heart into the work. Overhead soared



airplanes apparently participating in the exercises. Several miles further along a formation of new four-motored bombers made good landings at an airport as the train went by.

The ground school work for Russian flyers is taught in an aviation college in Moscow. It resembles one of our universities. The artillery, communication, and other service branches have similar schools. In all arms of the service the theoretical as well as the practical is taught. The more proficient soldiers become officers.

All Russians, as well as the ruling communists, are proud of their army. A peasant woman, in rags and looking actually hungry, was seen buying flowers to throw at soldiers.

The big handicap of the Russian forces, of course, is the size of country they have to defend.

### **NAZIS MEET OPPOSITION.**

How the armies on the whole of both Russia and Germany compare with their show troops is little known outside these countries. The same can be said of the respective quality and quantity of the military elements. Stalin started to arm Russia five years before Hitler came into power. There is no reason to believe that he hasn't continued. Now, for the first time, Hitler and his army have been opposed in the true military sense. Under both the soviet and Nazi systems the same orders are issued to the troops: "Fight at the front or be killed at the rear." The outcome will be costly to the winner.

The Times, July 03, 1941

## **Hard Hitting by Red Air Force**

### **NEW FIGHTER IN USE**

#### **From Our Aeronautical Correspondent**

Reports received in this country indicate that the Soviet Air Force is putting up an extremely good fight against the Germans on all fronts. Although the sudden attacks made by the Luftwaffe on Russian airfields before any declaration of war had been made undoubtedly led to the destruction of many aircraft on the ground, the German claims should not be accepted. They are believed to be as exaggerated as many of those made during the Battle of Britain last year.

The Russians are using a new fighter<sup>3</sup>, which appears to be most effective, though the general standard of their fighters is not comparable with those of the enemy. The Soviet Air Force has shown itself to be well trained for cooperation with the Red Army and many of its attacks on German lines of communications have brought excellent results. Much useful work has been done by a large force of six-engine heavy bombers.

The spirit of the Soviet pilots and crews is said to be high, and they are fighting with great courage and tenacity. The Luftwaffe has lost a large number of machines and crews, particularly among the much-battered dive-bombers, the Ju87<sup>4</sup>.

The Washington Post,  
July 1, 1941

## **Stolid Muscovites Used to Hardship**

**By Wade Werner<sup>5</sup> Associated Press  
Staff Writer**

### **Factories Moved East**

Many years ago Soviet leaders began preparing for the possibility that their outer defenses might be broken. Many of the new strategic Factories designed to keep the armed forces supplied with tanks and planes and ammunition were built 700 miles or more east of Moscow, some of them behind the mountain barrier of the Urals.

Near these mountains, too, Soviet engineers have been developing new oil fields and refineries to insure a fuel supply for the army.

In 1939, the output of these new fields already exceeded 2,000,000 tons, according to Soviet statistics, but the country still depends on Caucasian fields for more than 90 per cent of its oil. Some of the new refineries are not scheduled to go into production until next year.

However, the Ukraine, which Hitler apparently wants as the breadbasket of his new order in Europe, happens to be the chief breadbasket and coal and iron area of Russia.

An attempt to keep going after the loss of the Ukraine and the Caucasian oil fields, at a time when the new industrial and oil producing areas of the interior still are in the early stages of development, therefore would mean heroic efforts and desperately lean years ahead.

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Time Magazine, November 17,  
1941

## **The Great Trek**

. . . There is only one means, Stalin said, to reduce to zero the present German superiority in tanks and thus radically improve the position of our armies. This method consists not only in increasing several times the output of tanks in our country but also in sharply increasing the output of anti-tank guns, anti-tank aircraft, anti-tank rifles, anti-tank grenades and trench mortars. . . .

So far Russia has lost only about one-third of its pre-war industrial capacity. The principal losses have been the Leningrad area and the Ukraine. The Germans have nibbled at, and probably partly immobilized, Moscow's industry.

Russia has not lost to the Germans a single irreplaceable unit of its incredible natural resources. These treasures lie be

yond Hitler's present reach. The oil and manganese of the Caucasus are the only resources immediately threatened.

Russia has lost only about 7% of its territory (which totals one-sixth of the earth's surface). Beyond the Volga, 350 miles to the east of Hitler's easternmost advance, lies 85% of Russia; behind the Urals, 75%.

Speed. The new Russia becomes more powerful every day. A fortnight ago foreign correspondents were taken to a plant near the Urals. In June, when the war broke out, it was a relatively unimportant factory producing a few simple machines. On Aug. 3 a Leningrad factory shut down, dismantled its machinery, loaded it on flat cars and sent it east, along with most of its skilled workers and executives. While the trains were on their way, a community of wooden sheds was built around the Urals plant. When the machines arrived they were set up at once. Unskilled workers were hired from the locality. On Aug. 25 the new plant went into production.

"It is a strange thing," wrote New York Times Correspondent C. L. Sulzberger, "to wander through this factory and see hundreds of peasant women, each with a bright kerchief around her head, stamping out and testing intricate machine parts. Men are doing the heaviest types of work and dozens of young technical students in their teens are employed as apprentices. The factory works day & night. The workers are on the job wartime hours—eleven a day, six days a week."

Efficiency. The U.S. would have had a hard time moving such a plant so far so fast. That the Russians could do so is because Red tape is not binding.

A Soviet official who plans a plant transfer does not have to worry about.

He does not have to make intricate arrangements with railroad companies. He does not have to worry about labor laws or labor unions. He does not have any trouble finding enough workmen. He just orders so many workmen, asks railroad authorities for the proper number of trains, goes to work. U.S. observers, reared in the legend of Russian inefficiency, have found little of it in this war.

Foresight. For the last decade Russia has paid increasing attention to the development of great new industrial areas. One straddles, and partly hides behind, the Urals. Another is the Kuznetsk Basin, next to Outer Mongolia. In the extreme south, centered at Tashkent, there is a less concentrated area, mainly of light industries such as textiles.

These areas include such great centers as Magnitogorsk, whose iron & steel combine is larger than any in Europe. The Ural Freight Car Building Works in Tagil produced 120,000 two-axle cars in 1939—as many as were made elsewhere in all Russia. There have been many conversions: the Tagil Car Works is now producing military vehicles; the Chelyabinsk Tractor Plant now makes tanks; factories in Novosibirsk mass-produce military-type skis. The diversity is surprising: the auxiliary capital produces carburetors, armatures, railway equipment, cinema apparatus, tractor parts, tubes, leather goods, foodstuffs.

Fat Rump. Except for two shortages—manganese and mercury—Russia's great rump is sufficiently stocked in all vital resources. The Kuznetsk Basin has five times as great coal reserves as the Donets Basin, now in German hands. Oil fields in the plains adjoining the Urals have been

developed to the point where they could partially compensate for the loss of Baku. The area should not lack water power: on the Angara River the biggest power dam in the world is being built. Even without the good black earth of the Ukraine, Russia could be agriculturally self-sufficient.

This Russia could in time produce the heavy necessities of war, probably including airplanes. It would be hard put to it to produce precision instruments and delicate machines. It would have to rely on Lend-Lease for such things.

Russians have had a great reputation for industrial fallibility. They have been dismissed as Orientals, incapable of understanding machines. But one set of Orientals, the Chinese, withdrew in the face of military reverses to China's mountains, and there succeeded in pinning down 1,000,000 Japanese soldiers for over two years. Even allowing for Soviet weaknesses and failures, the Russians already possess an industrial setup that makes Chungking look pretty primitive.

Christian Science Monitor,  
August 5, 1941

## **Battle for Russian Harvest Swings Away From Nazis**

By Edmund Stevens

**With giant armies still locked in combat along the vast Eastern front, behind the lines the Russians appear to be winning one of the most vital contests of the war—the battle for this year's harvest.**

Here, too, the forces are mechanized. Racing with time, day by day vast regiments of tank-like tractors and

harvester, combines, mostly manned by women, move steadily northward from the Caucasus and the shores of the Black Sea toward central Russia. By next week this army of the harvest will have practically completed its "conquest" of the Ukraine and will be advancing through the fields of middle Russia and then the bulk of this year's grain crop — according to Soviet reports a bumper crop — will be largely out of reach of Nazi steel fingers.

In the original Nazi war plans capture of the Soviet harvest was even more important than capture of specified cities.

Hitler has been counting heavily on this harvest to feed both his armies and the population of Germany and the occupied countries through the coming winter. The promissory notes of the Nazi New Order were to be paid in Russian grain.

### **KNOWN AS RUSSIAN BREADBASKET**

Nearly half of the Soviet crop comes from the rich areas of the Ukraine, known as Russia's bread-basket. At the outset of the German invasion of Russia most forecasts were that Germany would first attack the Ukraine. Instead the main Nazi thrust developed against Moscow.

The apparent reason for this was that the Germans realized that if they advanced on the Ukraine directly, vast areas under cultivation would be trampled down and agriculture so disorganized for the time that it would be impossible to harvest and save the remainder.

Danger that the Soviets when faced with disaster elsewhere on the front might attempt to destroy the grain in the fields was minimized by the fact that the green grain did not burn easily.

The Nazis expected that they could take over the Ukraine breadbasket as a going

concern and save the crop for themselves if they cracked the Soviet regime by a quick frontal thrust on Moscow.

By the same token they would avoid devastation of the great industrial region of the Don Basin, with its giant blast furnaces, aluminum plants, machine works, and other enterprises that would fit in so nicely with Germany's war production, well out of range of British bombers.

Today, fought to a standstill on the central front, the Germans have apparently been forced to give up capture of Moscow as their first major objective. Instead they are turning toward Kiev as a consolation prize. While the capture of Kiev would be of minor military significance as compared to that of Moscow, they have not got so far to go and it would provide the home public with the long promised "brilliant victory."

In aiming their new blow at the Ukrainian breadbasket the Nazis admit the failure of the Moscow drive and with it the collapse of their entire original blitzkrieg plan. No longer can they hope to "annihilate" the Red Army and Air Force by a few swift direct smashing attacks, after which they could peacefully walk in and take possession of the Russian rear intact. Recent experience has taught the Germans that they cannot break Soviet resistance without destroying its economic basis. The southern drive if it succeeds will involve the destruction of those industries Germany counted on using for its own future war needs. A rise in the cost of the Soviet campaign is being followed by a decline in the probable returns.

The Germans may point out as a compensating factor that the occupation even of a devastated Ukraine would give

them a leg on the overland route to the rich Baku oil fields. But unless Soviet resistance completely collapsed they would still find the Caucasus mountain ranges extremely hard to negotiate.

Just as the Germans must admit failure of their plan to capture Soviet industry intact, so must they acknowledge defeat in the Battle for the Harvest.

Once the crop is gathered it may be shipped well away from the war zone to be added to the already considerable Soviet reserves. Or, if transportation is not available the grain may be destroyed in consonance with the Soviet's "scorched earth" policy.

An estimate of the staggering and far-reaching blow to Nazi economic plans may be obtained by pointing out that last year's Soviet grain crop amounted to 4,430,000 bushels – more than one fourth of the average yearly world production. This year's plan called for an 8 per cent increase over last year's crop. Loss of eastern Poland and part of White Russia through the German advance has reduced the grain-producing area.

In northern and central Russia the size of the crop has been adversely affected by a late spring which put sowing three weeks behind schedule. However the Soviet authorities insist these losses are more than made up for by unusually favorable conditions not only in the Ukraine, but also in the Kuban or north Caucasus and along the east bank of the Volga where periodic droughts have often caused crop failure in past years.

The current harvest season is the second in succession when the Soviet fleet of 600,000 tractors and 300,000 harvester combines is being operated and serviced almost entirely by women. Shortly after

the completion of the 1939 harvest, made tractor drivers, combine operatives, and mechanics were among the first to be mobilized when Soviet mechanized units clanged into Poland. At that time there were already 100,000 qualified women drivers and mechanics trained for such a contingency. Thousands of others were hastily trained through the winter months. The thought that women have played such an active part in foiling their plans should rankle the Nazi superman almost as deeply as reverses on the battlefield.

Chicago Daily Tribune,  
August 9, 1941.

## **AS BLITZ FAILS**

### **Army Seeks Five Million Fur Coats.**

BERNE, SWITZERLAND, Information reaching Berne from foreign military quarters in Berlin indicated tonight that the German high command was forced to revamp its Russian campaign to a long term basis July 15 when it became evident that blitzkrieg plans would fail.

This information was that Germany originally had planned to occupy the Ukraine and take Leningrad within three weeks, then seize Moscow, and reach Astrakhan, on the Caspian Sea 1,700 miles east of Berlin, by the end of August

## **SET NEW TIMETABLE**

The new time table calls for capture of Leningrad and Moscow and an advance to the Caucasus by the end of September, the military sources said. If the Russian army is still in existence the Germans would pursue it toward the Ural mountains then settle down on a defensive line.

According to the reported plan,

the defensive line would extend from Lake Ladoga to the Volga river east of Leningrad and Moscow, continuing on the west bank of the Volga to Astrakhan. The Rumanian and Hungarian armies would be expected to help the Germans hold the line. The information gave this picture of the strategy from that point on: In October, Turkey would be asked for free passage of German troops for a campaign against British forces in the Middle East.

Japan would attack Russia in the Lake Baikal region of eastern Siberia if the United States intervened actively on the Soviet side.

## **SEEK 5 MILLION FUR COATS**

During the winter the Nazi air force would concentrate on destruction of Russian industrial centers between Moscow and the Urals. A stock of 5,000,000 fur coats to clothe German troops during the winter already is being collected. Two months before the outbreak of the Russian war the German army had 2,000,000 fur coats which were obtained in Afghanistan, Turkey, and Iran. Sweden, Norway, and Germany are now being combed to supply another 3,000,000.

The military sources reported that the slow advance of the German army had caused visible disappointment among the German population, who were more interested in the prospect of rapid occupation of the Ukraine than in capture of Smolensk, 230 miles southwest of Moscow, or Leningrad.

## **Erskine Caldwell speaks about first six months of Soviet-German War**

**Audiofile**



## (Endnotes)

1 **Pravda** is a Russian broadsheet newspaper, and was the official newspaper of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, when it was one of the most influential papers in the country with a circulation of 11 million. The newspaper began publication on 5 May 1912 in the Russian Empire, but was already extant abroad in January 1911. It emerged as the leading government newspaper of the Soviet Union after the October Revolution. The newspaper was an organ of the Central Committee of the CPSU between 1912 and 1991.

2 Cassidy Henry Clarence (1910–1988) was an American journalist. He spent most of his career as a foreign correspondent and bureau chief for the Associated Press, NBC and Radio Free Europe. Cassidy worked at various times in France, the Soviet Union, Nazi Germany and the United States, but he is best known for his World War II reporting. He was awarded the French Legion of Honour for his bravery as a frontline correspondent. From 1940 to 1944 he was the head of the Moscow bureau of the Associated Press. He was respected by Stalin, who in 1942 twice answered the journalist's questions in writing. Stalin's precise answers went down in the history of diplomacy as an open message to the heads of allied states. Following the results of his work in wartime Moscow, H.Cassidy published a book of memoirs 'Moscow Diaries 1941–1943'.

3 The **Lavochkin-Gorbunov-Gudkov LaGG-3** was a Soviet fighter aircraft of World War II. It was a refinement of the earlier LaGG-1 and was one of the most modern aircraft available to the Soviet Air Force at the time of Germany's invasion in 1941. Compared to its opponents the LaGG-3 was underpowered and, despite its wooden construction, overweight. It was unpopular with Soviet pilots, but despite this, at one point in the war, on average 12 LaGG-3s were being completed daily and 6,528 had been built in total when production switched to the Yak-3 in 1944. The LaGG-3 was steadily improved, forming the basis for the more successful La-5 and La-7.

4 The **Junkers Ju 87**, popularly known as the "**Stuka**", is a German dive

bomber and ground-attack aircraft. Designed by Hermann Pohlmann, it first flew in 1935. The Ju 87 made its combat debut in 1937 with the Luftwaffe's Condor Legion during the Spanish Civil War of 1936–1939 and served the Axis in World War II from beginning to end (1939–1945).

5 Werner, Oscar Emil was a reporter Los Angeles Evening Herald, 1911. Reporter Prescott (Arizona) Evening Courier, 1920–1922. Worked with Associated Press, since 1922, successively editor on Los Angeles staff, state capitol correspondent at Sacramento, Hollywood film feature editor, feature editor in London, England., staff writer at Berlin, chief of bureau, Vienna (covering February and July revolts, 1934). Staff writer Berlin bureau, 1935–1937. Chief of Moscow bureau, 1938–1939. Baltic bureau, Copenhagen, 1939. Correspondent at front Russian-Finnish War, January-March 1940. Ottawa, 1940-1941; Washington, 1941–1943.

## Chapter V

### A Capital at War: No Strangers to Hardships

The Washington Post,  
July 1, 1941

#### Stolid Muscovites Used to Hardship

By Wade Werner Associated Press Staff  
Writer

*Editor's note: Wade Werner, who pictures here for The Washington Post special news service how Moscow residents might react to Nazi raids, has had unusual opportunity to judge the military and psychological factors on both sides of the Russian-German conflict. He was in Germany when Hitler first began to make headway in his rise to power, later was stationed in Moscow, and was in Finland when Soviet forces invaded that country in 1939.*

Now that Adolf Hitler has launched Germany on the great gamble that wrecked Napoleon—an invasion of Russia—what will happen in Moscow if his troops enter that city which his predecessor also entered only to see it go up in smoke?

Will the Russians again burn Moscow to frustrate a would-be conqueror?

Will a conqueror, this time, too, find his victorious armies stranded in the midst of a Russian winter?

When Napoleon crossed the Ilmen River in 1812 at the beginning of his gamble it was June 24. Hitler's troops entered Soviet territory June 22. Napoleon's soldiers entered Moscow September 24. They had to walk, and Hitler's men move on wings and wheels.

Supposing German troops actually arrive at the gates of the Soviet capital about August 1. What will happen then? Will the civilian population already have been evacuated? Will the Russians burn the city to keep it out of Hitler's grasp or as a taunting reminder of the fate of Napoleon? It can be assumed that most of Moscow's population will remain on the job as long as possible. Moscow is the capital, and has many important factories. This, of course, is a far different war from the war of Napoleon's day. It is possible that Moscow might be laid in ruins by Nazi bombing squadrons long before any armored columns could penetrate within 100 miles of the city.

Moscow's people, however, are no strangers to hardship and danger. They have seen worse than war: they have seen bloody civil strife and famine and endured the nerve-gnawing of successive political purges.

It would be most astonishing if these stolid inhabitants of a cruelly overcrowded city, with their background of endurance through war, revolution, civil war and famine, suddenly should mill around in panic under the stress of this new war.

If the Soviet government should



decide to evacuate Moscow, it is safe to assume that they would trudge away in the assigned direction with little more excitement than if they were parading across Red Square on a big day of ceremony.

If, under air bombardment, they do not put up as brave a show, in their own way, as the inhabitants of indomitable old London, they will certainly surprise many foreigners. They have a vast basic store of courage, and a sense of humor that functions under practically all conditions.

Win or lose, the common people of Russia are likely to take the hardships and terrors of war with as little panic and tragic complaining as any population in Europe.

If Hitler's armies succeed in crippling the Soviet military machine and Josef Stalin decides to call for a retreat into the deep interior of Russia, those who follow him will have need of their capacity to endure.

United Press, September 15,  
1941

### **A CAPITAL AT WAR** **Moscow Calm Amid** **Grim Routine**

MOSCOW, UNITED PRESS, SEPTEMBER 15. This is Moscow, the heart of a vast land now straining in a total effort to win a total war. No other nation in Adolf Hitler's path has carried out such a thorough mobilization of man-power; of technical skill and brains. Never in Spain or Britain did I get the impact of such a total war effort. And that impression is being strengthened every day. Walk through the streets of the capital of the Soviets. You see women brick-layers repairing buildings

and houses; women in overalls working side-by-side with men on excavating jobs. You see a company of Druzhnitsa<sup>1</sup> swing down a broad new street girls in their twenties wearing well cut khaki tunics, blue berets, blue skirts and black knee boots. They earn rifles with bayonets and their officers have revolvers strapped to their Sam Browne belts. Not all women are in overalls smeared with mortar. There are striking evidences of the calm detachment with which Russia fights.

### **BALLET GOES ON**

You see the curtain fall on the finale of Tchiakovsky's Swan Lake performed for an audience of children and a little sun-tanned girl in pig-tails runs down the aisle and tosses a bouquet to the famous ballerina, Olga Lepeshinskaya<sup>2</sup>. It is a bouquet of only three drooping red carnations, but the ballerina picks them up from the footlights as if they were the rarest orchids that ever crossed the stage of the Metropolitan. But, hour by hour and day by day this war is a deadly serious business for the toiling masses of the capital and its total character impressed me from the hour I arrived from two years of war in Britain. It is a total effort that misses nothing behind the 2,000 mile front from the Arctic coast to the Black Sea.

### **GIRLS AT WAR**

The Druzhnitsa company, for instance. The principal duties of the girls in these companies lie behind the lines as do the duties of the British women auxiliary units. They may also be used to earn wounded from the battlefield and to perform other dangerous tasks at the front. In one of the capital's suburbs a company of popular (peoples' guards made up of over-age or very young men marches past on its way to

strengthen fortifications behind the front lines. Building workers, wearing gas masks while pushing wheelbarrows or climbing ladders accustomed themselves to possible future gas attacks. Truck loads of green-capped frontier guards locking like the men from Mars in gray gas masks roll past in regular gas drill. The newspaper kiosk at the corner is selling pamphlets on use of hand grenades. Boys and soldiers are pictured throwing grenades from trenches and positions behind trees, lobbing bunches of two or three grenades against tanks. The papers are full of articles on grimmer kinds of war – rifle shooting and bayonet drill.

### **SCHOOLS OPEN**

School opened as usual in Moscow, but an article in the Teachers Gazette says: "The most important duty of our schools this year is to educate the pupils to become strong soldiers and defenders of our fatherland. All our work this year must be connected with the armed defense of our country." Older boys, it continues, must learn to use rifles, grenades and machine guns and become good skiers. Young Communist factory workers are giving up their day of rest and contributing their extra earn to the war fund. From every of new records for production of war materials by individual workers and factories. The transition from peace to this basis of total war was made more easy for the Soviet Union than in other countries which had to face Hitler's armies. When Hitler struck, the Soviets had already gone thru more than a quarter of a century of war of one kind or another— the World War, Civil War, foreign intervention, years of unceasing vigilance against "capitalistic encirclement" and then the long, relentless struggle to recover centuries of lost time

and transform feudal Russia into a modern industrialized country.

### **STRUGGLE STILL FRESH**

These years of blood and sweat and sacrifice were fresh in the memory of Russians when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union. Many of them had invested their entire lives in the effort to create a new state. They would accept without question sacrifices which total war imposes in order to protect that investment. But it would be wrong to picture this capital as a city in which war has obliterated all traces of normal life. I have been impressed by the calm detachment in which Russia goes about is business It is as calm as a London accustomed to the battering attacks of the Luftwaffe or as Madrid, which I saw basking in the sun of the last summer of the Spanish Republic. Many children have been evacuated to the countryside but there are plenty of them left in Moscow. You see them everywhere, buying ice cream sandwiches and pink lemonade from push cart vendors or chocolate bars from the corner kiosks. They help to give the capital its appearance of normal

The Evening Star, July 17, 1941

### **Hitler Jokes Amuse Audience of Workers At Moscow Circus**

**Performance Closely Resembles Those That Delight U. S. Citizens**

**By ERSKINE CALDWELL<sup>3</sup>**

MOSCOW, July 17.—Last night, together with several thousand Moscow citizens, I went to the circus. The performance began at 7:30 and ended two hours later, before dark. Unlike in times of patriotic upsurge in the United States of America, there was

no singing of the Internationale but the performance began with a poetic tribute to the Red Army and Red Navy spoken by one of the troupe. The circus was held in the hippodrome in Gorky Central Park of Culture and Rest and, like all good circuses, was under canvas. The only thing missed by this American were the peanuts and barkers. Otherwise the circus was like all circuses the world over, with plenty of sawdust, folding chairs, a ringmaster and clowns. If I were asked to name one thing of International character in Moscow, I would name the circus. All the performers are citizens of one of the national republics but the acts are almost identical with those seen by citizens of Springfield, Mass., and Springfield, Ohio, beginning with tumblers and ending with a great ape eating dinner, reading a book and riding a bicycle.

### **BURKING MULE STARS**

The favorite comedian at any Soviet circus is the Charlie Chaplintage clown. People always applaud him more than any other performer. One of the outstanding circus acts was a bucking mule that consistently defied the efforts of six amateur cowboys from the audience to ride him. The mule not only bucked like a broncho but was a past master at butting like a goat. An adlib incident occurred last night when Charlie, the great ape made a pass at the waitress when she took his dish away before he had finished eating his soup. What followed wasn't in the script and it brought the house down. The topnotch act of skill was I performed by three aerial acrobats who did their stunts from a small but real airplane that circled the arena suspended by a cable. This was a really big time act for any I country. Another laugh act was a ringmaster with

three donkeys that wouldn't do anything he tried to make them do.

### **AUDIENCE OF WORKERS**

Most of the audience was composed of workers on their way home. There were plenty of small boys, as there would be at any circus performance at New York, or at El Paso, Tex. There were very few Red Army men present, but a great many men in civilian clothes. The topic of war was touched upon three or four times when jokes were told at the expense of Hitler. Most of the jokes made their point on a play of words which are difficult to translate and also j not always readily understandable when taken out of the Russian. The audience howled at every reference to Hitler. I heard the best joke when the circus was over. The story was that Mussolini was so tired and haggard j from overwork and worry that his physician ordered him to go to Germany for the sake of his health and take a complete rest. When he returned a week later he was more tired and haggard looking than ever. His physician asked what had happened to him in Germany. Mussolini said Hitler wouldn't lit him have any peace at all.

### **The Evening Star, July 22, 1941 Writer Describes Moscow Raid As 'Comparatively Harmless'**

**By HENRY C. CASSIDY,  
Associated Press War Correspondent**

The German air force tried last night to burn out Moscow as it burned out parts of London, but it failed. From sunset to dawn I watched a squad of Russian home guards toss incendiary bombs of the roofs and put out fires. The raid over, life surged

back through the city in the early morning as though it were noon, when thousands take their midday stroll. The sirens whined just-as the setting sun cast a glow in the sky. Then an ominous voice came over the loudspeakers warning everyone to go to their shelters. I went to the ground-floor apartment of my building which is headquarters of the House Committee. An 18-year-old boy, who had been watching the roof, soon came into the room with his bare head soaking wet, and his red shirt open at the throat, rubbing his fireproof gloves. He said an incendiary bomb had landed on the roof, but that he threw it into the courtyard. We were skeptical of his story at first, but found evidence in the burned out metal tube about a foot long. Another watcher replaced him on the roof. Small bombs were dropped all along the street, which is in a quiet residential quarter far from central and Industrial quarters. But only one house was burned. The occupants dragged out their belongings into the courtyard. As the raid continued through the night, watchers on the roofs replaced one another in relays. The constantly changing group of 9 to 21 persons kept filing in and out of the first floor apartment. The automatic telephone continued to function throughout the raid, and the workers kept in constant touch with other nearby headquarters. At the start of the raid even the luminous dial on my wrist watch caused a flutter among the nervous watchers until it was blacked out under my sleeve. But by the end of the alarm a light was turned on in the windowless room, and everyone was excitedly telling of his experiences. The drone of planes faded gradually as dawn spread in the sky. Daylight' showed that what had i seemed in darkness to have

been a withering attack, had been, in fact, a comparatively harmless raid.

## The Russians Are Our Kind of People

### Audiofile



### (Endnotes)

- 1 Soviet people volunteer militia
- 2 Olga Vasilyevna Lepeshinskaya (28 September 1916–20 December 2008) was a Soviet ballerina. In the beginning of the Great Patriotic War Lepeshinskaya became a member of the *Front brigade* of the Bolshoi Theater. The brigade performed near the front lines, in hospitals, in Moscow and in Saratov where the Bolshoi was evacuated. Lepeshinskaya was a member of the brigade until the end of World War II. In 1942, the Soviet Youth Anti-Fascist Committee was organized. Lepeshinskaya was its Deputy chairperson.
- 3 Caldwell Erskine Preston (1903–1987) was an American novelist, publicist and journalist. E. Caldwell, having changed many professions, began his writing career in 1931, publishing a collection of short stories, 'American Land'. This was followed by several novels, which were repeatedly translated into Russian. In 1941, E. Caldwell prepared reports from the USSR for the magazine-weekly 'Life' and radio 'CBS' and a number of other publications. In this capacity, he was in Moscow and covered the beginning of the Great Patriotic War in his publications. On the basis of the material collected during this trip in 1942 he published his journalistic books 'Moscow under fire' and 'Everything is thrown at Smolensk', as well as a novel about the partisan movement in the USSR 'All Night Long'.

## Chapter VI

### The Scorched Earth. What makes the Russians fight as they do?

The Red Army and Navy and the whole Soviet people must fight for every inch of Soviet soil, fight to the last drop of blood for our towns and villages...onward, to victory!

There must be diversionist groups for fighting enemy units, for spreading the partisan war everywhere, for blowing up and destroying roads and bridges and telephone and telegraph wires; for setting fire to forests, enemy stores and road convoys. In the occupied areas intolerable conditions must be created for the enemy and his accomplices, who must be persecuted and destroyed at every step...

Whenever units of the Red Army are forced to retreat, all railway rolling stock must be driven away. The enemy must not be left a single engine, or a single railway truck, and not a pound of bread nor a pint of oil...must drive away all their livestock, hand their grain reserves to the State organs for evacuation to the rear... All valuable property, whether grain, fuel or non-ferrous metals, which cannot be evacuated, must be destroyed.

**JOSEPH STALIN**

**Address to the people on July 3th 1941**

Time Magazine, July 27, 1942

*It is a defensive hatred, and the Red Army is a defensive army, which has never yet been outstandingly successful on the offensive and is now learning whether defense can be enough. It is to that hatred that Moscow's communiqués appeal, forever stressing the killing of Germans, the destruction of German tanks, guns, planes. These communiqués sometimes seem to be deliberately deceptive, recounting the deaths of a few hundred Germans in battalion engagements, when great fronts are falling. But for the Russians it is not deception; it is the feeding of the Russian conviction which a Moscow writer expressed to Correspondent-Author Maurice Hindus: "The loss of territory is never much in Russian wars, so long as our armies make it a graveyard for German soldiers."*

The Washington Post,  
July 25, 1941

### **Nazis 'Describe' Furious Soviet Charge Into Withering Artillery**

**Associated Press reports from Berlin.**

German soldier reporters at the front tonight told of vicious hand-to-hand fighting with Russian troops entrenched in The Stalin Line and said that Red army warriors were "stubborn unto death."

"Often they had to be slain in their rifle pits," one dispatch said in telling of German infantry storming the Red

positions. Russian counterattacks also were acknowledged and at times Nazi artillery was “firing point-blank at a distance of 100 yards” against the charging soldiers of the Red Star.

In two villages in the Stalin Line region the Russians first attacked the Germans, one soldier-reporter said.

“The artillery was hard pressed. Firing point-blank at a distance of 100 to 150 yards, the artillery was able to hold off the Russians.

“Then the German infantry advanced... horrible close fighting developed in the early morning light. The attacking soldiers in field gray and the Soviets, desperately defending themselves, faced one another at two yards. “The Soviets suffered terrific losses.”

Then he described the difficulties in storming the Russian fortifications.

“Suited to the wooded hilly land and cleverly camouflaged with cut stalks of grain, trenches and machine-gun nests dotted the terrain. One position was connected with the other. Often there were four or five behind one another and full of Soviets.

“A furious fire broke loose against the storming Germans. The battalion broke through the wood, but only after bloody fighting.

“The Soviets resisted tenaciously. Stubbornly they stuck to their posts—stubborn unto death. Even in the hopeless situation they kept their weapons and often had to be slain in their rifle pits.”

Chicago Daily Tribune,

August 9, 1941.

## **Advancing Finns find only Ruins in Wake of Reds**

**BY LOUIS P. LOCHNER<sup>1</sup>.**

Five days I spent with the Finnish army have given me proof that the Red army carries out to the letter Josef Stalin's order to destroy everything of value on retreat.

Any abandoned village or town can be spotted long before we reach it by the chimneys standing like so many sentinels amid scenes of desolation. A curious sight is the second story iron stoves left in, midair hooked to the chimneys, when the rest of the house has burned.

The Times, 26 September 1941

## **What makes the Russians fight as they do?**

**From a Russian Correspondent.**

What makes the Russians fight as they do? Why, unlike other Europeans, do they destroy their own property, their own homes, burn their own forests in a desperate attempt to beat the invader? That is perhaps what puzzles the observer most about the war in the East. Apparently the Germans are puzzled and surprised themselves, and not a little worried. They complain that there is something different and uncanny about the Russians; the Russians do not know the rules of the game and will not play; the Russians fight and die fighting, lose ground and lose machines, but still fight. When and where is it going to end? Tolstoy answered that in one of the greatest books of all time, “War and Peace.” On June 22, 1812, Napoleon declared war

on Russia and began his invasion with an army of nearly 600,000 men, the greatest proportion of whom were Germans. What arrogant gesture in the face of destiny caused that other megalomaniac, Hitler, to begin the invasion of Russia on the same date last June? On September 7, less than 100 miles west of Moscow, Kutuzov decided to risk a decisive battle at Borodino in a desperate attempt to save the ancient capital. And what was the result when the Russians were outnumbered from the start and facing an enemy who had beaten them before? This is how Tolstoy puts it: Napoleon was going through the painful experience of a gambler who, after a long run of luck, has calculated every chance and staked handfuls of gold – and then finds himself beaten after all, just because he has played too elaborately. The troops and commanders were the same as of old; his plans, were laid; his address short and vigorous; he was sure of himself, and of his experience, his genius, which had ripened with years; the enemy in front was the same as at Austerlitz and Friedland; he had counted on falling on him tooth and nail and the stroke had failed as if by magic.... From all sides came the cry for reinforcements, the news that generals were killed or wounded, that the regiments were demoralized, that it was impossible to move the Russians... today something strange was in the air – the Russian advanced works, to be sure, had been taken by storm still, he felt it, and he knew that all his staff felt it too.... Every face was gloomy... he knew that it was a drawn game. At the end of the day, although the Russians had lost half their army in killed and wounded, they still refused to admit

defeat and Napoleon, having suffered more than 25 per cent. casualties, dreaded the renewal of the conflict. Kutuzov, fearful of sacrificing the whole of his army, ordered the retreat, but insisted that Borodino was a great victory, that the beast had been mortally wounded and could never recover. Before abandoning Moscow he cried, half in anguish, half in anger, “ I will make them eat horseflesh yet!” One can hear Marshals Timoshenko, Voroshilov, and Budyonny saying just that after the blood-bath they have given Hitler’s armies at Smolensk, Odessa, and Kiev. Can one blame the Russians if today they feel sure that, even if Odessa, Moscow, and Leningrad should fall, Hitler is still moving to his doom in Russia?

### **MOSCOW IN THE SUN**

Little did Napoleon realize the destiny in store for him as he admired the sight of Moscow glittering in the sun at his feet on September 14. For the Russian nation had taken up arms against the invader before even the Government had time to organize popular resistance. Bitterly Napoleon complains of the Russians for debasing the “noble art of war”; just as the German Supreme Command is complaining about them today. But it is this very conception of war as a noble art and the successful militarist as a great personage and all glorification of war that Tolstoy hates: The power which decides the fate of nations is not inherent in conquerors, armies, or battles, but has a quite different source. This is the very antithesis of Hitler’s “new order” and the very faith which democracy is trying to vindicate. Russia never inherited that glorification of the military art which was the heritage of Western Europe from the

Greeks and the Romans. The Slavs were peaceful shepherds, husbandmen, and traders who suffered much at the hands of warlike neighbours and savage nomads sweeping over them with fire and sword because they happened to live on the main highways where moved the periodic migrations of peoples from East to West. While Western Europe applauded and honoured its knights in shining armour and sang the praises of the brave and gallant soldiers who valiantly defended their castles and went far afield to reduce other proud knights and conquer their peoples, the Russian Slavs learnt to hate war because they were the victims of the most savage and ruthless warriors of all time, the Mongols of Ghengis Khan and his successors. The Russians had no castles, no handsome, armoured, tilting knights; war for them was not a contest of skill between generals and noblemen on whose failure or success depended merely the transient allegiance to just another knight or king. The Russians learnt of war only through the invasion of savage hordes who cut and burnt their way across the Russian land. From time immemorial war to the Russian was not a chivalrous and romantic pastime, but spelled only murder, destruction, rape, and desolation. Is it any wonder they truly hate war and loathe the invader?

### **THROWING ALL IN**

Perhaps Tolstoy does not make it clear also why the Russian has sufficient con – tempt for his own life as well as the enemy's, and for his own property, to sacrifice all in his attempt to destroy an invader. Western Europe is so small and crowded: the European is always

in intimate contact with man's own achievements and the beauty, wealth, and comfort accumulated by centuries of effort. He realizes how long it has taken to build them up and cannot imagine life without them. Can one picture Englishmen burning down Canterbury or their Houses of Parliament? They would fight for them until they lay in ruins, yes; but to set them alight or destroy them merely to impede the enemy or deny him possession, that they would never do. And yet Kiev is just as ancient as Canterbury and holds historic treasures as dear to Russia. Yet the Russians have not hesitated to destroy and burn it as they did Moscow to thwart the invader. Why? Because the Russian's horizon has not been hemmed in by a valuable human heritage and effort which are the product of a concentrated and crowded civilization. He has been primarily a nomad pioneer living with limitless and natural horizons. It is not the product of human toil and art that has impressed him, but the immensity and power of Nature. For centuries he strained every effort to eke out a bare subsistence, and only too often the fruits of his labour were destroyed by hard Nature or cruel man and he moved on somewhere else to start all over again. It was not the sort of environment and influence calculated to produce a high respect for material property. The Russian, to whom the span of human existence seems relatively so unimportant and ineffectual, values even life cheaply, whereas his brooding spirit is forever prodding for the ultimate truth, which interests and concerns him more than practical, material achievement.

This has expressed itself in his institutions and his history. The Russian



was never the resigned slave that European history paints him. He accepted readily the idea of theocracy which demanded that all classes surrender their free will and labour to the service of a semi-divine order. For centuries the peasant was no more a serf than the noble who also served. Not till the eighteenth century brought into Russia an influx of Western ideas and German blood did the new cosmopolitan aristocracy proceed to destroy all the ancient obligations of service, grasp privileges, and attempt to enslave the people for their own whim and pleasure. Only then did serfdom become abject slavery. And the Russian people never took it lying down. They were only too acutely aware of their changing status from that of bonded servants of the State to that of personal property of arbitrary masters; and they resented the injustice of that condition and tried to rebel against it. In the final analysis this was the cause of all social unrest in Russia since the end of the eighteenth century. The disruption of the ancient equitable balance of obligations and dependent privileges on which the Russian State had been built up, and the fact that "no one class in particular took to living for its own benefit alone," as the historian Klyuchevsky<sup>2</sup> says, was the fundamental cause of the revolutionary movement culminating in the overthrow of the old regime. And the tremendous energy the nation has since displayed in construction, as in fighting the Hun, is due primarily to the overthrow of an alien caste and an artificial system which has chained the people. Today the Russians are acting not as devotees of the theory of Marxian Communism but as a nation whose natural, pent-up genius has been suddenly

released. Surely such people, and such a land, must have a profound influence on the world; an influence which can bear the most fruitful results if it is associated with the tempering and mature influence of the Anglo-Saxon peoples. They have much in common.

### **COMPLEMENTARY IDEALS**

The Anglo-Saxon, nurtured in his island home, having the vast unknown of the oceans has also been impressed by the power and mystery of Nature. But the varied and active life he has had to lead has given him a more practical turn of mind. As an islander and a seafarer the Briton early learnt to be independent and to value that independence. He had to rely on his own endeavours, his adaptability, his resourcefulness. While the Russian conceives of the world as a vast brotherhood where is no distinction of race or class, the Anglo-Saxon insists that no such brotherhood can come into being unless every person is willing to respect the sacred individuality of his brother which distinguishes man from the herd and makes further human development possible. The individual consciousness and respect for life and property of the Anglo-Saxon must complement the Russian ideals of mass social justice before a happy equilibrium between individual and social man can be established. That is the great problem of tomorrow. And that is why it is so important these great peoples should understand one another. Their world task and ideals are complementary and not opposed. In Russian fervour for social justice coupled with Anglo-Saxon balanced judgment and patience lies one of the great hopes of building a saner world after the war.

The New York Times,  
July 30, 1941

## **Russians Don't Fight 'Fairly, Germans Cry**

BERLIN, JULY 30. The Germans continue to insist that the Russians do not fight "fairly," that they engage in strategems which are "illegal" 'and that they refuse to surrender even when there is no possibility of escaping. Informed quarters asserted, for example, that Russian units have surrendered and marched as body toward the German lines. When they arrived in the immediate vicinity of the German troops the Russians suddenly dropped on the ground and from somewhere in the middle of the group machine-gun and pistol fire was unleashed on the unsuspecting Germans. In this and similar fashion, it is said here, "hundreds and still hundreds of Germans have been killed.

The Washington Post,  
July 29, 1941

## **Driest of All Wars, Nazi Writer Finds Flask of Water, Tea or Coffee Biggest Luxury on Russian Front, He Says; Describes The Dried Up Wells, Smoldering Pile of a City With the German Army on the Eastern Front.**

This war is the driest of all wars. That is because it leads past too few water mains, fewer than in Poland and fewer than in France. Flap down your dust-coated eye-lashes, comrade, and think back think of France: Wasn't that then one vast water fountain compared with this country. Yesterday we passed a village as we rolled

along the marching route of our panzers. For hours before we had located it on our map. Now it must still be ten kilometers away, now only five, now just one more-there it was, the village, there was the first house and there, too, was the first bucket-well. Down deep with the pail-up it came with mire and mud. On to the next well! It yielded only a brownish broth. The wells already had been drawn dry by your comrades. So once again we cannot wash ourselves tonight. Wash? Why for Heaven's sake, we haven't the faintest Intention of washing. There isn't water for that. All we want in to just dip our hands once, just to cool our burned brows and necks a bit. This morning we were to drive through the city of "M" (obviously Minsk). We figured it out: There must be so and so many hydrants, for drinking, for cooking, for washing, for filling our field flasks. When we reached "M" we didn't come to "M," for it is something that doesn't exist anymore and you can't come to it. We reached "M" only according to our maps. For "M" was in reality nothing but a bit of smoldering landscape. I say landscape because the chimneys which remained standing between the wooden houses looked from afar like trees. The fleeing Soviet had with his artillery shot "M" into the ground and burned it down completely.

Time Magazine,  
September 07, 1942

## **COME, GRANDSON, LET US CUT DOWN THE ORCHARD.**

From a Russian correspondent of the London Times last week came this

typically Russian account of scorched-earth tactics in the Cossack country.

It is a sultry, stifling day. A burning haze hovers over the dusty street of the stanitsa [Cossack village] of Starominskaya. Usually deserted at this hour, Starominskaya is filled with unaccustomed activity. Windows, doors and gates of all the cottages are flung wide open, and in each courtyard stands a wagon to which a pair of sturdy horses is harnessed. Villagers take only the most essential belongings; the rest will be buried under cover of darkness where the invaders will never discover it. The cattle were driven away several days ago. All that is left is the poultry, which the children are now chasing in the courtyards, while their mother, tears streaming down her cheeks, cuts the throats of cocks and hens, bitterly cursing the cause of it all. As the column leaves, the night sky is illuminated by the glare of burning villages and gunfire flashes. With the baggage go the old men and women, mothers and small children, the sick and crippled. The able-bodied will remain behind and fight side by side with the Red Army troops.

An old Cossack took up his ax and called his 13-year-old grandson from a neighboring house: "Come here, grandson, and let us cut down the orchard and smash the beehives." Apple, pear and apricot trees laden with still unripe fruit fell one after another. "Pile it up in the street," the old man said. "Let anybody who wants take it, and what is left the armored tractors will crush to pulp when they come by."

Tonight Red troops poured through en route to the front. The old man and all other Cossack cottagers retired,

planning how nothing must be left for the enemy except a scorched waste. Such is the decision of the Kuban Cossacks, the glorious descendants of the Cossacks of Zaporozhye Sech, who also burned and destroyed everything.

Later in the quiet village the sound of plane engines presaged parachutists. The Cossacks dashed out from their huts, hastily arming themselves with shotguns, sabers, axes and even fire irons, and ran toward an assembly point. Scattering among the yards and orchards, concealing themselves behind fences and in ditches, they spied out the position of the enemy force and prepared to fall upon it. A report was dispatched to the commander of the nearest Red Army unit. "Kill wherever you can and any way you can," he ordered through quick-footed youngsters, and the Cossacks began operations. A German coming to a well for a drink was shot. Another got a brick on his skull when he went into an orchard without a helmet.

"Mama, there are two Germans in our pigsty; they are breaking down the wall looking onto the street," cried a 13-year-old boy to his mother. The Cossack woman's husband had been killed at Rostov. She cautiously drew from under the floor an old scimitar wrapped in rags, drew it from its scabbard, tried its edge and resolutely made for the door. Creeping toward the pigsty, she stood crouching by the door awaiting a signal from her son. The boy squeaked softly like a mouse.

The Cossack woman dashed into the pigsty. The curved scimitar swung twice in the air and the Germans dropped without a sound into the still liquid manure. She had scarcely wiped the blood from the scimitar when the figure of a German

sergeant rose before her. There was a short burst from an automatic rifle and the young woman fell silently to the floor like a flowering apple tree cut to the roots. With a cry of intolerable hatred, the boy hurled a stone with all his might at the German's ruddy face. It struck him in the eye, depriving him of sight, and it was some time before he dispatched the boy as he lay weeping over the body of his mother. When the Red Army regular troops reached the stanitsa, only about a score of German parachute men still survived. The rest had been annihilated by villagers.

The battle drew nearer to the village of Kanevskaya. The villagers burned down their own cottages and destroyed property accumulated by long years of industry. The first German detachments arrived at the stanitsa. Sixty-year-old Chepurko, collective-farm chairman, decided to start his own second front. He crawled, ax in hand, through stinging nettles, selected a tall, long-legged victim and crawled toward him on his stomach. Even Krupp's steel did not save the German from death. The grey-bearded Cossack threw himself on another German soldier. "Take that, in revenge for Kuban!" he cried, punctuating every blow of the ax. Then he fell, struck by a German bullet.

When the Red troops abandoned Kanevskaya, the Cossack men and women retired, leaving nothing behind. With them went young men and girls with sabers dangling at their sides and hand grenades stuck in their belts, their heads adorned with steel helmets picked up on the battlefield.

The Canadian Press, July 14, 1941

## Red 'Freedom' Radio Appeals for Crops

LONDON, JULY 14, 1941 A self-styled Russian "freedom" radio station, obviously German-controlled, has asked Russian listeners not to destroy their crops, stores and factories, the British Broadcasting Corporation reported.

The BBC said this latest evidence of German concern at the Russian "scorched earth" policy found an echo in German shortwave radiocasts, in which the announcer described the desolation left by the retreating Russians.

### (Endnotes)

1 **Ludwig "Louis" Paul Lochner** (February 22, 1887 – January 8, 1975) was an American political activist, journalist, and author. During World War I, Lochner was a leading figure in the American and the international anti-war movement. Later, he served for many years as head of the Berlin bureau of Associated Press and was best remembered for his work there as a foreign correspondent. Lochner was awarded the 1939 Pulitzer Prize for correspondence for his wartime reporting from Nazi Germany. In December 1941, Lochner was interned by the Nazis but was later released in a prisoner exchange.

2 **Vasily Osipovich Klyuchevsky** (28 January 1841 – 25 May 1911) was a leading Russian Imperial historian of the late imperial period. He also addressed the contemporary Russian economy in his writings.

## Chapter VII

### New Global Landscape Emerge

THE TIMES,  
JULY 14, 1941

#### **AN ANGLO-RUSSIAN AGREEMENT MUTUAL ASSISTANCE AGAINST "HITLERITE GERMANY" NO SEPARATE PEACE OR ARMISTICE RAPID ESTABLISHMENT OF COOPERATION**

*The British and Soviet Governments have signed an agreement to give each other all assistance and support during the war "against Hitlerite Germany," and to conclude no armistice or treaty of peace except by mutual agreement. The Dominions, it is understood, have been consulted over the terms of the agreement and have expressed their entire approval.*

Our Diplomatic Correspondent, commenting on the dispatch with which the fullest cooperation between Great Britain and Russia has been organized, says that the Russians are aware that they have met only the first attack against them. They are prepared to fight on, and have given proof of the strength of their resources and of the determination of their leaders and their men.

#### **TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT**

The following announcement was made in London yesterday on an agreement for joint action by his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of the U.S.S.R. in the war against Germany:

*His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of U.S.S.R. have concluded the present agreement and declare as follows:*

1. *The two Governments mutually undertake to render each other assistance and support of all kinds in the present war against Hitlerite Germany.*

2. *They further undertake that during this war they will neither negotiate nor conclude an armistice or treaty of peace except by mutual agreement, "The contracting parties have agreed that this agreement enters into force as from the moment of signature and is not subject to ratification. It was concluded on the evening of July 12, 1941, and was signed by authority of his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom by Sir Stafford Cripps, his Majesty's Ambassador, and by authority of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by M. V. Molotov<sup>1</sup>, Deputy President of the Council of the People's Commissars and People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs. The agreement was concluded in English and Russian."*

## CEREMONIAL SIGNING IN MOSCOW

Soon after 5 p.m. on Saturday (says a Reuters message from Moscow) the British Ambassador, Sir Stafford Cripps<sup>2</sup>, the head of the British Military Mission, Lieutenant-General F. N. Mason MacFarlane, and other leading members of the Mission and of the Embassy went to M. Molotov's office, where they were met by M. Stalin, M. Molotov, M. Vishinsky, Vice-Commissar for Foreign Affairs, M. Sobolev, Secretary-General of the Foreign Commissariat, and others.

After the ceremony of the signature, which was filmed, toasts were drunk and friendly conversation followed. M. Stalin talked with several of the British who were present, including Lieutenant-General Mason MacFarlane. The function lasted an hour.

Great Britain and Soviet Russia have now set down their war-time relations in a few simple words and have made them clear to all the world. The text of an agreed declaration was broadcast by the two Governments simultaneously yesterday afternoon — 2 p.m. in London, 3 p.m. in Moscow.

Already Great Britain and Russia had promised each other help, and already the leaders in each country had declared that they would never come to terms with the German Government. On the day that the Germans stormed over the Soviet frontier M. Molotov declared that there could be no peace before the defeat of Germany. On the same evening Mr. Churchill said the same thing and added, *"We shall give whatever help we can to Russia and to the Russian people."* Mr. Stalin on July 3rd. and Mr. Eden on July 5th, both emphasized the need for cooperation until victory is won. *The agreement published yesterday*

*is therefore the logical and inevitable outcome of the war-time policies of both countries. It was Hitler alone, by his own act, who united these policies into a common front against aggression after all the long months of Anglo-Soviet misunderstanding and disagreement.*

Once the discussions were begun they quickly led to complete accord. It would be hard to say which of the two Governments made the first definite proposal, but it may be remembered that Sir Stafford Cripps, the British Ambassador in Moscow, did not see Mr. Stalin until last in Tuesday. No doubt the proposal was raised then. Wednesday would give time for word to come to London. On Thursday the Ambassador was received by Mr. Stalin again, and, as the agreement was actually signed on Saturday evening in Moscow, the text must have been agreed upon at Thursday's meeting, giving time for it to be received in London and for confirmation to be sent back to Moscow. Thus there was no negotiation in the sense of bargaining. There was simply free and friendly discussion on the choice of words for a document agreed upon in substance from the beginning. Sir Stafford Cripps signed for Great Britain, and Mr. Molotov signed for the Soviet Union as Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and as Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

## AN UNUSUAL PHRASE

The text is straightforward and self-evident. In fact the only phrase at all unusual is "Hitlerite Germany." This phrase is used as a deliberate expression of view. The two Governments recognize how fully the present German leaders have organized the German people into their vast war machine (more fully

organized than the Kaiser's or Bismarck's); they recognize, too, how deeply the Nazi teaching has gone, especially among the German youth; but they put the responsibility of the war first and foremost on those leaders and not on the people. There can be no peace, they say, with the present German Government.

Napoleon was led on to disaster in the fond hope that Tsar Alexander would sue for peace. He knew that only such a peace could save him. "There have been no discourtesies on either side," he used to say during the campaign, "Alexander is still polite and will come to peace eventually." When Stalin on July 3 called Hitler and Ribbentrop "monsters and cannibals." Hitler must have been disabused of any such idea; and now the present agreement must convince him, and all Germans, that Russia has freely joined the Allied Governments and the American Administration in their repeated declarations that Hitler can never have peace. Germany has made the coalition world-wide.

### **QUICK DECISIONS**

The agreement shows again how quickly Russia has organized her forces for resistance and how quickly Anglo-Russian cooperation has been established from scratch. The Germans attacked on June 22 while the Soviet announcements still expressed disbelief in war and certainly before the Russian armies were mobilized fully. The British military mission arrived within four days. By June 26 the Soviet Committee of State Defence had been set up. On July 3 came M. Stalin's call for unity and for guerrilla warfare inside the occupied territory.

Five days later the Soviet military mission arrived in London. No doubt the German propagandists will make the most of the new agreement in the attempt to prove that the British have shaken hands with Bolshevism. America and Spain are likely to be flooded with this tale. But it will be believed only by those predisposed to be taken in by it. In facing the evils of the worst aggression that the world has known peoples count far more than politics; and Hitler has now united the British and Russian peoples against him.

United Press, August 7, 1941

### **U. S. Decision On Aid Lauded By Moscow**

**By Henry Shapiro<sup>3</sup>  
United Press Staff Writer**

Moscow, August 7(UP) — Russia and the United States have formed the basis for cooperation in mutual defense and destruction of "bloodthirsty Hitlerism, although an actual mutual assistance pact has not been signed. Solomon A. Lozovsky<sup>4</sup>, the official Soviet spokesman, said today. Lozovsky's praise of the new Soviet-American rapprochement was of the same tone as laudatory editorials in the Communist Party organ, Pravda, and the government newspaper, Izvestia. "Even though a mutual assistance pact has not been signed, the United States has decided to render economic assistance against aggression and destruction of bloodthirsty Hitlerism," Lozovsky said.

### **PUT BOTH IN A SAME CAMP**

Izvestia said the agreement "puts both great countries in the same camp

of democratic nations devoted to the noble ideal of the destruction of German Fascism, the most perfidious and evil foe of humanity, culture and civilization." The newspaper emphasized that the agreement is a two-way proposition in which the United States has promised immediate fulfillment of Soviet war orders and prepared the way for their speedy delivery, while Russia "possesses immense resources of raw materials and can aid further development of various branches of American industry."

Pravda warned that Germany "will spare no effort to subjugate the American continent." It cited evidences of Nazi intrigue in the United States and South America and efforts of Germany to obtain from the French government "bases in the Atlantic for preparation of an attack on America."

### **CONFIDENT OF VICTORY**

The newspaper expressed full confidence in a Soviet victory over Germany. Russian cooperation with another new ally, Poland, has begun with the arrival of a Polish military mission in Moscow. A Polish army is being formed among Polish prisoners captured in the Russians' invasion of Poland, to fight Germany.

The mission headed by Gen. Sigismund Szyszko-Boshuz<sup>5</sup> arrived from London yesterday and was greeted by representatives of the defense commissariat, the navy commissariat, the foreign commissariat, the British embassy and the British military mission.

ASSOCIATED PRESS, LONDON,  
July 14, 1941

### **RED WAR SONG IS HEARD OVER BRITISH RADIO**

The British Broadcasting Corporation introduced a martial musical note into the new British-Russian agreement for joint action against Germany by playing a Bolshevik battle song yesterday at the start of its home news program.

A recording of the "rousing military march and call to battle" was put on the air ahead of the national anthems of Allied countries which usually start the news radiocast. This song was radiocast by the Moscow radio when Joseph Stalin spoke on July 3.

The BBC rendition appeared to wind up the half serious, half humorous discussion recently over whether the "Internationale" should be played by the BBC as a sign of British-Russian rapprochement.

But there still remained an element of mystery about the musical honor accorded Russia. Neither the BBC nor the Soviet Embassy were able to give the title or words of the song tonight.

One London listener said the song was the "The Red Airman's Song" a ditty frequently sung by Leftists the world over. The chorus of that song is:

*They fly higher and higher and higher,  
Their emblem is the Soviet star  
And every propeller is roaring  
Defending the U. S. S. R.*



The Evening Star, July 15, 1942  
**War Makes English Second  
 Most Popular Language in  
 Moscow German Now a Dead  
 Tongue; Nazis Leave Russian  
 Capital**

By **ERSKINE CALDWELL**, Foreign  
 Correspondent of The Star and PM

MOSCOW, July 15 — Asute from the Germans themselves, the German language was the first thing to disappear from Moscow life as result of the war. Waiters, maids, porters, taxi drivers and others who come in contact with foreigners were for the most part able to converse to some extent in German, but German now is a dead language as far as Moscow is concerned.

In leading hotels, all restaurants announcements were printed in German well as in Russian, but by mid afternoon of the first day of war, English broke out like a rash in every large hotel in town, Since then English has become the second most popular language.

**Newsweek, August 11, 1941  
 New Soviet Status Spotlited by  
 Surprise Visit of Hopkins**

On Wednesday of last week, as afternoon shadows danced on the huge white painted walls of the Kremlin in Moscow, a British plane circled overhead and slid gently into the Russian capital's airport. Out of the plane, hatless, stepped Harry L. Hopkins<sup>6</sup>, in an unannounced visit to the Soviet Union. Accompanied by Brig. Gen. Joseph T. McNarney<sup>7</sup> and Lt. John R. Alison of the United States Army, the Lend-Lease Administrator and intimate of President Roosevelt had made the

perilous 1,500-mile flight from London over Nazi territory to see one of the world's most inaccessible men, Joseph Stalin. Almost immediately rushed to the Kremlin with Ambassador Laurence A. Steinhardt<sup>8</sup>, Hopkins conferred with the Red Premier and Foreign Commissar Vyacheslaff M. Molotoff. Later, he told Russian and foreign reporters that "anybody who fights Hitler anywhere is on the right side," and that, on Mr. Roosevelt's authority, he had offered Stalin material aid against Germany. In return, Hopkins reported, the Stalin had promised to help destroy the Nazi regime and had given him a note for Mr. Roosevelt. That evening, the former Secretary of Commerce watched the seventh German air raid on Moscow from the American Embassy's balcony. The next day, he was amazed in touring the city at how "insignificant" the damage was. Later, he was again closeted with Stalin for three hours, which "added to my confidence that Hitler will lose." Then, as mysteriously as he had arrived, Hopkins flew back to London.

**Meanwhile in Washington...**

In Washington as well as in Moscow the question of American aid to Russia was being discussed. President Roosevelt conferred with the Soviet Military Mission under Gen. Filip Golikoff<sup>9</sup>, which had arrived a week earlier to set up a Soviet Purchasing Commission, and at his Friday press conference permitted reporters to quote him directly in saying that the Red Army's resistance "is magnificent and frankly better than any military expert in Germany thought it would be." He added that American aid to Russia would be on a strictly cash basis, and that he could see no prospect of the U.S. S. R., which

has nearly \$100,000,000 in cash in this country, getting Lend-Lease aid such as is being sent to Britain. On the question of aid to Britain, he conferred the same day with W. Averell Harriman<sup>10</sup>, who had flown home from London after serving four months as Lend-Lease "expediter." The Washington and Moscow conversations bore fruit on Monday when the United States pledged to Russia full economic assistance, priority on deliveries of war materials, friendly consideration in the placing of war orders, abolition of all export-control restrictions, and assistance in providing shipping facilities. After an exchange of notes with Acting Secretary of State Sumner Welles renewing for one year the expiring U.S.-U.S.S.R. trade agreement under which Russia last year bought \$86,943,000 worth of American machinery, vehicles, metals, and other materials. In addition to their obvious purpose of building Russian morale, the Administration's actions indicate its conviction that the Soviet is a good risk and therefore deserves more than the token aid originally talked about. For this reason, Hopkins was sent to Moscow to break down the wall of secrecy that has prevailed, to find out what the Russians need, and to convince them that the United States will do everything possible to help even the Communists smash Hitler. Thereupon Washington undertook to convert promises into war materials. But the factors of distance and time still stand in the way of effective aid. Despite the Welles-Oumansky agreement, it will be many weeks before the first trickle of supplies reaches Moscow, except for planes, which may be flown via either Alaska and Siberia or Iceland. Most American aid would probably have to be shipped across

the Pacific to Vladivostok, although Japan has threatened to intervene, and thence by way of the Transsiberian railroad. Some supplies might be sent all the way around Africa to the Middle East and thence north. In either case, the United States would run the risk of diverting material and shipping vitally needed by Britain to a more distant destination where they might be too little and too late.

Christian Science Monitor,  
August 15, 1941

### **Anglo-American Charter Raises Europe's Hope<sup>11</sup>**

**By I. Emlyn Williams**

To the Allied Governments here in London and German enslaved peoples throughout the Continent yesterday's historic pronouncement comes as a new ray of confident hope of British American determination not only to destroy Nazism, but to build a better future upon the world-wide co-operation of all peace-loving peoples in economic, social, and defensive spheres, as well as political. The situation is pithily put in historical contrast.

For when Napoleon and Czar Alexander met at Tilsit one of the Russian generals remarked, "The Emperors have shaken hands, let Europe tremble."

Today all under the Hitler you can say, "The rulers of the democracies have shaken hands. Let Europe hope."

### **WORLD RECONSTRUCTION**

For this present event is interpreted as an indication that Britain and the United States consider that the time has come to look beyond victory, for the document of

British-American cooperation is in fact a framework of world-wide reconstruction on a democratic basis.

Some of the eight points outlined by Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt have particular reference to the Allied countries represented here, especially those points which place emphasis on the principle of self-determination as the future basis for postwar Europe and the desire "to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them."

Here is a definite assertion that Germany will not be allowed to keep any of its conquest won by aggression for Britain a reassertion, but now a clear acceptance by the United States of cooperation in the new peace.

### **FREELY EXPRESSED WISHES**

The Nations of Central and East Europe undoubtedly must have read carefully the second point which lays down that Britain and the United States favor only territorial changes in accord with "freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned."

While examining this point they have recalled the great struggles over minorities in their post-1919 existence as independent States.

To these Nations it is a welcome declaration that "pending establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security" disarmament of "Nations which threaten or may threaten aggression outside their frontiers" is essential.

For there has long lurked an uneasy feeling lest the Anglo-Saxon world would, having won the military side of the war, hesitate to apply further measures which alone can give that respite period in which

some international system of security can be evolved.

### **PROSPECTIVE NAZI PROPAGANDA**

The Nazis who so successfully propagated among their own people the theory of attempts to classify Germany as a "second-class nation" and played up Anglo-French refusal to disarm from 1933 until the time their own secret armaments were sufficiently strong, will undoubtedly again utilize the present opportunity to upbraid the democracies for their "cynical hypocrisy and war-mongering."

But the Nazis' blatant acts of the past five years must have long ago made even their own strongest supporters impervious to all arguments except that of force.

The new proclamation is also seen as a great propaganda weapon for use among the peoples still under the Hitler yoke.

The very fact of British-American cooperation of this sort is itself especially striking to people who have so long been accustomed to similar statements only from the Axis powers that it is like the dawn of a new era.

### **CONTRAST IN CONDITIONS**

To Germans accustomed to think in terms of special dates it will not be forgotten that August 15 1941, was quite different from the same date a year ago.

Then Hitler was to have been in London, and Britain stood almost alone. Marshal Hermann Göring's air force had attempted a mass attack on London but lost 150 airplanes. Today they see two great democracies taking the leadership from out of their hands.

Their manner of handling the pronouncement indicates both Berlin and Rome's dismay. Berlin declares: "It is

German victories that will give a lasting foundation to Europe.”

The Allied nations, inspired by this newest pronouncement, are doubly convinced that it is Allied victories that will build that lasting future, especially as they now assume that the United States with all its moral and economic forces ready is prepared to play its part in world reconstruction.

If there is any hidden questioning regarding yesterday’s great event it is lest the United States and Britain may take too lightly their duties as guardians of order and peace.

### **AMERICAN ACTION WATCHED**

Particularly necessary it is to state that this applies to the United States, since such a statement of ideals in the eyes of so many Europeans recalls Wilson’s 14 points and brings up memories of Europe abandoned to its own devices by the United States.

Over here press and radio reports concerning Senate and House deliberations on extension of the Selective Service Act are carefully followed.

For whatever the internal reasons given for this minute majority of only one vote on what thousands here considered a momentous issue their actions led in the direction of questioning whether the United States fully appreciated the implications of the present war struggle.

Britain and the United States, many Allied observers feel, do not always realize the influence of their actions wherever democratic ideals are still held up, especially that their totalitarian opponents understand only actions.

Christian Science Monitor,  
August 12, 1941

### **Soviet Seeks to Unite Slavs in Stand Against Germany**<sup>12</sup>

Soviet Russia, in an effort to unite all Slavs against Germany, has come forward with a broad proposal of self-rule by Slavonic peoples scattered over the face of Europe and part of Asia.

The Kremlin’s program, which contrasts sharply with the ancient doctrine of Pan Slavism whereby Slavs would have a large measure of political solidarity, was advanced at a current Moscow meeting of representatives of various Slav states.

“The hour has struck when the whole Slav world must unite for the earliest and final destruction of German fascism,” said a Soviet statement addressed to all Slavs.

“We are uniting like equals with equals. We have a common purpose and a common goal-smashing Hitler’s armies and the destruction of Hitlerism.”

In advancing the Soviet program, it said, however: “We have a common, passionate and all-embracing aspiration that Slav as well as other peoples could peacefully and freely develop within their state systems.

“We resolutely and firmly reject the very idea of Pan Slavism, as thoroughly reactionary trend profoundly hostile to the lofty purpose of the equality of peoples and national development of all states which was utilized by Russian Tsarism for its imperialistic aims.”

The Soviet policy was enunciated at the Moscow meeting by Alexei Tolstoi, author and grandson of novelist Count Leo Tolstoi. He spoke as a representative of Russia to Russians, Ukrainians, White Russians,

Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Bulgarians. Macedonians, Carpathian: and Montenegrins.

[Panslavism, with which the Czars toyed and about which they did little, went out of the window when the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia.

This doctrine, that all Slavonic peoples should have as large a measure as possible of political solidarity, came to the fore prominently in the 17th Century as the result of the work of a Croat Catholic priest, Jurij Kirzanitch.

Slav political unity had been broken hundreds of years earlier by the Magyar invasion of the Danubian plains in the 9th Century. This introduced a wedge of Asiatic origin between East, West, and South Slavs which has lasted to this day.

Russian Czars from Peter the Great on down to Anne, Catherine II and Alexander I always had the ideal of Panslavism in view as an instrument of political expansion, but in their diplomatic relations with Turkey, Austria and Prussia there often were compromises which seriously restricted its realization.

The World War completely changed the Slavonic question and the upheaval in Russia put an end to that country's leadership in the matter.

The Christian Science Monitor,  
August 7, 1941

## **Polish and Czech Troops Organize Legion in Russia**

**By J. Emlyn Williams**

**LONDON, Organization of Polish and Czech military units under the Russian High Command has followed agreements**

## **reached between the Soviets and these Governments in London.**

Leaders of Polish and Czechoslovak military missions already have arrived in Moscow where they have issued appeals to their countrymen throughout Russia to enlist in the struggle against the common enemy, Nazi Germany. In cases where, for various reasons, their nationals cannot take up arms, they are urged to do all possible to sabotage German efforts and to co-operate fully with the Russians' "scorched-earth" policy.

It is impossible to state definitely how many Poles and Czechs there are in Russia, but the figure must run – into some hundreds of thousands since it includes not only those resident there after the World War but also those who were taken prisoners by the Russians during their advance into East Poland in September, 1939.

## **LIKELY TO CO-OPERATE**

It appears certain that the Polish prisoners, whatever their feelings against the Soviets, have stronger feelings against the Nazis and will co-operate in the new struggle. Their Commander-in-Chief will be Gen. Wladislaw Anders<sup>13</sup>, distinguished cavalry leader who fought first against the Germans, then against the Russians in the fall of 1939, and who has been a Russian prisoner of war until recently. He will be supported by Gen. Szyszka Bohusz, former commander of the Polish brigade which fought in Norway, who has just arrived in Moscow with the Polish military mission.

Czechoslovakia now for the second time establishes a legion in Russia. During the World War an organization was formed from Czech and Slovak units which went over from the Austro-

Hungarian Army. These were organized by Thomas Garrigue Masaryk and later completed their famous trek across Siberia to Vladivostok and thence around the world and back to England.

The number of Czechs in Russia – is doubtful, but it is known that a large number settled in various parts, including Siberia, during the 1930's and that many Czech specialists found employment in industrial centers. Czechoslovak settlers both in the Russian and Polish parts of Volhynia also were numerous before September, 1939, and it is assumed that many were taken prisoners by the Russians either when the Soviet advanced against Poland, or were forced to retreat with the beginning of Germany's attack on Russia and the Soviets' pursuance of "the scorched earth" policy. Those Czechs who volunteered for the Polish legion in September, 1939, will, it is assumed, form the nucleus of the new unit and supply most of its officers.

Establishment of these legions on Russian territory carries political significance. Just as in the World War the exploits of the Czechoslovak Legionnaires did much to create an Allied opinion favorable to later recognition of Czechoslovakia's independence, so this new example of Polish-Czechoslovak determination to do all possible to help the Allies must win for both Governments a greater appreciation of their viewpoint from Britain and Russia.

The effect upon the large Polish and Czechoslovak communities throughout the United States, in strengthening their determination against German aggression and propaganda, also is noteworthy.

The Christian Science Monitor,  
August 12, 1941

## **Turkey Watches Russia, Stiffens Stand on Axis**

**By Derek Patmore<sup>14</sup>**

Turkey is in the unenviable position of a country that is anxious to remain neutral as the present world conflict wages round its frontiers, but which fears that the consequences of victory, for either Germany on Russia, can seriously affect its own vital interests.

Turkey's position is difficult lacking arms and seeing no hope of staving off the threatening German armies, it prudently made a pact with Germany. Then there was diplomatic tightrope walking since it appeared to be encircled by Axis powers in Crete and the Aegean Isles, troubled by Iran and Nazi-directed Syria, while north ward was Russia, with a still undecided attitude.

Then the position changed as the British captured Syria, thus strengthening the southern frontier, while Iraq returned to British control, and in Iran British and Russian mutual interests were evolving a common policy.

### **CHANGE IN ATTITUDE**

In the changed circumstances it is not surprising that Turkey is thinking in other terms than when German-Italian forces threatened to overwhelm it, with Britain's armies too distant, and Russia still toying Germany.

For a while it can still be assumed that Turkey is prepared to resist militarily any German attempt to send troops across Turkish territory toward the Caucasus. Turkey is also looking ahead

diplomatically and thinking in terms of the possible effects of a victory for Russia and its allies. How will such a victory affect Turkey's position in the Balkans and the Near Middle East? Will Turkey play there a predominant role that considerations of prestige demand?

Here arises one of those issues that appear in the midst of every war, namely, what division of spoils will be made among the Allies? Practically interpreted for Turkey, this means – will Britain yield should Russia demand a predominant role in the sphere of influence which Turkey considers vital to itself? Undoubtedly the result of the Russo-German war will have far reaching effects on the destinies of all Eastern European countries, and many diplomats here are asking how far Russia will be allowed to dominate the States who have sided with Germany against Russia and will Rumania, Hungary, and Bulgaria be left as independent States?

### **FUTURE OF BALKANS**

The brilliant and courageous Soviet resistance, which is upsetting all the Nazi plans, is making the future of the Balkans even more obscure. A proper settlement of the Balkan problem is undoubtedly one of the major problems of any future peace conference, and some permanent solution must be found this time.

The Balkan problem was started by Bismarck at the Congress of Berlin in 1877, when the Balkan powers, formerly under Turkish domination, were carved up to suit the imperialistic aims of Germany and Russia. Bismarck created unnatural frontiers in the Balkans, and these have caused trouble and strife in the Balkans ever since.

Undoubtedly Russia has also desired a share of influence in the Balkans and Moscow has always considered certain strategic points as natural boundaries for the Soviet Union. For this reason it seized Bessarabia from Rumania last year. Moreover, Soviet diplomacy has worked hard to gain a foothold in Bulgaria, which has always been a pro-Russian country, despite its pro-Nazi Government.

### **UNITED BALKAN STATES**

However, most enlightened statesmen now feel that a United States of Balkan countries, forming an economic and political Balkan federation is the only real solution to the Balkan problem. Two powers, could keep such a confederation in order the one Russia and the other Turkey. Both these countries are now allies of Britain, and one of the principal tasks of British diplomacy will be to find a way of reconciling the vital interests of these two powers in the Balkans. Russia, locked in the struggle with Hitler, is fully occupied for the moment, but Turkey, although neutral, remains the strongest power with Balkan interests outside of the war.

The Turkish army, well-trained and numbering nearly 2,000,000 when fully mobilized, may yet play an important role in aiding in pacifying the Balkans when Nazi Germany begins to crumble, but its statesmen remain suspicious of possible future Soviet moves.

Such considerations concern the distant future, while at the moment Russia's desires are concentrated on winning the war. Since defense of the Dardanelles is one of Russia's as well as Turkey's interests, it is accepted here that Russia is prepared to defend its entry into the Black Sea.

It is natural that Turkey should look askance at any possibility of later Russian domination in the Balkans and the Middle East and that it should be anxious to obtain guarantees on this matter.

Opinions in circles informed regarding Soviet policy continue to emphasize that Russia is not concerned with territorial aggression. They point to the Soviet-Polish treaty and Moscow's most recent statements that Pan-Slav appeals to fight the Nazis do not mean Pan-Slav domination, as in the old days.

Meanwhile Turkey continues its neutral attitude, checking Germany where it considers that country going too far. For instance, it is holding up the German-Turkish negotiations for a new trade treaty, its attitude being due not merely to the fact that Germany is demanding too much, but also because of the new situation due to British-Russian strengthened position on its frontiers.

Christian Science Monitor,  
August 12, 1941

### **Independence Now Asked For Full India War Aid**

LONDON, August 12. Immediate independence for India was demanded by a conference of religious, political and pacifist bodies called in London by the India League<sup>15</sup>. Pointing to the British Government's recognition of the independence of Syria, the India League claims anti-Nazi forces in India can be fully mobilized only by a similar gesture toward India. The peoples of India are anti-Hitler and anti-Fascist, but, says the League, the battle of freedom can be fought only by nations that are themselves free. The

great struggle put up by the Soviets against Germany is an inspiration to India. The India League is an entirely unofficial body dominated by extreme nationalists and not enjoying the support of other Indian groups. The British Government recently reaffirmed its policy aiming at ultimate Dominion status for India, but the Cabinet contends nothing resembling immediate independence is possible because Indian opinion itself has so far been incapable of agreeing on a satisfactory basis of self-government.

Chicago Daily Tribune,  
August 29, 1941

### **Iran Gives up after 4 days of token fighting British and Russians Begin Peaceful Occupation.**

The Iranian government bowed to superior force today and, after four days of token fighting against British and Russian invaders, ordered its army to cease all resistance. Britain and Russia, it was said here tonight, will start immediately improving rail and road transportation across Iran to facilitate shipments of war supplies to soviet Russia from the United States and Great Britain. A second strategic advantage won over Germany by the British-Russian allies — complete control of the valuable and productive Iranian oil fields — probably will be protected by an International police force, it was said. This force would patrol not only the oil fields but Iran's frontiers as well. With the collapse of Iranian resistance, British and Russian forces continued peacefully the occupation started at



dawn Monday with blazing guns. There is no question of withdrawal of the allied forces until, among other things, Moscow and London are certain that all Germans are ousted from the country. [A radio report from Ankara last night said that an 8 point agreement was being worked out. It was said joint British-Russian forces would occupy all strategic points except Teheran, the capital; that Iran would retain police control; that a sizable loan would be forthcoming and that all Germans would be handed over to the occupying troops.] Premier Ali Furanghi, who issued the order today to the army to lay down its arms, said in a statement to his parliament in Teheran that *"We shall do our utmost to maintain good relations with the foreign powers, and especially our neighbors...."* By this he meant Russia which lies on her north, and Britain, whose Baluchistan lies on the east and who controls Iraq on the west".

DRIVE DEEP INTO COUNTRY.

Prior to Iran's putting aside its arms the British army had in three days driven 100 miles into the country from the southwest and Russian forces pushing down from the north had captured the country's second city, Tabriz, and advanced elsewhere nearly 200 miles. The British in their push won control of the oil fields which already were British owned and operated.

Associated Press. July 23, 1941

### **Nazis Stir Up Revolution In Armenia Against Soviet**

ANKARA, Turkey (Delayed) German strategy in the Middle East has brought about a national Armenian

revolutionary organization in the Soviet Caucasus directed by Nazi agents in Northern Iran and an attempt to excite Turkish aspirations for northward expansion at the expense of Moscow, authoritative quarters said today. The Armenians were said to be receiving funds from the German agents and small amounts of arms diverted from Nazi shipments to the Iran Government. Military observers believed the primary reason for this German activity was to attract "fifth-column" recruits, who would be assigned to protect the Baku oil fields from the Russian "scorched earth" policy. Official quarters already have rejected Nazi suggestions that Turkey expand at the expense of Soviet Russia, it was reported. Turkish opinion was said to be strongly opposed to territorial acquisitions which might obligate the country to one or the other side of the European conflict. The Turkish Government has been informed that the Nazis have promised the dissident Armenians a greater Armenia to be formed after the Russian-German war. This new Armenia would include some territory now Turkish, it was said. Diplomatic dispatches from Iran indicate that several hundred Nazis are active in the Armenian campaign. Women and children of German colonies in Iran have been evacuated, it was reported, and certain German legation files have been sent back to Berlin by way of Turkey. Armenian irregulars pursuing refugees from British-occupied Syria were reported July 22 to have clashed with Turkish troops three days ago near the juncture of the Turkish Syrian - Iraqi frontiers an undisclosed number of casualties resulted. British sources here said the Armenians presumably were armed by the Vichy

French forces during the Syrian conflict and turned to banditry in the temporary chaos preceding complete occupation by the British.

Turks Down Nazis Turkish aircraft guns today and to have plunged into the sea off the Gulf of Enos. Turkish anti-aircraft batteries shot down a German plane apparently reconnoitering near the Thrace border with Greece and Bulgaria, the NBC correspondent in Ankara reported tonight. The three German crew members were killed.

The Times, October 2, 1941

**FULL SUPPORT FOR  
THE RUSSIANS  
WIDE SCOPE OF MOSCOW  
DECISIONS  
PLANS FOR SPEEDY DELIVERIES  
OF SUPPLIES  
GUARANTEED MONTHLY  
QUOTAS**

*By the swift decisions of the Moscow conference<sup>16</sup> large monthly deliveries of arms and war materials will go to Russia from Great Britain and the United States.*

*Much has already been sent; supplies in far greater volume will now flow to Russia. These supplies and the ways and means of sending them are essential to the plan for helping Russia to maintain her resistance.*

**A MODEL WAR CONFERENCE  
HOW THE RUSSIANS HELPED  
From Our Diplomatic Correspondent**

Great Britain has already welcomed the speedy and effective conclusion of the Three-Power Conference in Moscow From

first to last it was an outstanding model of how best to conduct negotiations in war-time.

The Russians helped by stating some weeks ago exactly how many tanks and aeroplanes and how much war material they would need to maintain a stubborn front. The British and American Governments immediately took fresh stock of their available resources.

When Lord Beaverbrook<sup>17</sup> and Mr. Harriman met in London they knew precisely what each country could do; and they found that by great efforts now and in the future they could together almost wholly meet the Russian estimates. Each of the two Governments knew what these demands would mean for their countries far harder work, far greater production, and a cutting down of civilian supplies. But they knew also how vitally important it is to maintain the eastern Allied front. The German losses are already huge and with British and American help they can be made infinitely greater. It was in that spirit, and with that knowledge, that Lord Beaverbrook and Mr. Harriman went to Moscow, where because of the extensive preparations the outstanding problems were severely practical. By what ways could the materials already promised reach Russia most quickly? And what materials did Russia need most urgently? These problems have now been settled. Great Britain and America have guaranteed heavy monthly quotas.

**ENCOURAGING FACTS**

The British people, as well as the Russians, would be much encouraged if it were possible to publish details of the great amount of raw material which had already reached Russia even before

the conference met and while it was sitting. Thanks to preparatory work in the Ministry of Economic Warfare there were no delays. Similarly the British people, as well as the Americans, would set their teeth even more firmly if it were possible — which it is not — to say how many tanks and aeroplanes have now been promised each month for Russia. Great needs require a great response.

Briefly, the Moscow Conference laid a plan for winning the war by keeping the eastern front open and firm while Germany is hammered elsewhere. The far harder lack now arises of fulfilling the plan.

For one thing, the Battle of the Atlantic will have to be decisively won if more warships and merchantmen are to be released for the Mediterranean and for the routes to Russia. Again, Great Britain has promised a substantial share of her monthly production of aeroplanes to the eastern front. America is also giving a substantial share of hers. Still greater production, still greater transference from civilian supplies of various kinds is therefore needed for aeroplanes to be used ever more effectively in the West, the Mediterranean, and the Middle East.

### **WELLS OF CONTENTION**

In the Middle East the Allied hold becomes stronger each day. The great Bastion of Oil — the Caucasus, Iran, and Iraq is in our hands; but it will be more and more fiercely challenged by the Germans, who in their need for oil (although it is not yet urgent) are already plundering Italian stocks. Since the days when Isaac dwelt in the Land of Gerar, wells of all kinds have rightly been called Esek. Contention and the Middle Eastern oil wells are no exception. For that reason the Allies are

doing all they can to strengthen the bridge to the Caucasus and to Russia beyond.

The Trans-Iranian railway is to be much improved, and the concluding stages should now have been reached in the negotiations for an alliance between Great Britain and the Soviet Union on the one side and Iran on the other. Joint Anglo-Soviet representations have been made to Afghanistan, where the Germans are maintaining a precarious and still mischievous foothold. The welcome conclusion of the negotiations between Turkey and Germany, which leave Germany without Turkish chrome, is likely to be followed by still warmer understanding between Turkey and Great Britain, for we much appreciate the stand of our partner in the Treaty of Mutual Defence.

### **VISITING MISSIONS IMPRESSED AVOIDANCE OF RED TAPE**

As announced yesterday at the end of the Three-Power Conference, the United States and Great Britain have agreed to furnish the Soviet Union with virtually all the war materials which the Kremlin considers necessary to facilitate the defeat of Hitler's armies on the eastern front. Naturally discretion is necessary concerning the actual goods and quantities which will be furnished as the result of these talks, but it can be said that they include large amounts of munitions, arms, and machinery tools, as well as certain raw materials.

One of the most important results of the meeting has been to reaffirm to Great Britain and America the determination of the Soviet to fight this war through to the end and by the end is meant the destruction of Nazi Germany. Any wild

talk abroad about Moscow's keeping the door open for peace may be emphatically discounted as long as M. Stalin is at the head of this Government. Another result has been to inspire confidence in the English-speaking world over Russia's ability to keep up the struggle and to resist the furious attacks of the Wehrmacht. The visiting missions were greatly impressed with the moderation of the Russian requirements, a fact which would apparently demonstrate the success with which the country's economy has been able to withstand and absorb the shock of the initial German impact. This modesty in the Russian requests was one of the chief contributing factors to the swiftness with which the meetings were able to conclude their work.

To this factor may be added the careful preliminary preparations in London and Washington, the continual willingness of M. Stalin to cut through red-tape and to discuss hard facts at any hour with Mr. Harriman and Lord Beaverbrook, and the insistence of the heads of the visiting missions and of M. Molotov that the delegates should keep their noses to the grindstone until the task was finished. As a result the work has been done, and done completely and successfully, far ahead of schedule.

All the parties concerned agree that this meeting can be considered to have been extremely successful. The U.S.S.R. will help out American and British manufacturers by placing at their disposal large amounts of certain raw materials which they lack, but which can be found in plenty here.

The Anglo-American agreement with Russia, with its exchange of military supplies for Russian raw materials,

illustrates what is in fact going on between Great Britain and the United States now under the Lease and Lend Act. Rubber, tin, and other vital products are reaching this country, as facilities permit, by arrangement with the British Government.

It would be the part of wisdom to take Russia in under the wings of the Lease and Lend Act, as the most effective method of implementing the American side of the agreement; but here it is obvious that difficulties will be met. Advances have been made to the Russians by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and Mr. Jesse Jones, who is not only Secretary of Commerce but Federal Loan Administrator, has publicly expressed the view that Russia should "get the benefits" of the Lease and Lend Act. This is the opinion of leading Senators also; but there is a group in Congress which will seek to insert in the pending \$5,895,000,000 appropriation for the Lease and Lend programme a provision expressly forbidding that any part shall be used for the benefit of the Russians.

The issue must be met and it seems likely that it will be given precedence over that other, and also contentious, question – the revision or repeal of the Neutrality Act. It may be remembered that on one occasion the President himself denied "plans" existed to include Russia in the operation of the Act, but much has happened since then and there is not the slightest doubt that the Administration is ready, if not to initiate, at least to throw the weight of its support to such an action. As matters stand discretionary authority is vested in the President, who could name the Soviet Union as a country whose defence is "vital" to the defence of the

United States; and it is precisely this that the opponents of his policy will seek to prevent.

The British Ambassador, Lord Halifax, who returned to Washington last night, today visited the White House for a conference with Mr. Roosevelt.

## (Endnotes)

### 1 Vyacheslav Mikhaylovich

**Molotov (Skryabin)**; 9 March 1890 – 8 November 1986) was a Russian and later Soviet politician and diplomat, an Old Bolshevik, and a leading figure in the Soviet government from the 1920s onward. He served as Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars from 1930 to 1941 and as Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1939 to 1949 and from 1953 to 1956. He is considered to be one of the greatest diplomats in history.

### 2 Sir Richard Stafford Cripps (24 April

1889 – 21 April 1952) was a British Labour Party politician and diplomat. A wealthy lawyer by background, he first entered Parliament at a by-election in 1931, and was one of a handful of Labour frontbenchers to retain his seat at the general election that autumn. He became a leading spokesman for the left-wing and co-operation in a Popular Front with Communists before 1939, in which year he was expelled from the Labour Party. During this time he became intimately involved with Krishna Menon and the India League. When Winston Churchill formed his wartime coalition government in 1940 he appointed Cripps Ambassador to the Soviet Union in the view that Cripps, who had Marxist sympathies, could negotiate with Joseph Stalin who had a nonaggression pact with Nazi Germany through the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact. When Hitler attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941, Cripps became a key figure in forging an alliance between the western powers and the Soviet Union.

In 1942, Cripps returned to Britain and made a broadcast about the Soviet war effort. The popular response was phenomenal, and Cripps rapidly became one of the most popular politicians in the country, despite having no

party backing. He was appointed a member of the War Cabinet, with the jobs of Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House of Commons, and was considered for a short period after his return from Moscow as a rival to Churchill in his hold on the country.

3 Henry Shapiro (1907-1991)-American journalist of Jewish origin. After studying Russian, Romanian, German and French languages and law at Harvard University, in 1933 he travelled to the USSR for postgraduate studies at the Faculty of Law of Moscow State University. However, instead G. Shapiro took the position of Moscow correspondent of the news agency 'Reuters' in parallel with the British newspaper 'London Morning Post'. In 1937 he moved to the second most important news agency in the world 'United Press' and continued to head its Moscow bureau until 1973. He covered the trials of the late 30s, Soviet-German military and political co-operation in 1939-41, worked as a war correspondent, including on the front line during the Battle of Stalingrad. He was personally acquainted with N.S.Khrushchov. G.Shapiro's information about Stalin's death, transmitted through the channels of 'United Press' was more than a day ahead of the official message. He was the hero of many anecdotes circulating in the journalistic environment of the USSR in the 1960-70s.

4 **Solomon Abramovich Lozovsky** (1878–1952) was a prominent Communist and Bolshevik revolutionary, a high-ranking official in the Soviet government, including as a Presidium member of the All-Union Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, a Central Committee member of the Communist Party, a member of the Supreme Soviet, a deputy people's commissar for foreign affairs and the head of the Soviet Information Bureau (Sovinformburo).

5 **Zygmunt Piotr Bohusz-Szysko** (1893–1982) was a Polish general. During World War I he served in the Imperial Russian army. In 1940, he was Commanding Officer of the Polish Independent Highland Brigade (*Samodzielna Brygada Strzelców Podhalanskich*) during the Battle of Narvik in the Norwegian campaign. The forces under his command succeeded in capturing the Ankenes peninsula during May 1940. In 1941–1942 — Head of Polish Military

Mission in Moscow. In 1941–1943 — Chief of Staff of Polish Forces in Soviet Union. In 1942 — General Officer Commanding 5th Division, Soviet Union. 1943–1945 — Deputy General Officer Commanding II Polish Corps, Italy

6 **Harold “Harry” Lloyd Hopkins** (August 17, 1890 – January 29, 1946) was an American statesman, public administrator, and presidential advisor. A trusted deputy to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Hopkins directed New Deal relief programs before serving as the eighth United States secretary of commerce from 1938 to 1940 and as Roosevelt’s chief foreign policy advisor and liaison to Allied leaders during World War II. During his career, Hopkins supervised the New York Temporary Emergency Relief Administration, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, the Civil Works Administration, and the Works Progress Administration, which he built into the largest employer in the United States. He later oversaw the \$50 billion Lend-Lease program of military aid to the Allies and, as Roosevelt’s personal envoy, played a pivotal role in shaping the alliance between the United States and the United Kingdom.

Hopkins was the top American official assigned to dealing with Soviet officials during World War II. He liaised with Soviet officials from the middle ranks to the very highest, including Stalin.

7 **Joseph Taggart McNarney** (August 28, 1893 – February 1, 1972) was a four-star general in the United States Army and in the United States Air Force, who served as Military Governor of occupied Germany.

8 **Laurence Adolph Steinhardt** (October 6, 1892 – March 28, 1950) was an American economist, lawyer, and senior diplomat of the United States Department of State who served as U.S. Ambassador to six countries. He served as U.S. First Minister to Sweden (1933–1937), U.S. Ambassador to Peru (1937–1939), U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union (1939–1941), U.S. Ambassador to Turkey (1942–1945), U.S. Ambassador to Czechoslovakia (1945–1948) and United States Ambassador to Canada (1948–1950).

9 **Filipp Ivanovich Golikov** (July 30, 1900 – July 29, 1980) was a Soviet military commander. As chief of the GRU (Main Intelligence Directorate), he is best known for failing to take seriously the abundant intelligence about Nazi Germany’s plans for an invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, either because he did not believe them or because Joseph Stalin did not want to hear them. He served in subsequent campaigns and was promoted to the rank of Marshal of the Soviet Union in 1961.

10 **William Averell Harriman** (November 15, 1891 – July 26, 1986), better known as **Averell Harriman**, was an American Democratic politician, businessman, and diplomat. He founded Brown Brothers Harriman & Co., served as Secretary of Commerce under President Harry S. Truman, and was the 48th governor of New York, as well as a candidate for the Democratic Party nomination for president in 1952 and 1956. Beginning in the spring of 1941, Harriman served President Franklin D. Roosevelt as a special envoy to Europe and helped coordinate the Lend-Lease program. In August 1941, Harriman was present at the Atlantic Conference meeting between FDR and Winston Churchill in Placentia Bay, which yielded the Atlantic Charter. He served as the US **Ambassador** to the **Soviet Union** from 1943 to 1946.

11 **The Atlantic Charter** was a joint declaration issued during World War II by the United States and Great Britain that set out a vision for the postwar world. First announced on August 14, 1941, a group of 26 Allied nations eventually pledged their support by January 1942. Among its major points were a nation’s right to choose its own government, the easing of trade restrictions and a plea for postwar disarmament. The document is considered one of the first key steps toward the establishment of the United Nations in 1945.

12 After the outbreak of war, the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks decided to launch the campaign “**Slavs United in the Fight against German Fascism**”. For this purpose, in the first days of August in Moscow it was decided to hold a mass rally, at which a proclamation to all Slavic peoples would be adopted, broadcast by the USSR Radio in all languages during

the decade. The All-Slavic radio meeting was held in the studio of the Radio Committee for two days. On 10 August 1941 it was opened by the writer Alexey Nikolaevich Tolstoy. He emphasized the need to unite the Slavic peoples to fight Hitlerism and said that freedom is not brought on a golden platter, it is taken with weapons in hand. "And those who think to somehow survive this time, to become humble and inconspicuous, are cruelly mistaken. The humble will be crushed by the fascist boot like bugs with their legs tucked up." The main goal of the rally, as emphasized by its participants, was to unite the Slavic peoples in order to destroy German fascist oppression. In the Proclamation to all oppressed Slavic peoples of the world on behalf of the First All-Slavic Rally in Moscow it was said: "We have one task and one goal - the defeat of Hitler's armies and the destruction of Hitlerism". The Moscow radio broadcast the speeches of the participants of the rally and their address in many languages, and the call to resist the enemy was heard in all corners of the Soviet Union and in many countries of the world.

13 **Władysław Albert Anders** (11 August 1892 – 12 May 1970) was a general in the Polish Army and later in life a politician and prominent member of the Polish government-in-exile in London. Anders commanded the Nowogródzka Cavalry Brigade during the German invasion of Poland in September 1939 and was immediately called into action, taking part in the Battle of Mława. After the collapse of the Polish Northern Front the brigade withdrew towards Warsaw, and also fought heavy battles against the Germans around Mińsk Mazowiecki and in the second phase of the Battle of Tomaszów Lubelski. After the launch of Operation Barbarossa and the signing of the Sikorski-Maisky agreement, Anders was released by the Soviets with the aim of forming a Polish Army to fight against the Germans alongside the Red Army. Continued friction with the Soviets over political issues as well as shortages of weapons, food and clothing, led to the eventual evacuation of Anders' men – known as Anders' Army – together with a sizeable contingent of Polish civilians who had been deported to the USSR from Poland, via the Persian Corridor into Iran, Iraq, and finally into Mandatory Palestine. The evacuation, which took place in March 1942, was based on the British-Soviet-Polish understanding. The soldiers involved were evacuated from the Soviet Union and made their way through Iran to British-ruled Palestine, where they passed

under British command. Here, Anders formed and led the Polish II Corps, while continuing to agitate for the release of Polish nationals still in the Soviet Union

14 **Derek Coventry Patmore** (1908 – 1972) was a British writer. He was the great grandson of the poet Coventry Patmore. He worked as a war correspondent in the Balkans and the Middle East, writing for the News Chronicle, the Daily Mail and Christian Science Monitor.

15 **The India League** was an England-based organization established by Krishna Menon in 1928. It campaigned for the full independence and self-governance of British India. It has been described as "the principal organization promoting Indian nationalism in pre-war Britain"

16 **The First Moscow Conference** - Held from 29 September to 1 October 1941, the first conference of the Anti-Hitler Coalition, in which the Soviet Union participated, essentially completed the process of coalition formation. The conference was attended by representatives of the Soviet Union, the British Empire, as well as the United States, which, despite some contradictions between their governments managed to successfully agree to start supplying food and other material aid to the Soviet Union under the Lend-Lease program in the amount of 545 thousand dollars, as well as to provide a loan for military needs in the amount of 1 billion dollars.

17 **William Maxwell Aitken, 1st Baron Beaverbrook** (25 May 1879 – 9 June 1964), generally known as **Lord Beaverbrook** («Max» to his close circle), was a Canadian-British newspaper publisher and backstage politician who was an influential figure in British media and politics of the first half of the 20th century. His base of power was the largest circulation newspaper in the world, the *Daily Express*, which appealed to the conservative working class with intensely patriotic news and editorials. During the Second World War, he played a major role in mobilizing industrial resources as Winston Churchill's Minister of Aircraft Production.

## Chapter VIII

### Battle for Moscow<sup>1</sup>

Time Magazine,  
October 20, 1941

#### **Moscow's Fate, Not Man's The biggest battle in the biggest campaign in the biggest war in the history of man was joined last week.**

The Germans thought, prematurely, that they had won all three. "The campaign in the East is decided," said Hitler's Little Sir Echo as he set about explaining to the foreign press how and why Hitler thought they had won. Hitler's Little Sir Echo is his Press Chief, Dr. Otto Dietrich<sup>2</sup>. As he stood in the palatial auditorium of the Propaganda Ministry, in front of a Russian map three times his own height, the suave, bright-faced unraveler of the Führer's tongue was more suave and bright-faced than ever.

First, by way of mental disarmament, he put his professional reputation up for ransom. "I have never misled you on the Western Front campaign," he said. "I pledge my good name for the genuineness of this information."

**Claims.** His information was a series of assurances with which he personally had just flown from Adolf Hitler's headquarters in Russia:

-The last intact Russian Armies, those of Marshal Semion Timoshenko, were

trapped in two encirclements at Bryansk and Vyazma, and faced inescapable annihilation.

-The southern Armies of Marshal Semion Budenny<sup>3</sup> were routed. All that remained to block the German drive in the south was the strain on the Germans' own human endurance and the speed of their machines.

-The best of Marshal Klimenti Voroshilov's northern defenders were locked in Leningrad.

From these facts, said Dr. Dietrich, one could make sweeping deductions: "The military decision has already fallen. The rest of the operations will take the course we wish them to. For all military purposes Soviet Russia is done with."

But was it so easily done with? What would the German soldiers say who had yet to shed blood to accomplish this supposedly accomplished fact? What of Leningrad? What of Odessa? What of Marshal Budenny's remnants, who would certainly not ask to be captured? What of the thousands of untamed miles and millions of untamed men beyond Moscow? What of the wall of the Urals? What of the Russian Armies beyond the wall?

And what of hatred? What of the years of trying to organize this mass of resentment? Was this not Serbia a thousand fold?

How much, then, could the Germans say last week with truth?



**Facts.** They could say they had launched the biggest pitched battle ever fought. Acting on the fundamental Clausewitz<sup>4</sup> dictum, "Concentrate the maximum of forces in the direction of the main blow," the Germans had drawn forces from both southern and northern fronts. They had thrown into this great push toward Moscow more than two-thirds of their entire infantry forces in Russia, three-quarters of their Panzer forces. Altogether the Germans were using some 1,700,000 infantrymen, 450,000 motorized troops, 14,000 tanks.

The Germans could say with truth that this time they commanded numerical superiority. They had tricked the Russians into sending important reinforcements to the Ukraine, so that now the most optimistic figure possible for Marshal Timoshenko's central forces was 1,800,000 men to the Germans' 2,150,000.

The Blitzkrieg is godless war; God does not necessarily aid the side with the biggest battalions. Materiel and strategy count for much. The Germans could honestly say last week that they had long had air superiority and now for the first time clearly had tank superiority.

They could also say they were marching on Moscow. A Berlin spokesman said last week: "No city is the objective of our operations. If Moscow should fall within the range of them, that would make no difference to us. We aim to catch, surround and destroy the enemy armies wherever they may be." Just the same, the Germans could not help remembering what a difference the fall of Paris made, knowing what the fall of Berlin would mean to themselves. Last week the city itself was not immediately threatened;

this week Joseph Stalin's Government was preparing to move, possibly to Stalingrad.

So much the Germans could say; no more. It takes one to start a fight, but it takes two to make an end of fighting. There was no apparent disposition in Moscow last week to call a halt. Said Soviet Spokesman Solomon 'A. Lozovsky: **"The possibility of destroying the Soviet Union is absurd. We are confident of success because it is impossible to destroy the U.S.S.R., Britain and the United States. The Germans are dizzy with temporary successes. No single battle can finish this war. We . . . have no doubt as to the ultimate outcome."**

There was a world of difference – and there might be a long, weary time – between the immediate decision of which the Germans were so confident and the ultimate outcome as to which the Russians had no doubt.

Newsweek, October 6, 1941

## **The Russian Front After Three Months**

**by Maj. Gen. STEPHEN O.  
FUQUA, U.S.A. Retired**

Three months, the period set by many as the time required by the Hitler schedule to hoist the Swastika over the Kremlin, have passed; yet the Red Army fights on from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea. In retrospect, it is of interest to note the basic reason for the strong and generally unexpected Russian resistance to the invader. The whole Soviet industrial, political, and economic structure was of a pattern designed for war with Germany, and the Russians had never engaged in battle so

well prepared for defensive operations. The Red Army was well trained, and in numbers, guns, tanks, and planes it was the equal of the Army of the Reich. After three months of war, the areas of Leningrad, Moscow, and the Ukraine remain the foremost German targets for gaining the main objective – the destruction of the Red Army. However, the strategical lines and tactical methods for approaching these intermediate objectives have shifted in accordance with new military estimates of the situation, imposed by the normal and expected kaleidoscopic changes that emerge from behind the proverbial fog of war. Under the original plan of the German High Command, the forces operating north of the Pripet Marshes were aimed at Leningrad and Moscow, while those to the south of this land barrier were directed into the Ukraine. This plan called for the drive on Moscow, in the first instance, to constitute the main attack. Success here would sever Russia in two parts, much as Sherman's march to the sea<sup>5</sup> did to the Confederacy. Besides, it would place the German Army of the center in a position to support either the thrust against Leningrad or the drive into the Ukraine. But the movement on Moscow slowed down, and the Germans shifted their main effort to the Ukraine. Later, at the expense of the operations in the Smolensk area, the drive on Leningrad was intensified, probably to hasten cutting of the rail routes to the Arctic ports to halt supplies from Britain and the United States. The Leningrad offensive aimed at the occupation of the little Baltic states, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, now gained, and the capture of Leningrad.

The fall of Leningrad would give the Germans a great material victory over the Soviets, including the loss to them of the Baltic Fleet, the industrial region of this sector, and large numbers of men and quantities of equipment. Besides, there would be a moral victory for the Nazis in conquering the home city of Communism, which bears the name of the leader of the revolution. In addition, the German Army, released from the siege, would be literally sitting right on top of the Soviet capital. In fact, should the Germans succeed in taking Leningrad in the north and Kharkov in the Ukraine, then from those two cities they may be expected to launch against Moscow the greatest pincers movement ever attempted. And it is this project that now makes the German Army, at the end of a three months' campaign, indifferent toward the Smolensk area and the Napoleonic route to Moscow. The German offensive south of the Pripet Marshes, directed against the grain and industrial areas of the Ukraine, has carried its vanguard to the rich basin of the Donets, with a spear-head threatening Kharkov, the great rail junction and industrial city of this vital region. Farther south, at the beginning of this week the battle for the Crimea was under way. This, for the Germans, is a fight for the Russian naval base at Sevastopol and mastery of the Black Sea. Although at the end of three months of war the Red Army is hard pressed, Russian resistance is by no means crushed. Additional man power is available and, if vitally needed equipment can be gotten to the Soviets, the defense lines of the Don, the Volga, and even back as far as the Urals should hold them









in good stead for a long defensive war. The future movement of the German Armies of the Ukraine is clear. Either before or after the operations against Moscow, this great war machine will drive hard and fast for the northern and eastern shores of the Black Sea, with the oil fields of the Caucasus as the main objective. And there, it is equally definite, the Hitler hordes will be challenged by Wavell's new army. But that is a future story.

The Evening Star,  
October 22, 1941

**Russian Hinterland, In Grip of Winter,  
Girds for Long War  
Rivers to Begin Freeze, Snow Coats Plains;  
Soviets Are Determined**

By HENRY C. CASSIDY.  
Associated Press War Correspondent.

KUIBYSHEV. (Delayed). — With Premier Stalin's government holding the fort behind the red-towered walls of the Kremlin the despite grave danger hanging over Moscow, the Soviet Union is pursuing relentlessly the course of the war against Germany. I have seen unmistakable evidences of Russian determination to carry on the struggle, come what may. The constant shuffle of reserves westward and civilians eastward, high morale, unbroken communications and adequate food supplies all are coupled by observers as indications of preparations for a long and continuing war. The vast trackless hinterland virtually is in the grip of

winter, with streams beginning to freeze and plains coated with snow.

**HIGH OFFICIALS REMAIN.**

While Red Army battled the Germans on the approaches to Moscow, the highest members of the Soviet government remained in the capital. Premier Stalin with his chief aides drafted in the Kremlin the series of decrees in which the steadily-stiffening defense of Moscow was organized, including the declaration of a state of siege. Behind the front lines over a vast territory preparations went forward simultaneously for prosecution of a long war. Columns of reserves moved west to enter the lines while eastward out of the danger zone, rolled women, children, the aged, and all other persons not participating actively in defense.

Railway communication continued to function but more slowly under the greatly-increased volume of traffic as thousands of persons and huge amounts of factory machines and other equipment were being transported. Russian planes also plied the air steadily without evidence of unusually effective interference by the German Air Force. Myriads of cities and towns behind the lines bustled with the influx of new life.

**CASE ADMITTEDLY SERIOUS.**

The military situation at the approaches of Moscow' was acknowledged to be dangerous, with bitter fighting raging in the district of Mozhaisk, west of Moscow, and other sectors northwest and southwest of the capital. On the southern front also, where the Germans were pushing with Italian, Rumanian and Hungarian support. In the direction of Taganrog after the Russians evacuated

Odessa, the Soviet position appeared serious. The Germans claimed the fall of Taganrog Sunday. The third major point of peril is Leningrad, where the Germans and Finns hammered incessantly at the approaches of Russia's second city. But deep within the Soviet Union life surged forward at a quickened pace and Russians said they remained confident of the eventual outcome of the war. One factor seen as contributing to the maintenance of morale was the supply of food, which appeared adequate in the provinces. In one town I visited, a restaurant produced soup, fresh eggs, veal, rice and tea for a large party on short notice.

Newsweek, October 13, 1941  
**All Roads Lead to Moscow**

by Maj. Gen. STEPHEN O. FUQUA,  
 U.S.A. Retired

Both the hidden and exposed moves on the chessboard of war indicated, several days before Hitler's announcement of the launching of "an operation of gigantic proportions," that a great new German drive was in the making. There were two general plans open to the German High Command, after completing the drive into the Donets Basin: one southward toward the Caucasus, and the other northward in the triangle Kharkov-Leningrad-Moscow.

In the original German three-pronged offensive initiated against the regions of Leningrad, Moscow, and the Ukraine, a certain independence of movement was necessary until the Pripet Marshes had been passed. Now that a line of inter-communication and supply has been established east of the marshes linking the Ukraine, Smolensk, and Leningrad

armies, these forces can be employed in a coordinated offensive against a common objective.

In the Leningrad sector, the German pressure has lessened, either from losses sustained in storming the fortified area or as a result of the Russian counteroffensive. But more probably this lack of an all-out effort in the siege operations is due to a change in the master plan resulting from the successes in the Ukraine.

On the central front, where originally the major attack was pointed at Moscow, the Germans were probably slowed down by what Hitler called, in his speech of last week, the "gigantic preparations" of the Russians. Specifically, the slowing down of this German drive was due in the main not only to the Russian counterattacks but to the ineffectiveness of the small spearhead drives of the German mechanized forces in their encircling tactics. This type of tank employment, used so successfully in Norway, the Low Countries, and France, failed in this region principally because the Russian forces and partisans (guerrillas) were able to overpower these small and widely separated detachments.

In the Ukraine, profiting by the lessons of the failure on the central front of the small spearhead drives, the Germans pushed the offensive against Kiev and then through the Ukraine with a number of large self-contained mechanized units, operating on wide areas in the greatest pincers movement they had ever attempted.

This pincer movement, trapping the Russians behind Kiev, succeeded on a tremendous scale possibly greater than the Germans expected. Marshal Budenny's armies were almost destroyed. And the Germans consequently now are



able to shift their main effort back on Moscow, rather than try the more difficult winter attack on the Caucasus.

Unless the German Army besieging Leningrad is made free, the great encircling maneuver to pinch off Moscow must be initiated from the south. Here the Army of the Ukraine, rehabilitated and reorganized, flushed with victory, already has its van in motion beyond Poltava. Never before in this campaign has the Red Army been in such a disadvantageous and dangerous strategically position. With the Ukraine in German hands, the Russian forces engaged in local counter-movements could be flanked from the south and the Soviet Armies, from Kharkov to Leningrad, flanked in echelon and forced to fight without being able to support each other.

The Germans can strike north or south. But a movement to the south beyond the Crimea would not only greatly lengthen the German front and call for more troops and more planes, but would be initiating a campaign out of geographical cooperative reach of the central and northern forces. Besides, a thrust toward the Caucasus at this time would, in effect, open a second front, with a dangerous extension of communicating and supply lines.

The oil-fields goal lies behind the Caucasus Mountains, a barrier similar to the Pyrenees, with railways skirting the sea ends of the range and with difficult routes over the passes. Therefore, any land expedition in that direction must be coordinated with a supply route over the Black Sea. To attain this passage, the Crimea must be occupied, Sevastopol reduced, and the Russian Fleet in these waters destroyed or captured. But winter

is setting in, and Moscow is now easier prey to stalk than the distant oil fields lying beyond the snowbound mountains of the Caucasus and the difficult wintry waters of the Black Sea.

Time Magazine,  
November 17, 1941  
**The Voice of Russia**

Joseph Stalin said in Moscow's Red Square: "Another few months, another half year, one year maybe, and Hitlerite Germany must burst under the weight of her own crimes."

"By not flinching," said Winston Churchill, "we came through the dark and perilous passage and now once again are masters of our own destiny."

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek<sup>6</sup> said: "This is a very important time in our united struggle."

General Charles de Gaulle said: "We have now reached the precise moment when the tide of victory is on the point of turning."

Even when Germans spoke, they spoke defensively.

Optimism has a great appetite, and is likely to feed so happily and so fast on morsels like these that nothing ever comes of it but the gas pains of bad morale. But last week the world was offered food for optimism which was solid food, stuff for bone and muscle.

It was a speech made over the Moscow radio by a voice which was high-pitched and soft. The voice was unemotional but it evoked the greatest human emotions, not only pity and fear, but pride and willingness to die. The radio gave the voice a hollow quality. Behind the voice

Comrades! Twenty-four years have passed since the victory of the October Social Revolution and the establishment of the Soviet system. He went on to speak of Russia at war.

## The Times, November 26, 1941 THE THREAT TO MOSCOW

The fighting in Russia has reached a climax even fiercer than those which have gone before. The broad hints recently dropped by the enemy to the effect that he was withdrawing troops from the increasingly bleak weather of the central front obviously indicated the possibility of a feint; and our allies have certainly not been taken unawares by a renewed assault, on Leningrad as well as Moscow, a in which more troops than ever are being flung into the fray. Evidently a supreme effort is to be made to capture one or both of the great cities before the last sands of the season run out. The prizes of success, over and above the purely military damage that might be inflicted on the defence, are two. First, the ever more urgent problem of finding winter quarters for millions of men in the snowbound north and centre of Russia in full winter might be solved by lodging great numbers of them in Moscow and Leningrad themselves. Secondly, the immense propaganda value of such a victory, necessary as it has long been for the consolation of civilian Germany, which has been alternately inflated with glowing promises and sickened with hope deferred, would be still further increased by its use to dazzle the eyes of the accomplices and satellites bidden to Berlin. It is no doubt also in HITLER'S mind that the loss of the cities would impair



there was a hum which probably was a German air raid but sounded like doom.

The voice was Joseph Stalin's. It said that Russia would fight on until Hitler was defeated. The thing which made this statement new, the thing that made this speech one of the most important declarations of World War II, was this: Stalin's words were demonstrably honest words. They checked with the facts.

There remained little question but that Russia would last out the winter, would fight hard next year, would go on resisting somehow from some mountain Chungking. The laggard democracies would have more precious time to gird for the job of beating Hitler. It would be an awesome job, but now it could be done.

Joseph Stalin began his speech simply:



the resolution or even break the spirit of the Soviet defence; but in England, having learnt to trust the unshakable fortitude of our allies, we may spare ourselves any apprehension of that kind.

On the main section of the front, against Moscow itself, the onslaught is formidable. A pincers attack of the familiar tactical shape, its lines running through Klin and Volokolamsk, has made dangerous progress on the north-west. To the south very heavy pressure has been brought to bear through the great vortex of Tula and across the railway line that serves the town. Lesser offensive movements are going on all along the front, where the enemy is all the time feeling for a weak spot in the defence. Nothing in the news suggests that he has

yet found one; but it has to be recognized that the Russians speak in graver terms of their situation than they have used for several weeks. Although the few miles that a determined offensive nearly always gains in this campaign, even against the stoutest resistance, becomes a serious matter now that the line of battle is so close to the city, all the experience of the past five months lends substance to the hope that this onslaught, like its predecessors, will spend itself and fall short of its objective. Some aid may be lent to the magnificent Russian defence by the British offensive in Libya if the Germans are compelled to divert part of their now strained aerial resources in order to make good their serious deficiency on that front.

There is a further possibility of relief of the pressure on Moscow by the exigencies of the southern battle, although the shift of the main centre of interest northward has been accompanied by a lack of authoritative news from that region. The fall of Rostov will be a heavy blow, but one that the Russian Command has undoubtedly discounted, and as far as possible anticipated; from the German staff's point of view it is certainly far behind its scheduled time. The German claim to have crossed the Don has yet to be confirmed. So has the remarkable announcement from an unofficial source in the Russian Press that our allies have struck back to the north-west of the town and advanced as much as sixty miles. Such a stroke, outflanking the spearhead of the German advance, would constitute an extremely dangerous threat; even if the new turns out to be much exaggerated, the Russian counter-offensive in this region is certainly vigorous, gives impressive

proof of sustained fighting power, and should bring strategic aid as well as encouragement to the armies defending the capital. On this southern front, where the enemy's reach has been most strained, the law of diminishing returns, which in the long run governs the fate of all his offensives, may be expected to be most effective; and the descent of winter on lines of communication hundreds of miles long suggests the probable mode of its operation.

Time Magazine,  
October 27, 1941  
**Russia Will Hold Out**

The pessimists who went to Moscow for Franklin Roosevelt last month returned last week as optimists. In the mission headed by slick, handsome William Averell Harriman were men of all types but of one stripe: all were eagle-eyed, fact-minded men; some of them were first-rate U.S. production experts. One & all had a preconceived picture of Soviet Russia as a sorry, ignorant, grubby wasteland. The mission reported to the President at Hyde Park at the end of a week in which catastrophes approached. Instead of coming as expected messengers of disaster, they arrived as heralds of hope. Their collective prediction: Moscow will not fall.

**What would Stalin do?** Long ago he had made his decision: keep on fighting. **Conditions in Russia?** The technical experts were amazed to the point of wonder. Example: the U.S. and British Red Cross delegations, which accompanied the mission, went through Moscow hospitals, reported

that the Russian equipment was not only as good as anything anywhere in the world, but that in some instances no nation anywhere could match their stuff (equipment for blood transfusions and for serums).

**Are the Russians mechanically ignorant?** Their workmen can handle mechanical equipment as well as any U.S. mechanic—thanks to the universities and trade schools of Russia, where the lazy, incompetent or dull pay high tuition, the brilliant pay little or nothing.

**What about the Urals?** The Russians have moved enormous amounts of industrial equipment behind the Ural Mountains, out of reach of the Nazis. Much of the machinery from the Dnieper River industrial area has been hauled out in freight cars.

**Censorship?** Any news out of Russia is what the Russians want the world to know. Their censorship makes the German censors look like children playing with paper dolls.

**Airplane production?** If U.S. airplane production (now at the rate of almost 25,000 planes a year) is considered barely fair, the Russian rating is comparatively very, very good.

**What do the Russians want?** Not much, militarily. About a billion dollars' worth of airplanes, tanks, machine tools.

**What should the U.S. do?** When it is politically possible, sign a real agreement or treaty of alliance with Great Britain and Russia.

**Russians?** They are very short people, look something like potatoes, and are not afraid of anyone in the world—on their own soil.

It only remained to be seen whether the mission to Moscow had got the facts

or been properly bamboozled. If Russia is indeed as good as the missionaries thought, then Hitler's armies must be still better than the U.S. already thinks.

Time Magazine, December 8,  
1941

### **First Victory**

After many a negative, Russia had its first positive victory last week. Russia's best general, Marshal Semion Timoshenko, retook Rostov-on-Don and for the first time made the Germans get their tails up and churn their shanks in the general direction of Berlin.

The victory was not great: the Russians only pursued Germans, instead of catching large numbers of them. They went only 60 miles, with 600 to go. There was no guarantee that the Germans would not bounce right back. But it was a victory; it was tangible in geographic terms; it was admitted by the German High Command; and it set a precedent worthy of emulation.

What made this victory particularly enjoyable to the Russians and their allies was the pomposity with which the Germans had announced the capture of Rostov a fortnight ago. "Door to the Caucasus," they had gravely said, as if already lubricating their tanks with the oil of Baku. Their admission of withdrawal was equally grandiloquent: "Occupation troops of Rostov, in compliance with orders, are evacuating the central part of the city in order to make the most thorough preparations for necessary measures against the population which, contrary to international law, participated in fighting at the rear of German troops."

The Germans had advanced on Rostov in a narrow column, the left flank of which was insufficiently secured. Marshal Timoshenko drove down on the flank, then hit it head-on and sent it running. Before long the Russians claimed that the Germans' 14th and 16th Tank Divisions, 60th Motorized Division and two SS "Viking" Divisions had been pursued to Taganrog, 40 miles west of Rostov; that they were running for Mariupol, 65 miles farther west.

In this maneuver Marshal Timoshenko had used a familiar Nazi technique. He had allowed the enemy to advance until it overreached itself, had then struck. He had not, however, followed through with the complementary Nazi technique — encircling and annihilating the imprudent force. The Germans, though humiliated, were at liberty to turn around, as promised, and see that international law is more carefully observed by the population of Rostov.

Time Magazine December 8,  
1941

### **Death on the Approaches**

When the Germans launched their second supposedly final attack on Moscow a fortnight ago Berlin military spokesmen called it a "do-or-die" drive. It was planned and commanded by Field Marshal Fedor von Bock<sup>7</sup>, who because he loves to lecture his men on the glory of dying for the Fatherland, is called der Sterber (the Dier). By this week many a German had died before Moscow, and the Dier was still doing. But the city still stood.

To Marshal von Bock, losses do not greatly matter; certainly they do not matter as much as final success.

Fedor von Bock may eventually succeed in taking Moscow. But this week it appeared that he would have to make at least one more try before he even surrounded the city. Subduing it would be still another matter.

Russians, growing confident on their first major successes, began to say that if Moscow held out a few weeks longer, the turning point of the whole war against Germany would have been reached.

The approaches to Moscow make a first-class military cemetery. The land is mostly flat, some of it gently rolling. To the northwest there are numerous swamps, now partly frozen. To the north there are great, patchy forests, which even in winter are good cover because they consist mostly of pine and spruce. All around is a network of rivers—Volga, Moskva, Oka, Sherna, Protva, Ugra, Ruza, Yauza—which are now mostly frozen.

This terrain is decorated with superb internal communications, which favor the defender. Moscow is the focus of ten radiating railroads, and even though the Germans have cut six of those roads, the stumps are still available for throwing troops into this or that sector of the front. There are, besides, eleven trunk highways and numberless small roads running north, west and south from the city. Moscow teems with busses, trucks and cars available for urgent transport.

Polka-dotting this area is a formidable system of prepared defenses. There are no Russian lines, as such, before Moscow. The fortifications are in depth, and they run from the present line of action right to the city. They consist of everything from tiny land mines to monstrous forts three stories deep.

The city is itself a super-deathtrap. Big cities, and especially capital cities, are the index of a defender's ferocity. Madrid showed for 30 months that the Loyalists meant business. Warsaw was Poland's small core of guts. Oslo was the keyhole of Norway, and in it the key turned pretty easily. Paris fell without a whimper, and so, soon afterward, did France. The Germans threatened last week, 32 weeks after Yugoslavia was supposedly licked, to flatten Belgrade. Of all the capitals, Moscow looms as the most formidable.

It is huge: it covers 117 square miles. It is a maze of irregularly traced, winding streets. It is remarkably self-sufficient. Its industry, 14% of all Russia's, is doing all it can for defense. Its water supply is so far safe: the great Uchinsk Reservoir, 16 miles north of the city, the older Mytishi mineral springs system, ten miles northeast, and the Rublievo river-water system, ten miles west, are all still out of the enemy's reach. Its sources of electrical power lie farther afield, but they are well scattered and, so far, only slightly hampered.

But Moscow's greatest death-dealing weapon is its life.

The people of the Moscow area number more than 8,000,000. They constitute an unprecedented labor army, which can be, and has been, rushed to every threatened sector, there to construct cement fortlets, dig bunkers, repair breaches and sow mines as prodigally as wheat.

Muscovites are human; they are acquainted with fear. But they and the regular Army around them are just as determined as the defenders of Leningrad, and all are apt to pay heed to the command which their Government gave them last week:

“To retreat one more step is a crime none shall forgive. Stop the enemy. Beat him out of his positions. This is an order which is not to be broken.”

The equipment against which Marshal von Bock stakes his men’s lives is, for the outside world, incapable of measurement. But this much is certain: the Russians, relying on promises made by U.S. and British missions to Moscow, are not stinting. They are throwing everything into the fight. This is a great gamble, can pay off only if the democracies really deliver.

Russia’s most immediate need is for tanks. The Beaverbrook-Harriman mission was pressed for quick delivery of tanks above all, even if it meant sacrificing planes. Of airplanes, Russia needs heavy bombers most. Machine tools, unfortunately the rarest and most complicated gadgets, are badly needed. Russia asked the U.S. for more than 30,000 tons of steel a month, especially for 5,000 tons a month of rare superhard tool steel;\* for between 5,000 and 10,000 tons a month of aluminum; considerable quantities of nickel. The U.S. had to turn down a request for magnesium. Britain was asked for large supplies of rubber and jute.

That the democracies may deliver was twice hinted last week. From Bandar Shahpur<sup>8</sup> on the Persian Gulf came pictures of a ship landing goods bearing U.S. labels. The Russians announced that the first shipment of British tanks had gone into action on the Moscow front. The tanks were painted white, as camouflage against the snow.

The weather which required this camouflage was steadily worsening. According to almanac reckoning, winter

officially began in the Moscow area last week. Until mid-April the ground will now be under a blanket of snow, the earth helpfully hard. To Marshal von Bock’s men winter will be grim, but not deadly. The average temperature for January, the coldest month, is 14° F.

In the winter of 1812 Napoleon retreated from Moscow, but in the winter of 1941 Fedor von Bock expects to take the city. This is partly because Fedor von Bock is driven by a furious determination shared by every German officer all the way up to Adolf Hitler; it is partly because der Sterber is disdainful of hard ships.

**Holy Fire of Küstrin.** Fedor von Bock looks like a man dying of some mysterious internal combustion. He is gaunt, and his eyes have the baleful stare of windows in a bombed-out house. He is a competent general—in Russia he has been Germany’s best—and besides, he believes, with aggressive religiousness, in dying if necessary for the soil and honor of Prussia.

Fedor was son of a major general, grandson of a general. He was born 61 years ago in ancient Küstrin, where Frederick the Great was imprisoned by his father so that he would learn “the meaning of Prussianism.” At cadet schools young Fedor showed by his unbreakable spirit that he already understood something of that meaning. By 1910 he had talked his way into the right to wear red stripes down his trouser legs—the badge of a general staffer. He had begun making speeches with the refrain: “Our profession should always be crowned by a heroic death for the Emperor and the Fatherland.”

In Fedor von Bock’s cosmos, the Fatherland remained constantly

deathworthy; the Emperor was interchangeable with, successively, Weimar Republicanism, Hindenburg, the Führer. He was completely unpolitical: he never plotted, was never purged.

He always satisfied his superiors, often was the butt of his contemporaries. They used to goad him at mess by suggesting that an enemy bullet was not something to be grateful for. This would enrage Bock and he would make his usual harangue, until his fellows all said together: "Ah, the holy fire of Küstrin."

But as Fedor von Bock worked his way up, he won more & more respect—both for his fanaticism and for his thoroughness. Soon his fanaticism spread in the Army, until every unit had a handful of "Bock's own dying heroes."

When war came, he gave plenty of soldiers the fatal chance. He was not one to hoard lives. In Poland he had to do more fighting than General Gerd von Rundstedt, but by losing far more men he went just as fast. In France, too, his central armies of Group B suffered relatively high casualties. In Russia he won Germany's greatest victories (Bialystok-Minsk, Smolensk, Bryansk-Vyazma) and suffered the greatest losses. Last week he was still sending men to glorious, spendthrift death.

Steely determination to win and a willingness to die have won more than one battle. But when these qualities develop into indifference to losses—as they did on the Western Front in World War I and as they did in Napoleon's later campaigns—they can easily lose wars. Before Moscow Bock is expending men and materiel whose strength Germany will never be able to call on again. It is just possible that when the military history of

World War II is written and a list is made of the generals who have done most to whittle down Germany's chances of victory, the name of Bock may lead all the rest.

**Scrabbling.** His greatest efforts were flung at Moscow's flanks. Starting from a line, the strongest previous blows of which had been struck directly opposite Moscow, he skirted south of the hard core of resistance at Tula to drive straight east as far as Skopin; then cut south of another hard core at Kalinin to drive east to Dmitrov. His intention seemed to be to develop a huge encirclement of the capital.

But advance through Moscow's terrain of swamps, forests, rivers, and especially of forts-in-depth could not possibly be a Blitz advance. It was a slow, painful, scrabbling process.

Because Marshal von Bock could not advance speedily, the element of surprise was largely denied him. The usually ponderous Russians could see what he was trying to do, were able to take counter-measures. They claimed that they were squeezing his northern prong into a virtual encirclement, that they were slowing the southern prong.

This week Marshal von Bock's second great try seemed to be playing out. But the tenacious Marshal was not through. He would certainly try, try again. If he eventually succeeded, it would be at great cost, because the Dier would go on saying to his men, as he had always said:

"The ideal soldier fulfills his duty to the utmost, obeys without even thinking, thinks only when ordered to do so, and has as his only desire to die the honorable death of a soldier killed in action."



The Times, December 12, 1941

## THE RUSSIAN VICTORIES

The news from the Russian front, from hostile sources as well as from Moscow and Kuibyshev, makes it clearer than ever that the counter-offensive which recaptured Rostov was not merely a fine local success but also a symptom of a new situation developing all over the battle zone. The fighting in the Moscow area was very different in character from the engagements on the Donetz and the Don; but the result of the battle in each case has been the defeat of a German assault followed by a Russian counter-offensive. Departing for once from its customary reticence, the Russian High Command has given a remarkable picture of the last German offensive against Moscow, including the enemy's complete order of battle — in itself sure proof that there have been extensive captures of prisoners and documents.

The German plan must have been to capture Moscow by envelopment; for it was on the flanks that the enemy massed almost all his armoured and mobile strength, the central attack being mainly carried out by infantry formations of the normal type. The figures given bear witness that this was a truly formidable host; and if, as is probable, some of the formations were far below establishment in equipment and personnel, that was due to the losses inflicted by the Russians during the October fighting. Against the Russian right were massed seven Panzer, two motorized, and three infantry divisions; against the left, four Panzer, two motorized divisions, and one infantry division; against the centre, six army corps (that is, at least twelve infantry

divisions, and perhaps considerably more), with two Panzer divisions. These troops, it may be taken, were exclusive of the lower-grade formations holding sectors where no attack was launched. In fact, our Special Correspondent in Moscow reports that between Kalinin and Tula fifty-one divisions are believed to be retreating. The objectives which the flanking pincers were designed to reach before they began to close were as distant as Dmitrov, on the Vologda railway, in the north, and Kolomna, some sixty miles due south-east of Moscow, in the south.

Here there was no sudden counterstroke out of the blue as at Rostov. From November 16 to December 5 the Russians fought a stubborn defensive battle, with local counter-attacks whenever the pressure became particularly heavy. And very heavy it was at times on both flanks, where the situation was more than once described local counter-attacks whenever the pressure became particularly heavy. And very heavy it was at times on both flanks, where the situation was more than once described by our allies as grave. Yet nowhere was the enemy's progress on anything like the scale of his previous offensives; many of his assaults were completely routed; many others were nipped in the bud. On December 6 the Red Army gave extraordinary proof of its tenacity and endurance after so fierce a test by turning to the offensive all along the Moscow front. This new phase has not been long in progress, and the distances so far covered have not been great by comparison with the vastness of the front and the enemy's deep penetration into Russia. But the results cannot be measured by distance only. It is the nature

of the victory that counts. Rostov was of equal and perhaps even greater strategic importance, but it might well be argued that at Rostov the Germans overreached themselves through over-confidence and faulty intelligence as to the Russian reinforcements. Moscow was that supreme test of men, of material, and of junior leadership, a slogging match, and the Russians stood up to the slogging better than their enemies.

This is a fact which cannot be disguised. The Germans are now announcing that they are disengaging their forces. But even they are not pretending that they did not try to capture Moscow. Moreover, to a great extent they are obviously failing to disengage. In the engagements round Yelets alone the Russians have captured 226 guns. In any case the decision to break off the offensive was forced upon the enemy by necessity and was not a matter of choice. It is probable that a large number of formations have already been withdrawn to such winter quarters as are available. But that is a consequence of failure to reach objectives or to provide the necessary equipment for that winter campaign which German spokesmen were boasting only a few weeks ago would suit their purposes admirably. These reverses are not confined to the shore of the Sea of Azov and the central front. In the Donetsk Basin the Germans are also losing ground and what is more leaving booty in the hands of the Russians. At Tikhvin, on the Leningrad front, the situation brought about by one of their most spectacular secondary offensives, five weeks ago today, has been restored, and here also the Russian counter-offensive is continuing campaign nearly six months ago were the destruction of the Russian forces,

the capture of Moscow, Leningrad, and the Ukraine, with its resources, and the seizure of the Russian oilfields. Only one of those objects has been even partially attained, and the value of the advance into the Ukraine has been enormously diminished by the prior removal of industrial plant and the destruction of a great proportion of such machinery and material as could not be removed.

In the other attempts the enemy has been rudely rebuffed, and most thoroughly of all, as the events of the past few weeks bear witness, in the first. The Red Army remains, and it is now releasing from hostile pressure and thus restoring to full or much increased activity some of the great munition producing centres in that area between Moscow and the Volga which is still the main arsenal of the Soviet Union. In the present conditions it holds advantages over the enemy which he himself scarcely attempts to deny. There have never been any laments about the weather from the Russian side. Our allies are convinced that it is less hampering to them than to their foes because their troops can better withstand it, because their communications are shorter, and for certain technical reasons connected with engines, fuel, lubricants, and tank-tracks. While it cannot be doubted that winter will in fact constitute a handicap to major operations on their part also, it is none the less certain that they have no intention of losing the initiative on which they have been, for the first time since the campaign began, gradually extending their grip. Whatever course events may take within the next few months, it is reasonably sure that if the German Army in Russia is looking forward to a quiet winter its hopes are not destined to be fulfilled.

LIFE Magazine, January 12, 1942

## **RUSSIAN COURAGE AND COLD ROUT THE NAZI**

Manila fell to the enemy on Jan. 2<sup>9</sup> and the sensation of defeat settled for the second time in the pit of American stomachs. To help digest this cold news came great good tidings from the other side of the world. On the day Manila fell, Adolf Hitler was speeding to the Russian front to try to halt the retreat of his armies back across the white hell of Russia. No longer in a position to glimpse the tantalizing towers of the Kremlin, he now stopped at Smolensk. He was reported to be building three lines of fortifications between Minsk and Berlin as rolling attacks of the Russians exploded all along his front. The greatest army the world had ever seen was in full retreat and seemed to be marching into its own past, like a movie run backward, as the place-names of last fall's German victories re-appeared as this winter's German defeats: Kerch (taken by Nazis Nov. 16), Kursk (Nov. 1), Tula (Oct. 31), Taganrog (Oct. 22), Mozhaisk (Oct. 17), Kaluga (Oct. 12). Though the Red Army had been helped by the worst winter in 20 years, the larger fact was that it had simply outfought the German Army. The real saviors of Moscow were the men who had battled to the death all across Russia and bought with their lives a little precious time and space for their country. Slowly they whittled down the effective German Army of 1941 from 300 to 200 to 150 to close to 125 divisions. Meanwhile the Russian generals refused to panic, kept reserves intact, hoarded their strength and coolly mastered the German lessons of maneuver.

At last, in November, the Russians began to hit back. They first sensed a soft spot in the north and freed the railway lines to Leningrad. Next, Timoshenko in the south discovered that Hitler had withdrawn German divisions from the Rostov area to assist in the taking of Moscow. The Germans wrongly considered Timoshenko's force so shattered by the defeats of October that it could only reel and fall. Instead, Timoshenko tempted Kleist into Rostov and then smote him on the flank. Panic-stricken, the Ger - mans realized they needed troops on three fronts at once. They began shuttling reserves around in a frenzy. Finally, on Dec. 7, the same day as Pearl Harbor, the German center facing Moscow began to sway back. General Zhukov thereupon struck with all he had saved, a winter army of half a million men.

The German retreat began with majestic competence, its rear guards fighting stubbornly. But with the loss of Kaluga, Mozhaisk and the destruction of six army corps, it became something never planned in Berlin. "Battles are won with the remnants of armies," and the Russians had the best remnants.

The great Red Army, which withstood such stunning shocks, is a mystery to most Americans. The Russians have understandably been reluctant to spill their secrets to the talkative experts of the democracies. Yet the Russians themselves warn their Allies that they are not happy about the possibility of a German offensive next spring. They desperately need tanks and machine tools from U. S. and British plants.

The Evening Star,  
December 15, 1941

**Tension Eased, Moscow Doffs  
Battle Dress for Sunday Best  
Soviet Capital Marks Retreat of  
Germans, Strollers Crowd Park,  
Children at Play**

By HENRY C. CASSIDY.  
Associated Press War Correspondent.

MOSCOW. Dec. 14 (delayed).— This glistening white capital exchanged battledress for its Sunday best today as its inhabitants celebrated the retreat of Adolf Hitler's legions from their near-siege positions. With a group of American and British correspondents flown in from Kuibyshev yesterday I viewed the city's scars and heard from men and women who stayed grimly by their posts through two bitter months of German air and land onslaughts the epic story of their struggle for existence. Residents, who underwent as many as seven air raids in a single day, and on several days four, told of hearing the heavy thud of artillery during one bad night when the Germans came closest. Nightly they saw on the horizon the flashes from the big guns reaching for their city.

**No Serious Food Shortage.**

There never was any serious food shortage, residents said. Bread was always available, they reported, and they also had rationed meat, potatoes, fats, kerosene and other essentials. Coffee and some other articles were obtainable without ration cards. But they went without tobacco and alcoholic beverages. Match speculators who appeared I were quickly eliminated. Only once were real

fears felt for the city's resistance, residents said. That came during the dark days of October 16 and 17, when a mass exodus accompanied the peak of the first of two German offensives. Later in October the residents got a breather, and Muscovites on November 7 quietly celebrated the anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution with a Red Square parade. The tension was renewed November 16 when the Germans launched their second offensive, but arrival of the pick of the Red Army reassured the populace, who also got tangible evidence of drooping German morale. "We saw German prisoners here in Moscow," one resident said. "Only one that I saw had a fur cap. Twenty or 30 others wore very thin clothes, with shawls wrapped around the heads. They shivered in the cold." Spirits then rose with the announcement that Rostov had been recaptured. Today strollers crowded the Alexandrov Park under the walls of the Kremlin, Gorky street — Moscow's Fifth avenue — and the Arbat square on the city's west side. Handsome cavalymen wearing tall fur hats and blue capes, their sabers gleaming, chatted with pretty girls in colorful shawls and furs. There must have been a couple of hundred thousand children playing in the streets. In the annex of the damaged Bolshoy Theater was a matinee performance of Rimsky-Korsakov's ballet, "The Hunched Back Horse." The Byzantine turrets of the Kremlin and the modern structures of Gorky street are standing unscathed. Subways, streetcars and buses are still operating. Lights, water, gas and other public services are still functioning. Merchants are busy. Bad weather has prevented the Germans from making many air raids recently,

but they attempted one last night. The government and Communist party newspapers *Izvestia* and *Pravda* have warned the public not to consider the danger entirely passed.

## (Endnotes)

1 **Battle for Moscow** – A generalized name for the battles fought by the Wehrmacht and the Red Army around Moscow from September 1941 to April 1942. During these battles, the German command, following the plan ‘Barbarossa’ intended to storm the Soviet capital and force the Soviet Union to surrender. The Battle of Moscow is divided into two stages: Defensive (until 5 December 1941) and Offensive (until 20 April 1942). As a result of the fighting, the Wehrmacht forces were first stopped and then thrown back from Moscow with heavy losses, suffering the first major defeat in its history in open combat.

2 **Jacob Otto Dietrich** (31 August 1897 – 22 November 1952) was a German SS officer during the Nazi era, who served as the Press Chief of the Nazi regime and was a confidant of Adolf Hitler.

3 **Semyon Mikhailovich Budyonny** 25 April 1883 – 26 October 1973) was a Soviet cavalryman, military commander during the Russian Civil War, Polish-Soviet War and World War II, and politician, who was a close political ally of Soviet leader Joseph Stalin. In July–September 1941, Budyonny was Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet armed forces of the Southwestern Direction facing the German invasion of Ukraine. This invasion began as part of Germany’s Operation Barbarossa which was launched on June 22. Operating under strict orders from Stalin (who attempted to micromanage the war in the early stages) not to retreat under any circumstances, Budyonny’s forces were eventually surrounded during the Battle of Uman and the Battle of Kiev by Nazi forces. The disasters which followed the encirclement cost the Soviet Union 1.5 million men killed or taken prisoner. This was the largest encirclement in military history. On 13 September 1941, Stalin sacked Budyonny as a scapegoat,

replacing him with Semyon Timoshenko. He was never allowed to command troops in combat again.

4 **Carl Philipp Gottfried** (or **Gottlieb**) **von Clausewitz** ( 1 July 1780 – 16 November 1831) was a Prussian general and military theorist who stressed the «moral» (in modern terms meaning psychological ) and political aspects of waging war. His most notable work, *Vom Kriege* (“*On War*”), though unfinished at his death, is considered a seminal treatise on military strategy and science.

5 **Sherman’s March to the Sea**, (November 15–December 21, 1864) American Civil War campaign that concluded Union operations in the Confederate state of Georgia. After seizing Atlanta, Union Maj. Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman embarked on a scorched-earth campaign intended to cripple the South’s war-making capacity and wound the Confederate psyche. Sherman’s army marched 285 miles (458 km) east from Atlanta to the coastal town of Savannah, which surrendered without a siege. Sherman’s 37-day campaign is remembered as one of the most successful examples of “total war,” and its psychological effects persisted in the postbellum South.

6 **Chiang Kai-shek** (born October 31, 1887, Fenghua, Zhejiang province, China—died April 5, 1975, Taipei, Taiwan) was a soldier and statesman, head of the Nationalist government in China from 1928 to 1949 and subsequently head of the Chinese Nationalist government in exile on Taiwan.

7 **Fedor I. von Bock** - Field Marshal General, commander of Army Group South (until 1942). He participated in World War I as Chief of Staff Operations, where he proved to be a talented organizer. After the establishment of the Nazi regime in 1933, he continued to serve in various staff positions. He took part in the Polish and French campaigns (1939 and 1940) as commander of various army groups. During the invasion of the USSR he initially commanded Army Group Centre, but after the defeat at Moscow he was reassigned to Army Group South, but was soon removed from this post because of conflicts with the Central Command.

## 8 Bandar-e Emam

**Khomeyni** formerly **Bandar Shahpur** is a city in, and the capital of, Bandar-e Emam Khomeyni District of Mahshahr County, Khuzestan province, Iran. The city also serves as the administrative center for Bandar-e Emam Khomeyni Rural District. During World War II it consisted only of a jetty, two shipping berths, a railhead and warehouses and a civilian settlement some miles distant. The port was initially in German and Italian hands, but was stormed on August 25, 1941, by a combined British and Indian force supported by the Royal Navy.

## 9 The Japanese invasion of the

**Philippines** began on December 8, 1941; on December 24, 1941, the USAFFE high command and the War Cabinet of the Commonwealth withdrew to Corregidor. On December 26, 1941, Manila was declared an Open City.

## Chapter IX. 1942: Rocky Road from Moscow to Stalingrad

Time Magazine, February 16,  
1942

### World: What Will Spring Bring?

If a chief of state could find a man on whose mind was imprinted, as if on animated microfilm, all the books by and about Clausewitz, Napoleon, Lee<sup>1</sup>, Caesar, Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden<sup>2</sup>, Sun Tzu<sup>3</sup> of China and the rest of the great military theorists and practitioners, then the chief of state would be a fool to buy the books. Joseph Stalin has such a man in Boris Shaposhnikov<sup>4</sup>.

To Russia's Chief of State, Marshal Boris Shaposhnikov is officially Chief of Staff. But unofficially he is Joseph Stalin's walking reference room and military mind. He is the author of a monumental book called *Mozg Armii* (The Brain of the Army), and he is it.

While credit for tactical successes, or blame for reverses, must fall to such regional commanders as Timoshenko, Zhukov, Budenny and Voroshilov, there is only one man who can make the huge strategic decisions on which the war will be won or lost. That is Joseph Stalin. Joseph Stalin never makes a military decision without asking Boris Shaposhnikov what he would do.

As the momentum of Russia's two strongest winter offensives dwindled last week and there began to be talk of spring, great new worries were reposed on the military mind of Joseph Stalin.

How far would the Russian drives carry? How soon did Hitler plan to mount his inevitable spring offensive? How big would it be when it came?

Where would the Germans strike? Where could the Russians hope to hold them? When could they hope to win? In seeking to answer these questions for his boss, Boris Shaposhnikov would have to raffle through the index of his incredible brain, snatch at the most applicable texts and apply them, in their proper seasons, to Russia's war.

**Clausewitz for Autumn.** His favorite author, ironically, is the great German military critic, Karl von Clausewitz. One passage which he quotes with especially affectionate comment might well have been his text last week, as he reviewed the lessons of Autumn 1941 before doing his home work for the final exams in Summer 1942.

The commander, says Clausewitz, must guess whether, after receiving the initial blows, the core of the opponent's Army is gradually becoming condensed, tempered and strengthened, or, to the contrary, beginning to crumble into dust like a decanter made of Bologna glass whose stir-face has been cracked. The commander must figure out with

precision how much the enemy state will be weakened by the loss of certain sources of supply and by the disconnection of certain arteries. He must foretell without mistake whether the enemy will collapse in pain from the wounds inflicted on him, or hurl himself forward with frenzied might like a wounded and enraged bull.

It was plain that failure to obey these strictures to the letter had cost the Germans victory in the autumn. On the other hand, Russia had observed them in reverse—had tightened and strengthened its Army in the face of the early blows, had (by moving factories and acquiring allies) made provision to keep supply facilities from collapsing, had (with the help of a remarkable Intelligence service) watched to see when the enemy was preparing for each great charge.

The one weapon which had made it possible for Boris Shaposhnikov to keep his Clausewitz<sup>5</sup> about him had been artillery. The Red Army has developed the artillery service to as high and fine a point as any army in the world. So proficient are some Red battery commanders that they often hit the target without the gradual approach of range firing, and some of them are said to be such mathematical wizards that they calculate trajectories in their heads, without the use of rigid firing tables. Germans have long talked of the Russians' "long-bearded-professor batteries."

The main lesson of the autumn, then, had been that with skillful gunnery and unending vigilance German blitz tactics could be slowed down.

**Schoeneich for Winter.** The Germans had, ultimately, been stopped and curled back a little. Boris Shaposhnikov would find the biggest reason for that in words from another German pen. Nine months

before World War II began, a Captain Schoeneich wrote in *Militärwochenblatt*:

In the East, soil and climate erect barriers before which we must stop. From late April to late September, we can wage a war of movement in the East. But then, in the fall, we shall have to call a halt... If motor transport is used beyond September, supply lines are likely to break down in short order...

Failure to heed this warning had lost the Germans their first great battles of the war. Marshal Shaposhnikov has studied winter warfare. He knows what an army can do, and what it cannot do, when snow piles above hub caps.

He knows that bitter winter warfare is old-fashioned warfare, in which man is more important than his machines. He understands winter camouflage. He realizes that in winter cavalry and infantry can accomplish more than planes and tanks. And yet at the proper times he uses planes mounted on skis and tanks painted white. He knows how important the warmth and cleanliness of his men are in the season when frostbite and typhus march with soldiers. He knows that in winter warfare Death takes the hindmost.

Western Europeans apparently do not understand these things. The notorious French Fascist, Jacques Doriot<sup>6</sup>, back in Vichy last week after briefly leading French volunteers in Nazi ranks, described what it is like to fight at 30 and 40 below zero.

"At those temperatures everything changes. Men lose part of their faculties: their fingers become swollen and their joints become stiff. In the front lines the ground is as hard as rock and tools cannot dig into it. It refuses shelter to the soldier who has conquered it.



“Automatic arms can be used only with difficulty. The motor of a tank or supply vehicle no longer responds to the command of its driver.

“The dry wind raises waves of snow which hide the roads and paths. In such weather a great modern army loses the essential elements of its technical superiority.”

There will be about a month more of severe winter weather during which the Russian can forget about his mechanical inferiority. Reasonable Russian objectives for that month — objectives which are a minimum if the Russians are to be properly braced for Hitler’s spring offensive — are the following:

-They must free Leningrad. This they have not been able to do so far, despite spasm after spasm. The Germans still hold Schluesselburg, due east of the city. The only Russian access to Leningrad is across the ice of Lake Ladoga.

-They must regain Smolensk. Moscow can perhaps withstand several more great onslaughts, but to survive in the south, the Russians must make operations on the central front as expensive as possible.

-They must regain Dniepropetrovsk, the site of the great ruined dam. This would cut German communications with Crimea and would give the Russians, at least initially, the natural barrier of the Dnieper River on the southern front, where the Germans are almost certain to make their earliest and greatest efforts.

**Kalinin<sup>7</sup> for Spring.** The text of Boris Shaposhnikov’s optimum hope for spring was set last week by an anomalous figure, the Soviet President. Said grey-bearded Mikhail Kalinin:

### **The Germans never will recapture the initiative now gained by the Red Army.**

It is Boris Shaposhnikov’s hope that, by pressing his present advantage, he can prevent the Germans from ever standing by to organize their great spring blitz.

And yet signs of spring, unmistakable as premature crocuses, were already to be seen last week. The Germans were moving fresh troops up from Germany. Stockholm estimated that at least 20 divisions had moved east. The Russians themselves were reported to be expecting the enemy to throw between 6,000 and 7,000 new tanks into action.

Hitler, who for six weeks had been Supreme Commander in Russia, was reported to have made a deal with his allegedly recalcitrant generals, to have reinstated the stars, Marshals Fedor von Bock, Gerd von Rundstedt<sup>8</sup> and Wilhelm Ritter von Leeb<sup>9</sup>, and to have appointed 19 new generals to replace those who had fallen “ill.”

Resistance was already stiffening. The Germans were reacting strongly to Soviet pressure in the all-important Crimea; and last week the Russians admitted their second loss of Feodosiya. In the Ukraine, where Marshal Timoshenko had achieved a great breakthrough, the Germans filled in and stopped the drive.

For the first time the Russians complained that the terrible winter weather, which had been so good to them, was now an impediment.

The Germans were certainly preparing for a spring drive. Exactly when it would come no one but Adolf Hitler could say with certainty. The great thaws of spring may cause him to delay his drive until late April, the time recommended by Captain

Schoeneich. But he might order action next month, next week, tomorrow.

**Shaposhnilcov for Summer.** If the Russians, aided by the thaws, do succeed in thwarting Hitler's plans, whatever they are, and can keep the initiative into next summer, their war would probably be won. The chances of their doing so are very small. But if they do the next-to-impossible, it will be thanks partly to the skills of Russia's three best generals,\*but mostly to the stratagems of Boris Shaposhnikov, the brain of the Army.

Marshal Shaposhnikov has been called the only man in Russia whom Stalin would not dare to assassinate. His extraordinary power is a compound of his great ability, his silence and his unqualified loyalty.

His record testifies to his ability. Born in the Urals 60 years ago, he rose to be a Tsarist colonel before the Revolution; then he went over to the Reds. Always his jobs have been mental jobs — General Staff Operations Chief; Chief of Frunze Red Banner Military Academy, Russia's Staff School; Chief of Staff. He planned the invasion of eastern Poland in 1939; he beat Finland; he timed the great counterblow from Moscow in December. He has found time to write many heavy tomes, the greatest of which are *The Cavalry, On the Vistula* and the three-volume *Brain of the Army*.

He is as silent as a chess player. (His one relaxation, in fact, is chess; his fellow Army men well know the Shaposhnikov end game.) He is personally cold and reticent, and he stays out of the political light. He is modest to the brink of affectation; his books are almost coquettish: "Our present immature work... If the magnanimous reader will do us the great honor of further following

our reasoning..." This silence and supermodesty have saved his political head time & again.

His loyalty to Joseph Stalin is unquestioned by Joseph Stalin, who ought to know. Stalin finds him useful in the way Hitler finds Artillery General Alfred Jodl<sup>10</sup> useful—to be always at the elbow to answer questions, to advise, to refuse, to confirm. Boris Shaposhnikov's memory for detail is astonishing; he seems to know Clausewitz's *Of War* by heart.

Boris Shaposhnikov is probably not over-sanguine about the spring. He would put a little salt on President Kalinin's beard when the good President talks of never giving the initiative back to the Germans. Marshal Shaposhnikov may have the initiative taken away from him in spite of his efforts to press his advantage. But even if he does lose it, he thinks he can get it back again and eventually win the war, by some such formula as this:

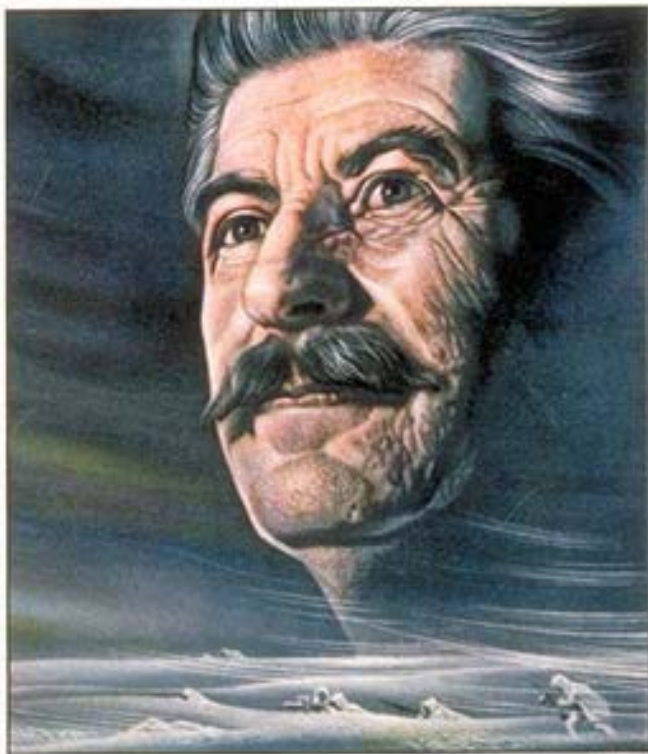
In the spring and summer, Leningrad would probably be tightly sealed again. Moscow would be attacked, but could hold. The Germans would make their greatest push in the south, would drive the Russians back to the Don River. There the Russians would try to stand, then in the autumn begin a counteroffensive. By that time, if Britain has succeeded in holding Suez and the Middle East, the Germans would be short of oil, men and morale. Finally, in the winter of 1942-43, with the help of the Allies in the west, the great offensive against the Reich would begin.

This is a high hope. It may be too high. But it shows a clear understanding of a fact which has been very easy to forget during the successful winter: Russia will



# TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE



MAN OF THE YEAR

All that Hitler could give, he took—for a second time.

*(Foreign News)*

# RUSSIA'S INVISIBLE ARMY



—BEGGAR'S rag may be a general's uniform. A colonel may be a flashing-eyed woman—

“**O**ur forces have retaken the town of K.” Whenever you read that in a Soviet communique, don't be too sure it is a mere statement of fact. Very likely “Town K” is a code expression conveying a secret order to the Russian guerrillas behind the German lines. For these valiant fighters are far from scattered, unorganized bands; they are a huge, integrated fighting force, and their orders come straight from Moscow.

Never in history have guerrillas played such an important part as they do in Russia today. They form an underground front behind the front, and are everywhere and nowhere. They are more dangerous than flame throwers and dive bombers because no sound betrays their lightning approach. They cover every inch of the hinterland, and as quick as they come, they disappear in the forest mist. They are at least as much responsible for German reverses this winter as the stinging cold of the steppes and the death-defying gallantry of the Soviet soldiers. They are known as the “partisans,” and Russia is full of their praise. There may be millions of them, operating in large formations as well as in small units.

What kind of people are these partisans? Gray-haired muskies rub shoulders with boys and girls in their tents. Fathers and sons, mothers and daughters are fighting side by side. Some of the old timers are veterans of

World War I. To many of the others that war is scarcely a memory. There was, for instance, Alexander Tshkalin, aged 16, whose name has become a byword throughout the Soviet Union. He operated near his native village, and war was unknown to him. He threw sticks of dynamite at German tanks, sniped at Nazi patrols from behind haystacks. But one day he was cornered in a peasant's hut; he decided to smash his way to freedom or to sell his life dearly. With a grenade in his hand, he met the Nazis halfway.

The hand grenade turned out to be a dud, the Germans barged in on the boy. The Soviet government decorated him posthumously with the highly-coveted Order of Lenin, and the title of “Hero of the Soviet Union,” the nation's greatest honors.

Some of the partisan commanders are regular-army officers, while others are just plain village folk. “Division X of the Red Army has been destroyed,” the German high command would announce. But Division X was destroyed only as a viable unit; it would turn up behind the lines as a sector of the great invisible army, commanded by its own officers. Beggar's rag may be a general's uniform among the partisans, and a colonel may be a flashing-eyed woman. Common peasant commanders sometimes reveal remarkable gifts of ingenuity and organization.

**If they're caught — death! But Red Army guerrillas don't stop fighting. Men, women, youngsters — they harass German lines and rip up Hitler's timetables**

**by Emil Longyel**

PHOTOS BY AP/WIDEWORLD

The partisans have their nameless Napoleon.

The Soviets have long been preparing for just this type of warfare. Not fewer than 40,000,000 of their citizens have been trained as partisans, we are told. “Proletarian Rifle Divisions” are regular features of Moscow Red Square parades. Thousands of their civilian members march in company formations, armed with rifles. The technique of guerrilla warfare, how to read maps, how to find one's way by compass, are being taught by the organization known as “Onovschim,” with millions of members. For years young Russia has been learning parachute jumping, has been toughened up by all kinds of mass sports. Even women and children have been taught to handle rifles.

“Every bush, every peasant house shoots at you,” German soldiers complain. “The entire civilian population of the occupied territories has risen,” a German-controlled Belgian newspaper wailed the other day. “The

Bolsheviks do not observe lawful methods warfare.”

Front-line Red soldiers often notice the enemy's fire is suddenly reversed, occurs the rear. Then they know that partisan fighters are at work behind the Nazi lines. Partisans seek to shear of German supply lines, cut tank units from their fuel base isolated from the rear, the Germans do turn their tanks into forts and shoot it out until their ammunition is exhausted or reinforcements arrive.

The partisans dig traps for the enemy mechanized forces, destroy bridges, tunnels, viaducts, railway tracks, set fire to oil and food stores, ammunition dumps, flour mills. They snipe at occupation garrisons, set mines moving up to the front, at retreat formations. They decoy entire regiments in swampy wasteland, and then destroy vital military objectives in their absence.

Small groups of partisans sneak up



As the Soviet press and radio never glorify a military leader, Americans probably know more about Marshal Timoshenko than the Russians do.

The Russian general received virtually his entire civil as well as military education in army and party schools since the October Revolution. He fought as a conscript in World War I or he is a veteran of one or more of the wars which preceded the Nazi invasion; the civil war and the war against intervention; undeclared war or hostilities with Japan; or the Finnish war.

In a few cases he also fought with the Republican Army in Spain. Because of his bomber beginnings, perhaps, he was able to learn in even obscure places and in the hardest of all schools—the experience of other people—and in that attitude to find no doubt that he has an advantage over some generals better grounded in textbooks.

For example, Marshal Grigory Constantinovitch Zhukov won the first great battle of tanks when he encircled and destroyed Japanese forces at Kharkingol, in Outer Mongolia, in 1939. Not even Germans, much less ourselves or the British, profited from his profound lessons. But Russians incorporated it into their training and all their subsequent tank successes probably trace to it.

General Rodimets, whose colorful Guardsite taught Germans something new about the art of fighting at Stalingrad, brought to his task a living background of experience acquired in Spain, where,

as a minor commander, he first met and smashed with infantry Italian tank attacks; and so on.

The Red Army general of 1943 is probably younger in years than the average general in other armies. Thousands of officers were lost in the first months of the war and promotions since then have been rapid and apparently made solely with regard to competence and reliability. Contrast the age of prewar marshals with those of the striplings running the army today. Civil-war heroes Voroshilov and Budenny are in their early sixties, but First Vice Commissar of Defense Zhukov, who stands at Stalin's right hand, is but forty-eight, while Chief of Staff Alexander Mikhailovitch Vasilevsky is only forty-two and Timoshenko is forty-eight.

Experience here tends to show that the audacity, energy, drive and technical knowledge of modern warfare and the habit of thinking in terms of battles of our time rather than those of World War I days—all qualities necessary to organize successful counteroffensives against an armored mammoth like the Wehrmacht—exist in the richest mixture in younger men. In effect, that is the chief message of Moscow's currently popular drama, *The Front*. It shows that senile generals, however successful they may have been under other circumstances, however covered with glory and recognition, must be prepared to step aside when defeats

demonstrate their inability to cope with problems in dimensions unfamiliar to them. And we may assume that *The Front* is not presenting a viewpoint contrary to Kremlin policy.

Another obvious reason why youth is a characteristic of today's generals is that older men cannot long bear up under the severe physical strains imposed by mechanized warfare and the terrible Russian weather. The army leader, therefore, is a man of sound physique, solidly and powerfully built, and capable of withstanding the cruelest exposure—somewhat better than the rather more aged generals of the Wehrmacht. But he is not the giant that people in the west tend to picture him in their mind's eye. He is of medium height, somewhat shorter than the German general; actually, perhaps, a fellow about your own size. He is clean-shaven—often right to the top of his head. I have yet to see a Russian general with a beard, and even a mustache seems out of fashion in 1943.

#### An Example as Well as a Leader

**T**HIS synthetic general is a member of the Communist Party. He probably speaks fair German or French and perhaps a little English. He likes tosing and may have a good voice. He is fond of ballet and opera. Tchaikovsky is his favorite composer. In peacetime he liked to spend an evening with Tolstoy, Pushkin, Turgenyev or Gorky, or perhaps with Byron or Shakespeare. But he would probably have let them all wait for a first-rate American movie or a picture starring Feodorova.

No Russian general can consort with prostitutes and hold his job. There are no prostitutes or camp followers with the Red Army. A general usually is an example for his men in every respect. He does not go to church and does not believe in God, but he is clean-minded, he doesn't particularly like risqué stories, and he seems unusually uninhibited and free from Freudian complexes. Though in some ways he reminds you of a good Y.M.C.A. secretary, nobody could call him a prude. He is often a heavy. (Continued on Page 19)



Marshal Kutik. The typical Red general likes music, ballet, tobacco, vodka and movies.



Zhukov, stoutest general of the war and greatest strategist in the new tank fighting.

suffer further serious setbacks — and therefore Russia’s Allies will suffer terrible anxieties —before the year is over.

Boris Shaposhnikov would not have to be a breathing encyclopedia to know that the great decisive land battles of World War II have not yet even been joined. One of them will come this spring.

Associated Press, January 8,  
1942

### **Russians Advance at Kaluga, Imperil Germans in Crimea**

A new Russian wedge of considerable depth was driven into the German lines west of Kaluga on the Central Front as the Soviets claim capture of Meshchkovsk and several unnamed villages. Elsewhere, in the Crimea and Karelia, at opposite ends of the long Eastern European battle-line, Russian offensives also were reported gaining ground.

The capture of Meshchkovsk represents a 40-mile advance from Kaluga and a total advance of about 120 miles from the starting point of the counteroffensive in this area. It places the Russians well to the west of Mozhaisk, where the Germans continued their dogged resistance.

The official Soviet news agency, TASS, declared that at several points the Russians had captured intricate German defense systems, including well-camouflaged dugouts, heated with stoves and overlaid with six or seven tiers of logs.

### **Drive Against Finns**

Stockholm reports said the Russians were hurling battalion after battalion of troops and armored forces against the

Finnish Front in Eastern Karelia in a battle already raging four days, evidently to render secure the Arctic supply ports of Murmansk and Archangel.

Fierce fighting was reported by the Government newspaper *Izvestia* in the Leningrad area, involving General Meretskoff’s Soviet forces and the remnants of German divisions which they pushed westward from Tikhvin, 110 miles southeast of Leningrad, and Volkhovo, 80 miles below Leningrad on the main railway line to Moscow.

*Pravda*, Communist Party newspaper, said “the Germans have paid for their treacherous attack (upon Russia) with 6,000,000 killed, wounded, and taken prisoner, but they will pay several times more for it.”

The Russian garrison of Sevastopol, long-besieged Black Sea naval base, was declared in a TASS radiocast to have taken the offensive against Axis forces diverted by sea landings at other major ports of the Crimea-Kerch, Feodosiya, and Yevpatoriya.

### **Naval Fliers Aid**

Advances of from three to five miles were registered in one’s days fighting, the Soviet news agency said, with Russian naval fliers backing up ground troops.

“Units under Major General Petroff, are dealing heavy blows to the enemy,” is said. “One inhabited locality has been occupied and several important heights have been captured.” Elaborating upon the Crimean situation, TASS said “several populated places have been freed from the Germans and Soviet Marines liberated workers’ settlements at Kamysh Burun, on the Kerch Peninsula.”

The Army newspaper *Red Star* declared

that “advancing Soviet units on the Kalinin front (north-west of Moscow) in one day cleared 22 villages of the enemy and captured prisoners and booty.”

The British Radio said that Swedish correspondents in Berlin declare the Russians have attempted landings at many fresh points in the Crimea with the support of units of the Soviet Fleet. The radio quoted Swedish sources as saying that Berlin was anticipating further landings and that the Russian operations in the Crimea are of an extensive nature. The radiocast was heard by CBS. NBC heard the British Radio declare that the Russians had announced the capture of new and important bridgeheads in the Crimea.

Christian Science Monitor,  
January 7, 1942

### **Aims of Moscow include penalties upon Nazis equal to the hardships inflicted on Russians.**

The first formal indication of Russia’s war aims is contained in a Soviet note handed to all diplomatic representatives in Moscow. It is signed by Foreign Minister Vyacheslaff Molotoff.

These aims would certainly account for the surprise which Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden is said to have felt where he was personally confronted with the lengths to which the Russians are prepared to go in preventing Germany ever aggressing again.

#### **The aims as reported here are:**

1. Germany must be disarmed and made incapable of further aggression.
2. Germany must endure suffering

equal to that of Russia as punishment for its crimes and unprovoked aggression.

3. Germany — the German people— must rebuild all they have destroyed.

The significance of these Russian aims is heightened in light of the indictment contained in the note, charging German atrocities.

#### **Massacres Listed**

Germany was formally charged by Soviet Russia today with massacring 95,567 persons in 13 cities and countless hundreds elsewhere in an occupation marked by “unheard of villages, general devastation, abominable violence.”

Slaying of civilians was said to have been accomplished by explosives, suffocation, knifing or hanging as well as shooting.

These specific figures were presented on the number slain in the following towns: Kiev, 52,000; Dnieperopetrovsk, 10,500; Kaments Podolsk, 8,500; Odessa, 8,000; Kerch, 7,000; Lwow (Poland), 6,000; Mariupol, 3,000; Rostov, 308; Ershovo, 100; Gerion, 68 Kryakov, 40; Kolodeznaya, 32, Kharkov, 19.

Thousands of civilians were forced into hazardous war labor in violation of international conventions, food and clothing were stripped from the defenseless and hundreds of homes were burned, Mr. Molotoff asserted, all testifying to “the utter moral degradation and corruption of Hitler’s Army.”

In three cases, it was charged, the Germans rounded up civilians and forced them into fields of potential Red Army fire to shield maneuvers of the invaders.

#### **“Monstrous Crimes” Charged**

Mr. Molotoff declared that it was the



Soviet's duty to "bring to the knowledge of all civilized humanity and all honest people in the world the facts illustrating the monstrous crimes committed by Hitler's Army."

He added that Russia is keeping a complete record of all such crimes, and he pledged that the Russian people would obtain retribution.

Mr. Eden is understood to have made representations in Moscow that Soviet aims for a European settlement should be in line with the ideal of the Atlantic Charter.

Though there is no official confirmation of the specific questions, Mr. Eden had to debate at the Kremlin, the sort of issues which must inevitably have arisen are the future of small countries like the Baltic States and Finland.

### **The Status of Finland**

Russian policy when it was neutral at the start of the war was to secure a cushion between its own frontiers and those of Germany. Is Russia, therefore, going to accept complete Finnish independence after the war, since the Finns hitherto have tended to be pro-German?

Will Russia press for a safety zone on Germany's western frontier? Are the lengths to which the Soviet Union is prepared to go in population exchanges acceptable to the British? What of the Balkan zone?"

Innumerable questions such as these and affecting millions of Europeans are now in the balance as Russian aims crystallize more sharply with the growing confidence of the Soviets in their military success.

The impression in diplomatic circles here is that while the British and American

Governments may not be prepared to agree to the full with Soviet aims, latest indications, notably the Roosevelt speech, suggest a new mood of determination to see fulfilled the final cause of the Atlantic Charter which provides that no aggressor shall be allowed to "aggress" again.

### **Gap on Aims Closing**

To this extent Britain and the United States may be said to be closing the gap between their aims and those of Russia. The Anglo-American-section of the alliance is certainly firming up, and perhaps Russia, as a knowledgeable colleague suggested to me, is asking for 100 per cent in the hope of getting 51 per cent of its demands.

The Russian action, however, leads cautious observers here to accept, for the first time, indications that Germany is wobbling.

In the past few days the vehemence first of Moscow and then of President Roosevelt in telling the Axis what is in store for it is felt to be linked with official knowledge that the Nazi political and military machine and morale are for the first time really out of balance, and are therefore capable of being knocked out by a series of all-out blows. Mr. Roosevelt in particular amazed and thrilled the British people with the whip rack which came into his voice when he referred to the Nazi hordes, to how America would "take it" and "give it back with compound interest.

### **Confident of Victory**

The terrible indictment of Germany and the warning of the punishment it must expect at Soviet hands which has just come over the Moscow Radio didn't

sound like the voice of a Russia uncertain of victory. It sounded like a shrewd well-time thrust at an enemy now in the first stages of despair at the realization that it is fighting a losing battle.

And here in London today I have found well-informed British people who have hitherto persistently rejected stories of cracks in the German setup and morale at last being ready to admit that they have good reason to believe that the internal situation of the Reich is very uncertain. Moreover change of tone in British propaganda is indicated, with emphasis more on the fact that the Germans must not think they're going to get away with anything this time should they have it in mind to swap their Nazi regime for a peace-seeking setup of Army Generals.

In other words, it looks as if there's going to be little wooing of the Germans to revolt hence-forward, but instead plenty of frank words about what it will be like to be the loser, with abundant reminders that the sooner defeat comes the less painful it will be.

The Evening Star , February 25, 1942

## **On the Record**

### **Stalin's Order to Red Army Is Interpreted As a Stern Warning to the Allies.**

By **DOROTHY THOMPSON**<sup>11</sup>.

Stalin's order of the day to the Red Army cannot be otherwise interpreted than as a stern warning to the Allies. One must consider the circumstances under which it was made — in a nation which has conducted the only brilliant war against Hitler. No other than Gen.

MacArthur<sup>12</sup> testifies to this. In a greeting to the Red Army he said: **"In all my lifetime I have participated in a number of wars and have witnessed others, as well as studying in great detail the campaigns of outstanding leaders of the past. In none have I observed such effective resistance to the heaviest blows of a hitherto undefeated enemy followed by a smashing counterattack. The scale and grandeur of this effort marks it as the greatest military achievement in all history."**

The effort of the Russians has been greater than that of all the other Allies combined. Their sacrifices, in life and property, have no parallel. The manner in which they have mobilized the entire nation for resistance and offensive is unique.

And now, what does Stalin say? First of all, he is astonishingly cool and dry. He expresses confidence that he can liberate the Russian soil. But he does not insist on the necessity to go farther. He dryly expresses the hope and expectation that the Hitler regime will be liquidated as the result of this war. But the only condition of Russian victory is that the Germans should get out of Russia.

Agreement Restricted. Stalin does not deny his agreement not to make a separate peace with Hitler. But he does not promise to continue an offensive war, beyond the Soviet Union. He sees that Hitler is gathering together a million Hungarian, Rumanian and Bulgarian troops. But the United States has not yet declared war on these countries whose armies are fighting our major ally in the field.

The isolationist version of waging war — not yet abandoned by many people

in our own State Department, and not abandoned by Britain — until this latest shakeup in London — creates and justifies an isolationist version of waging war by Russia.

Let us look at this whole business of appeasement, still going on among ourselves — through Mr. McCormick<sup>13</sup> of the Chicago Tribune, if you want an example. And let us compare it with relations with Russia before the war began. Russia had an alliance with France and the Little Entente, and was prepared to fight under it.

It was broken by the same Frenchmen who are now trying their fellow-nationals at Riom for losing the war. But the consequence was not, as they hoped for, the bleeding to death of Germany and Russia to the advantage of the west. The consequence was a disastrous defeat for France, while Russia adopted isolationism. If now any one is again going to appease, the Russians are in a better position than we are. First, they have proved to be stronger. Second, their war is the most unpopular war with the German people. Third, the Russians understand psychological warfare. Stalin asserts that he is not afraid of the German masses, and does not desire to destroy Germany as a state or as a people. He therefore brings the greatest menace to Germany, while, at the same time, he offers the greatest hope. And in political warfare, therefore, no less than in military, the Russians alone have conducted a grand strategy, or indeed, they are the only people who have conducted any strategy at all.

### **British Respond to Reality.**

Now, Britain is responding to a reality. It is obvious that Sir Stafford Cripps<sup>14</sup> has

informed Britain both of the strength and the trends in Russia. Britain draws the consequences and makes a clean sweep of the whole clique who have still had a toehold in the door — from the Archbishop of Canterbury down. Britain has decided to win the war together with Russia. Have we? We are contemplating whether Hamilton Pish can be renominated for Congress. Stalin has very fine ears. He hears what is happening everywhere. This war cannot be won by manipulations and agreements. Agreements hold or do not hold, according to the disposal of the instruments of power. Stalin has no intention of sharing the fate of Spain, which was manipulated into ruin. Stalin's reference to the Russian "war of liberation," as contrasted with "imperialistic wars," may also be taken either as a backhand thrust or as warning. It is probably both. Our strength in the Far East — and Russia's strength — is not that we are defending white supremacy in the Orient, but that we are defending China against an aggressor. And we need the help of India. Although the interests of India certainly do not lie with Japan, neither — they feel — do they lie with the maintenance of the rule of the West. Russia's doctrine and practice of racial equality and national independence is today a political weapon of immense power. The influence in the whole Orient is divided between the western powers and Russia. If our alliance is a sincere one, we can pool that influence. If we do not, we shall lose it either to Japan or Russia. As things are now, it is Russia, who is appearing in Asia, as the prophet and defender of national liberty. There is another restriction in Stalin's speech, which is an offer to the West. He is waging

a war of national liberation, he says — not a war of social revolution. We are being given a choice — to fight with Russia for her liberation and for our survival and to mean business. Otherwise Russia will fight for her own liberation, and let us take care of ourselves. (Released by the Bell Syndicate. Inc.)

The Washington Post, April 9, 1942

### **Nazis Spring Drive?**

#### **Reds Smash Huge Tank Attack, Extend Gains in Southwest**

The Red army on the southwestern front has smashed the most powerful German tank attack since the battle for Moscow, throwing back 60 to 70 tanks and extending a Russian river bridgehead despite a rain of bombs from scores of dive-bombers, it was revealed today. During a 10-day battle, front dispatches said, Russian tanks destroyed 14 of the tanks and captured three intact.

The German tanks, painted green were manufactured only in February and were 'Intended for use in the spring offensive, but the Germans reportedly hurled them into battle in waves of fives and tens in an effort to dislodge the Russians from an important river bridgehead.

Dive bombers in formations of 25 or more simultaneously pounded the Russian lines, However, the Red army not only broke the German attacks, but continued its advance to the west, the dispatches said. Meantime, the Red army newspaper Red Star reported that Germany lost 137,000 men killed and more than 400,000 wounded on the Russian front in February and March

and other reports told of Soviet troops slashing across the old White Russian border, 250 miles west of Moscow. Semiofficial sources said the Russians had crossed the White Russian border at several points and were "fighting to regain the province, westernmost of the Soviet republics on the Central Front and 40 miles beyond by-passed Smolensk at the nearest point.

Associated Press, April 8, 1942

#### **Reds Drive Across Dnieper, Peril Smolensk Line**

LONDON, APRIL 8 — The Russian armies of the center were reported tonight to have forced the heavily fortified upper Dnieper River in a major flanking movement designed to cut off and destroy the Germanhev-Gzhatak-Vyazma salient before Moscow, the last enemy line of consequence standing east of Smolensk.

The crossing, said Soviet advices via Stockholm, was made between the towns of Dorogobuzh and Dutrovo about 50 miles northeast of Smolensk and at about the point where the Moscow-Smolensk Railway bridges the Dnieper.

The German-held corridor running from Smolensk to Vyazma was said already to have been narrowed to 30 miles and Soviet artillery was commanding the main highway and rail routes. Durovo itself apparently remained in Nazi hands, although imminently menaced.

This Russian thrust, which if successful would envelop large numbers of German troops and put the Soviet armies in strongly consolidated position to breast the expected German spring offensive mounted on Smolensk, was timed to

coincide with the last period of solid footing aground before the approaching complete thaws.

In the far south, meanwhile, action was violent during the day. The Moscow radio announced that a German attack on Soviet positions in the Crimea spearhead by 100 tanks had been broken and that the Nazis had reeled back with losses of at least 32 tanks and hundreds of armies of the center were reported tonight to have forced the heavily Fortified upper Dnieper River in a major flanking movement designed to cut off and destroy the German Gzhatak-Vyazma salient before Moscow, the last enemy line of consequence standing east of Smolensk.

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### **Big Push Heralded**

This indicated that in the far south the ground already was firm enough for large scale movements, and some observers saw signs that the Germans had opened a series of attacks intended to establish the invader's control over the Kerch Peninsula, the southern approach to the Caucasus.

In the Ukraine, Russian dispatches reported that the inhabitants of Kramatorsk-in the heart of the Donets Basin about midway between Kharkov on the North and Rosov on the south-could hear the guns of the approaching Red Army.

Time Magazine, March 16, 1942

### **World Battlefronts: Men Wanted**

*Adolf Hitler needed men last week for his counteroffensive in Russia. Willingly or not, German-occupied and -puppetized countries were being drained of fighting-age men.*

In the beginning it had been a different story. Then the Führer graciously opened German ranks for non-German volunteers who wanted to help in the mass extermination of Communism. Gaunt, gimpy little Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels cunningly stressed racial and religious differences to realize the Führer's vision of allied legions swarming from Europe's four corners.

For some it was a matter of question able honor but material gain. The "Legion of French Volunteers Against Bolshevism," endorsed by Vichy, offered recruits a tidy 40 francs a day (against the ten francs paid by France's "Armistice Army"). In German uniforms and tricolor brassards, they swore fealty to the Reichsführer and were exhorted to avenge Napoleon's retreat from Moscow. Men with families in concentration camps learned that joining the legion would free them.

Spain's "Blue Division" was a full division of General Francisco Franco's regular Army, seasoned with a sprinkling of Moorish fighters. From the Scandinavian countries Germany got a few Swedes, Danes and Norwegians for a "Viking Division." Rumania, Hungary and Finland, promised territorial gains, sent heavy contributions.

Russia lost little time in singling out the volunteers for special attention. Soviet bombers dropped pamphlets in several languages behind the German lines, offering safe conduct and fair treatment to deserters. Many recruits enlisted only long enough to obtain guns, ammunition and supplies, then legged it for the Russian lines. Last report from the French legion told of its crushing defeat near Mozhaisk. The Blue Division, a Spanish prisoner told his Soviet captors, has lost 8,000 men.

The time for cajolery and promises was past. The Nazi recruiting program turned to tried & true Nazi methods: Dutch labor conscripts, said the Free Dutch Government in London last week, are being forced into German uniforms to avoid "tragic consequences" for their families at home.

From Hungary the German General

Staff ordered a new army of some 400,000 men. Hungary's war lords flatly told Premier Laszlo Bardossy that this was impossible. Then the Wilhelmstrasse<sup>15</sup> tried to blackmail Hungary by threatening to "rectify" the 1940 Vienna award which returned Transylvania to Hungary. Having struggled most of his public life to regain Hungary's lost territories, Dr. Bardossy tried to follow the example of his predecessor, Count Paul Teleki, who, when pressed too hard by the Germans, put a bullet through his head. (Dr. Bardossy was prevented.)

The Evening Star, June, 12, 1942  
**Russians Using Convoyed Goods To Limit, Correspondent Finds**

**War to Be Fought to Finish, Nothing Will Be Wasted by Soviets, Farson Declares**

**This is the first of a series of articles by a veteran foreign correspondent who has returned to England after several months in Russia and gives an authoritative picture of that country's "unanimous concentration" on the defeat of the enemy.**

**By NEGLEY FARSON<sup>16</sup>.**

**Foreign Correspondent of The Star and North American Newspaper Alliance.**

LONDON, JUNE 12.—*Give the Russians every tank, gun and airplane that the Allies can spare. The Red Army will use them intelligently, intensively, to the utmost limit of their capacities.*

That is my outstanding conviction after a few months as an eyewitness in the Soviet. The Russians intend to fight

this war to a finish, and nothing we can send them will be wasted.

I was 10 days getting from Moscow to Murmansk on my Journey back here. There were one or two days when I think my train did not move 50 miles. We spent most of our time on sidings. They were Infuriating delays, because I was trying to catch a convoy.

Yet, on all those long waits, with a train full of Russian army and naval officers, we learned one thing: Human freight does not count against war materials that come down in train after train from the convoys that have just reached Russia in the Arctic. It was a terrific sight to see the fiat trucks trundle past — loaded with crated airplanes, with tanks under tarpaulins with fresh boxes bearing the stenciled names of British and American machine-tool manufacturers.

### **Forced to Wait Two Days.**

Also, at a junction 1.000 kilometers from Moscow and another 1.000 from Murmansk, I had to wait two days — days when, in my impatience, I had to watch truck after truck being unloaded by swarms of husky Russians, who were doing the whole job with their muscles, without cranes or derricks. They even shunted the cars along the tracks just by pushing them. It was a stupendous sight. A sight that simply hit you with the knowledge that British and American supplies to Russia are fully appreciated.

I saw the same scenes of furious energy in Murmansk—in that highly congested dock area where, during the fiercest air raids, the girl sentries on duty over the warehouses never left their posts. There just isn't anything that the Russians will allow to stand in the way of getting these

war weapons down into Russia—and into action.

Then I saw the other side: The Allied convoys.

Admiralty communiques have already informed you that some convoys going to and from Russia have been bombed. I was on one of them.

### **Hurry to Get Goods.**

I happened to go to Russia on a convoy that never had more than two alert signals. The ships were loaded with tanks and planes. It seemed to us, as we watched all the activity that followed our arrival, that the Russians could hardly wait to get the hatches open. One skipper told me it pleased him to know that the risks his crew and ship ran were so obviously justified.

That is a vital point. It is no picnic getting these supplies into Russia. No one who has been on the job will ever deny that. But the interesting thing is that he will also tell you, perhaps with a growl, that he will soon be on the way out to Russia again. This carrying-on of the British seamen is one of the finest things in all British-Russian co-operation.

People have asked me since I came back: "Well, how do Russians feel about things?" I find it hard to tell them how almost startled one is in Russia by the daily evidence of all energies behind the Red Army.

### **A Different Moscow.**

I was in Russia for nearly three years during the last war. I spent a year under the Soviets from September, 1928, to September, 1929. That year I saw the Russians launch their first five-year plan. Moscow — Red Moscow — lived in a

perfect din of mental activity. I thought it was the most exhilarating capital I could ever be in my life.

Well, the Moscow that I returned to in 1942 was different. Its vast new boulevards — a lame man cannot cross them on one change of lights — almost gave me agrophobia. The streets seemed strangely deserted: most of the motor vehicles were on service at the front. Then I noticed, as I looked into the faces of people passing me, that people seemed to be walking with a purpose.

That's just the way it ought to be phrased — this rather set expression you see everywhere on the faces of the Russians in Russia today. It is the outward expression of what I have come to believe is an almost unanimous concentration on the war I am not speaking loosely when I say that it is one of the most impressive things I have ever seen. Those faces are set. And this expression has convinced me, more than anything they can ever say, that the Russians will fight out this war to the very bitter end.

Time magazine, June 15, 1942

### **Four Flags Together**

The post-war world reached the blueprint stage last week. Britain, Russia, China and the U.S. — the four great Allied powers — had got down to making agreements, not only for the war, but for the peace. At meetings in London and Washington they were speaking to one another frankly and, more important, agreeing jointly.

For, if the war is to be won, those four must fight it jointly; and after they have won, those four, if they agree, can enforce

the terms of peace as no one or two could enforce it alone.

The significant fact was that Russia and Britain, which have behind them a century of rivalry, suspicion and ill will, had come to a long-term understanding. That fact alone could change the history of Europe as it had not been changed in modern history.

Russia was the prime mover for agreement. Stalin had opened the discussions by asking Britain, as an earnest of permanent friendship, to promise that in the peace settlement Russia should recover the Baltic countries (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania), as well as a part of Poland, to serve as protection against future German aggression. From the standpoint of Russia, that was perhaps no more unreasonable than for the U.S. to ask for the Japanese-mandated islands in the Pacific as protection against future Japanese assaults.

But the U.S. opposed such a settlement — and could not, either legally or politically, make a secret treaty about future European boundaries. Britain was reluctant to agree without U.S. approval.

Instead of bringing the discussions to an end, the Russians did not press their original point but went on to broader terms of agreement. All the signs indicated last week that agreement had been reached.

Signs that Britain was on the verge of a great new international alignment have been many in recent weeks. Not only have common people jammed Trafalgar Square to demand a second front in 1942, but the old guard in the House of Lords have paid glowing tribute to Russia. Said Viscount Samuel<sup>17</sup>: **"It is Britain's duty, not only to help Russia's war effort, but**



**also to associate ourselves with her in the fullest possible measure in framing the course of world settlement after the war.”** Lord Brabazon, long known as anti-Red, proposed a post-war international police force consisting of U.S., Russian and British air forces. The conservative National Union of Manufacturers, roughly corresponding to the N.A.M. in the U.S., presented this memorandum to the Board of Trade: **“Any plans for the future of world trade can only be made effective if they have the cordial assent and cooperation of Russia.”**

Not since before World War I has much that Britain has done had the approval of Russia, and vice versa. Not since the rise of Hitler had Britain and Russia been able to agree on even an effective basis of mutual self-preservation. When they tried to get together in 1939 the British balked at Russian control of the Baltic States (which last year helped to save Leningrad) and Russia plumped into the non-aggression pact with Germany. Later Britain helped Finland against Russia. Even after Hitler’s attack on Russia last year, some Britons’ abhorrence of Communism led them to hope that somehow Germany and Russia would destroy each other, while Russians remained equally suspicious of their capitalist ally.

By last week war’s comradeship had tempered most of these memories. The world noted well an incident that symbolized the relations of the four new Allies:

On Brandon Hill, in Bristol, two huge cannon, which for 87 years had pointed their empty mouths over the town, were being dismounted. They were Russian cannon, which Bristol lads had captured in the Crimean War, at the siege of

Sevastopol in 1854-55, and had brought home as trophies. But now Bristol lads were fighting on Russia’s side, and the cannon, heavy with good iron, could be melted down to be made into modern weapons.

As the cannon were hauled off to the steel works, they were preceded by a band of Royal Marines. The Union Jack flew over them; so did the Stars & Stripes and China’s twelve-pointed star. And so, for the first time in 87 years, did a Russian flag, a red flag with a hammer and a sickle.

The New York Herald Tribune,  
July 11, 1942

**Major Eliot Says ‘42 Nazi Drive Hints German Sword Is Blunted Compares 4 Weeks Required to Take Sevastopol - With the Seizure of France in Same Time and Sees Huge Losses of Best Leaders as a Cause**  
**By Major George Fielding Eliot<sup>18</sup>**

The present German offensive on the Don River is the first operation of 1942 in which the German Army has shown anything like the striking power which it possessed in the earlier years of this war.

Even in these operations there is a suggestion to be drawn from the official accounts that the Germans are not making the same degree of progress which might have been expected under similar circumstances a year ago.

It is certainly not without significance that in 1939 the Germans overran all Poland in three weeks, while this year it has taken them three weeks to reduce a comparatively small salient south of Kharkov or that they overran France in four weeks in 1940, while in 1942 it

has taken them four weeks of the most intensive effort to capture the single fortress of Sevastopol.

### **German Sword Blunted**

Undoubtedly, one of the reasons for slower German progress in 1942 is the fact that the Russian Army has become thoroughly seasoned and thoroughly familiar with German tactics and technique. But there is also some reason to believe that last year's campaign in Russia has blunted the formerly keen edge of the German sword. This is due, in part, to the heavy losses among officers, non-commissioned officers and technicians who cannot be replaced by others of equally high quality. This same deterioration was noted in the German Army during the last war and became especially notable after Verdun.

It was then that large numbers of temporary officers promoted from the ranks after comparatively short periods of training began to make their appearance in the German Army, and exactly the same thing is happening today. The «Pariser Zeitung» of April 1 carries a statement that specially selected candidates are being appointed to officers' schools, after three months' special training, directly from the ranks of the army. This is an expedient which the German high command does not like to adopt and never does adopt except on the compulsion of necessity.

But there is probably another reason for the deterioration in the fighting quality of the German Army as a whole, and that is the effect of the pernicious principle of the corps d'elite. Ever since the Nazi regime began its reorganization and expansion of the German Army in 1933, the very best officers and men have

been constantly weeded out of the mass of the army for the benefit of the armored divisions, the air infantry, parachute units, the mountain divisions and certain units of the S. S. All these troops have been in the forefront of the fighting and have suffered disproportionately heavy casualties. In order to fill the gaps in their ranks, there has been a constant drain on the remaining units for the highest types of officers and men, and these corps d'elite have also had the benefit of the cream of the recruits.

This has resulted in a steady lowering of the quality and the morale of the army as a whole, of the regiments of infantry and field artillery which must form the foundation of its power. Their natural leaders, their non-commissioned officer material, has been systematically taken away for the benefit of the corps d'elite.

### **Gives Only Brief Success**

It is a system which can give good results only for a short time. It enables a few very heavy blows to be struck with overwhelming power, but in the long run it cannot stand up against a mass army of the democratic type, which continues to produce its own leaders from among its own personnel. The fact that such a system was adopted by the Germans is one more indication that they expected to win this war comparatively quickly. It is one more gamble which they have taken and which they appear to have lost, for it is hard to see what can be done now to remedy its ill effects. Field Marshal Rommel's Afrika Korps is a striking example of this system, for African service recruits of the highest physical standards were chosen and put through a special course at the Hamburg Tropical Institute. Before the beginning

of his last offensive the institute warned Rommel that he could not expect any considerable number of replacements, as they were unable to obtain any more German youths of the requisite standards. This lack of replacements may have a great deal to do with the fact that Rommel has been stopped, perhaps definitely stopped, only some seventy miles short of his goal.

Time Magazine, July 20, 1942

### **Time Will Not Wait**

The Russians and the Germans, in these July days of 1942, are fighting the battle that may decide the world's fate.

On the plains beside the Don the battle has only begun. Already it is erupting and spreading along the vast Russian front. No Russian loss or retreat in any one sector will be a final loss. But if the Germans win this battle—and in the Don sector they were still winning this week — the war will be indefinitely lengthened; the 1939-42 phase of it will be definitely lost. The U.S. and Great Britain, invading Hitler's Europe and fighting him on his own fronts, will then have an infinitely harder task than Hitler had in Russia. And it will be a task that they must take on while in the Far East Japan is still winning, and growing stronger, and becoming as hard to defeat in her area of conquest as Hitler will be in his — if Russia falls.

**The Time is Now.** Moscow knows this, and Moscow's voice changed its tone this week. Its cry was still the same: that the U.S. and Great Britain must open a second front in Europe, and open it soon. Not only the tone, but the words were different; and the differences reflected the mounting urgency of Russia's need and peril.

Now was no time for the diplomatic niceties and strategic reticences which blunted the first announcements after Molotov visited Eden and Roosevelt. Last week Moscow's spokesmen did what none had done before: they said flatly that the U.S. and Great Britain had decided "to open a second front in Europe in 1942." Commissars in the field with the Red Army quoted this unqualified declaration to the troops—and Moscow let its allies know that the Red Army had heard of the promise. Russia in her hour of peril had given the promise of hope to her troops, of warning to London and Washington, that there could be no turning back.

Cried a Moscow broadcaster, significantly speaking in English: "**Time waits for no man. Time was a good ally to the anti-Hitlerite coalition during a whole year, a year in which Britain was able to accumulate her forces and the U.S. to develop further their industries and build their Army and multiply their Air Forces. Now time will not wait while the peoples of Europe are waiting,\* and waiting impatiently, for aid and for the signal to act . . . .**"

**Fear for the First.** Some London and Washington correspondents last week warned the United Nations not to expect a second front very soon. These dispatches may have been no better than many a bad guess from those capitals. But they were no comfort to Moscow. Perhaps the U.S. and Britain were not yet ready, but many a non-Russian who remembered Spain felt that the only unforgivable and irreparable failure would be the failure to try.

Said the English-language Moscow News, as though arguing a case before a doubtful jury: "**Hitler's back is his weakest spot—he should be struck there with all**

**the might at our disposal.”** Famed Russian Correspondent Ilya Ehrenburg<sup>19</sup> cabled to the London Evening Standard: **“In his recent speech Churchill said that it was the Crimean campaign that helped to save Malta from the continuation of mass bombing. All our men have read this by now. . . . It is timely to tell our Allies of the scale of fighting and of the seriousness of the situation. Let every reader of these lines draw his own conclusions.”**

But the specter haunting Russia this week was not primarily the failure of the U.S. and Britain to open a second front. It was the first front — Russia’s own front — that roused the specter of fear, and turned Russia’s gaze to the valley of the Don.

The Evening Star, September 9,  
1942

## **On the Record**

### **Americans Urged to Abandon Prejudices And Give Full Co-operation to Russia**

**By DOROTHY THOMPSON.**

Our military situation is as grave as it can be. It is understandable that we stress every battle where American forces are engaged, and emphasize gains symbolic of their tough spirit. But they are only symbolic, and there is still only one front where the great war, in all its global implications is being fought. No gains in the Pacific, nor in Egypt, or in the air fight over Western Europe, are compensation for defeats in Russia. The fate of the Russian front will determine the length of this war and the number of American and British lives that will have to be spent to win it if Russia collapses.

Our Russian allies — I call them that though they try in vain to make a treaty of military alliance with us — are fighting in a spirit beyond praise. Their resistance before Stalingrad is one of those miracles that Paul Reynaud in France, invoked in vain. But the spirit alone is not decisive in this struggle, and we are not even helping that spirit adequately.

We will live bitterly to regret it. We have to face the strong possibility that soon the German troops will reach the Caspian Sea, and cut the Volga traffic lifeline of Russia. It is obvious that the Russian Army, a few months after that event, will be short of oil, and thus will lose its main offensive power.

Furthermore, the southern supply line to Russia will be cut, the most important food areas of Russia are already lost, and the city of Stalingrad is in shambles.

### **Could Shift Troops to West.**

The consequences for us are that the Germans will be able to wage a defensive war in Russia next year, and to shift more than 100 divisions to the west, together with the main part of their air force. The winter this year is not going to be on the side of the Russians. They have lost this summer the coal mines of the Donets Basin and to bring up materials from Siberia means that their communication lines are this time much longer than the Germans. So the Russian population is facing a bitter, hungry winter, while the Russian Army will be dependent upon supplies from the west, which it will be very difficult to get to them. The offensive power of an army is lost from one day to the next. There are still great reserves in Russia. And if the Russians are able to launch a successful counteroffensive late

this fall or in the early winter, as they did last year, there is still a chance to turn the tide against the Nazis, who also are overstrained. But that tide will not be turned without our help. It is not our task to develop military plans. But behind military plans, and always influencing them, are political questions.

### **Political Atmosphere Interferes.**

It is impossible to act intelligently, boldly and realistically in the present political atmosphere. And if this political atmosphere continues it can contribute to a disintegration in Russia that will not be in our favor. Such a disintegration would be neither anti-Communist nor pro-Ally. The Russians would continue to fight as guerrillas and partisans, emphasizing their Bolshevist tradition, and with the feeling of being the victims of western treason. And when our fighting armies began to realize what the collapse of Russia had meant in blood and tears the political reaction in our own countries would be anything but desirable. The Russian leadership has done all in its power to prevent such a development in Russia. Russian leaders from the outset emphasized the national, not the revolutionary, character of their war, and were careful not to arouse exaggerated hopes in Allied aid. The Russian press has stressed the solidarity of Russia, Great Britain and America in fighting a common war for survival. The Comintern has advised workers in all countries to pursue the war, increase production and abandon any kind of activity likely to impede production. The slogan, "Proletarians of all countries unite," has been changed to: "Proletarians of all

nations unite against Fascist invaders."

Molotoff, visiting London and Washington, has tried to reach a real agreement with America.

But he had only limited success. He was accompanied by Gen. Shilovsky, who the other day said in Russia that we needed a united command of British, Russian and American forces, and that if such a command had existed in the First World War the Bolshevist revolution might never have taken on the radical form that it did. For then, as now — and both Lloyd George and Churchill are witnesses to this — Russia bore the brunt of the first two years of the war, and the result of not waging a true war of coalition was the additional loss of three million Western European and American lives.

### **Must Forget Prejudices.**

Meanwhile, we have permitted the loss of the Aleutian Islands to Japan, and our publicists have acted as though they were unimportant far-off posts, and not on the main communication line between America and Japan and America and Russia.

And we fumble around the Finnish question, although our other communication with Russia is by way of Murmansk and could be made secure only by a blow against Northern Norway and Finland, which is possibly the most reasonable second front that we could open. Anti-Russian activities are thriving in this country, sponsored by Lithuanians, Latvians, White Ukrainians, and even some Poles, and nothing decisive has been done to discourage them. I want us to win this war and survive. And unless we get clear in our minds what our strategy absolutely demands, regardless of our political and

class prejudices, we are in a good way to losing this war and not surviving.

(Released by the Bell Syndicate. Inc.)

The Evening Star, November 7,  
1942

## **Red Army Praised by Stowe For Tenacity and Fortitude**

**Hardest Fighting Ally If We Fulfill Our  
Obligations, Writer Declares**

By LELAND STOWE.

Foreign Correspondent of The Star  
and Chicago Daily News.

**WITH THE RED ARMY ON THE RZHEV  
FRONT**

### **"Will you take Rzhev?"**

This was in a log cabin emergency hospital where Ivan the Terrible, my personal candidate for the war's most unpredictable chauffeur, contrived to land us for the night. I was talking with a Red Army soldier — big, blond Ivan Kondratyev, from Novosibirsk, in western Siberia. Ivan had had one leg and one arm pretty thoroughly perforated by a German mine two days previously. He tossed back his yellow mop of hair and laughed loudly.

"Rzhev!" exclaimed Ivan from Novosibirsk. "We'll take back everything the Fascists have—everything. Wait until this winter bites into the Germans and we bite, too. Fritz will forget everything — even his wife."

Ivan now had all his comrades laughing with him. They were all strong young faces with plenty of fight in them. They didn't look a bit nearer being licked than any American soldiers or sailors or airmen you'll see in any camp in the United States today—yet they were just out of a very

bloody mix-up in the front trenches and they had been fighting on the receiving end of the world's most devastating battle line for 16 months without a breathing spell. When Ivan said, "We'll take back everything the Fascists have," he said it as if that was as certain as subzero weather in the Russian winter. This is the spirit of the Russian wounded in the front zone.

### **Reds Long to Strike Offensively.**

Judging by my observations in half a dozen different sectors of the Rzhev front, it seems quite definite that this is also the spirit of the Red Army as a whole. It's an army that longs to strike offensively. Its officers are convinced that if the second front will come soon, thereby forcing Hitler to transfer considerable land and air forces to Western Europe — then the hour for the Russian Army's offensive will strike and that hour, that opportunity, is the chief thing the Russian soldier today waits for and lives for.

In nine days of travels up and down this front, I have never met either one Russian soldier or officer, or commissar who had the easily discernible shadows of doubt and defeatism in his face. Among these several millions in the Red Army there must be some discouraged souls, but my experience would indicate that if so, they are so rare as to represent a completely unnatural phenomenon. This army is an aroused fighting entity, strong in its unshattered self-belief and girded with the tenacity and silent patience and remarkable fortitude of the Russian and Siberian peasants.

What you find in the Russian soldier and officer — once I also found it notably with the Spaniards and Greeks and also with the hard-bitten Finns — is character.

But it is character hammered out of a lifetime of unremittent toil and out of long accustomedness to hardship and uphill struggle. Hitler thought he could make the Germans into soldiers who would be harder and spiritually tougher-fibered than the Russians. In this he has failed. Here is a front-zone colonel of the Red Army who is typical of scores of officers with whom I have talked. He is a serious-faced man who chooses his words and avoids all rhetoric: "Russia will be the last country in the world to capitulate," — he says, factually. "We shall fight to the last man."

### **Will Never Be Conquered.**

In another zone, a Red Army major snapped his jaws together and then said:

"Just one thing. Tell the Americans the Russian people will never be conquered — never." The battalion commissar chimed in with an emphatic nod of his head:

"We want help and we need it. But if you don't start a second front, we shall fight on alone — regardless. We shall keep fighting."

Again and again, I have heard these same declarations from soldiers or officers and they were not spoken as idle words but as expression of a decision which had already been made. When the general says, "hit the Germans," he is voicing the central philosophy and dominant idea of the Russian army from top to bottom. The average Red Army man seems convinced that all that is needed is a measurable weakening of the Nazis' armed forces in the east, the sudden pressure of a two-front war upon Hitler, and the forward march of the Russian troops will soon begin in earnest.

After living with the Red Army, after

seeing its sinews at close hand, and feeling its pulse, I do not doubt for a moment that this is possible or that it will happen if a second front is created within a short time.

The atmosphere and spirit of the Russian front is one of strength, resolution and confidence. There is absolutely no underestimation of the foe nor of the great sacrifices that must still be made. Yet the fact remains that these Russian officers and men are unbeaten, that their organization is as intact as their morale and that they still burn with the conviction that Nazism must be crushed and will be crushed in the end.

In my estimation the only thing that could shatter or seriously injure the offensive spirit of the Russian soldiers would be the failure of Britain and the United States to have their forces fighting on European soil. Even after such inexplicable tardiness on the part of Britain and America, I believe that the Russians would keep fighting and resisting as best they could wherever they could — but in the meantime the Russian soldiers and Russian people would have lost all faith or friendship for the English-speaking nations.

### **Veteran Army of Allied Side.**

The reality of the spirit of the Russian front today is almost a miracle and certainly it presents a unique opportunity to Britain and America. For here is the only great veteran army on the Allied side with the exception of the Chinese in the Orient. This great Russian Army has been thoroughly tempered in the crucible of war and at the very least it will immobilize much more than 2,000,000 Germans troops through the winter and spring. It has bled Hitler's legions enormously and it

will bleed them more and more. It is both the most powerful and the fightingest ally Britain and the United States will ever find anywhere in the world — but the secret of having a wholehearted ally lies in knowing how to be an ally.

Even so, any persons in America or Britain who may still talk defeatism about the Red Army must completely miscomprehend what Russia is and must ignore all that I have reported as factually as possible in these and previous pages.

The other day Ilya Ehrenburg quoted to me a few lines from the Russian poet, Tuhev, and they seem to explain why almost the whole world was so fantastically wrong in June, 1941, about both the Red Army and the capacity for resistance of the Russian empire.

Tuhev wrote: "One cannot understand Russia with the head,

"One cannot measure her with a yardstick,

"One can only believe in Russia".

Today and for a long time to come, the wise man will believe in Russia's Red Army. It is still heads up. And it's still the greatest and the hardest fighting ally that either America or Britain will ever have in this war — if we fulfill our highly important part of a great and very grave obligation.

(Copyright, 1942, by Chicago Daily News. Inc.)

Time Magazine, October 12,  
1942

## **A SONG FROM THE CAUCASUS**

**TIME Correspondent James Aldridge<sup>20</sup>  
last week cabled this dispatch from the  
Soviet-Iranian Border.**

Along these terrible roads Red Army

units are moving toward one of the many battlefronts. They have all been in battle before. Now they are returning after resting up. There is cavalry among them, and it is the first cavalry I have seen in this war.

Cavalry is the Russian winter weapon. Some of these horsemen were operating with General Melnik the whole of last winter some five hundred miles behind the German lines. One of the officers told me they were pretty lean when they came out, but now they are square-looking again, their horses are fresh and they can sing.

They were singing a Ukrainian song which has no name. They leaned forward to counteract the steep trail, their long swords jangling against their stirrups, their bodies creaking on leather.

The mountain roads are a panorama of up-moving and down-moving transport. Here the Russians have utilized everything to get stuff up: even brown, shaggy Tibetan camels are lined through the valleys. Mules in stupid groups mingle on the road, slowing up U.S.-made trucks ably driven by Red Army drivers. The strange smell of Russian petrol is mixed with horse, mule and camel manure and the natural pleasantness of the hills.

Everybody is waiting for the first signs of winter. Up here it is goddamn cold and the wind rips down from the Black and Caspian Seas. Sometimes black clouds scud over the Caucasus. But when the wind ceases and clouds lie tranquil, then comes snow and thick rain and real cold. That is what all these men are waiting for. That, after the second front, is what the whole Soviet Union is waiting for.

If Stalingrad falls, most of the German weight will be directed against the



Caucasus. There are five ways through the Caucasus: one route on the Caspian Sea, one on the Black Sea, three passes across terrible mountains. They all come out into the southern Caucasus valley, stretching from Batum to Baku. It is most probable that, if Stalingrad falls, the German drive will be directed on Baku.

Should the Caucasus battle develop this winter, it is likely to be a personal-leader struggle between German General Siegmund List and Russian General Melnik. Melnik conducted the guerrilla offensive all last winter behind the German lines. He is more of a flat-terrain soldier than a mountaineer, but the essentials of the battle for the Caucasus will be fought in the approaches and, because the Germans will not be able to move much in winter, this tough Soviet Cossack will probably harass the Germans more than the actual battle will.

The Red Army is more serious about the war than any other army I have met. They are soldiers first and last. Their discipline is the best I have seen in any army, but with an essential and common-sense approach. On duty they are formal with officers. Off duty, officers and men mix more than in any army I have seen.

Myths about the inefficiency of Soviet transport are dispelled by the tremendous movements going on here. Here they get things moving with more common sense and less paper work and red tape than in most armies. There is also more of a chance for men to make suggestions. In Tabriz I interviewed 30-year-old Colonel Boris Ruhjov. He did not have a paper on his desk, only a field telephone and a map. He had no gestures, no habits to exhibit.

I asked him the stock question about

the second front. He said: "I am a simple soldier. These decisions are up to others in higher places." When I pressed him, he said carefully, with a smile: "We would like to see many more United States soldiers in Britain ready for action in Western Europe."

Soldiers in Tabriz have a remarkable record. There has not been one case of a Red Army soldier molesting anyone. You never see a Red soldier drunk.

Soviet women soldiers are truck drivers, doctors, nurses, field workers, map makers, pilots. There is nothing glamorous about them. In town they wear the same uniform as the men, except that they wear a khaki skirt. They are clean, efficient, extremely moral and work like hell.

Because the war is of primary importance to the Russians, most of them do not enjoy their stay away from it. These men moving up are happier than others I have seen back in Tabriz and in other areas. They are not romantic youths, either. They have the scars of battle and they know it is going to be tough, but they think, breathe, eat and sleep war. Even the camels seem to bend their necks forward like a man leaning into the wind, as if there is an urgency known to them. The only lazy thing around is the dust settling into the valley, and soon the rain will whip it away and the snows cover it and then all will be urgent.

## (Endnotes)

<sup>1</sup> **Robert Edward Lee** (January 19, 1807 – October 12, 1870) was a Confederate general during the American Civil War, toward the end of which he was appointed the overall commander of the Confederate States Army. He led the Army of Northern Virginia—the Confederacy's

most powerful army—from 1862 until its surrender in 1865, earning a reputation as a skilled tactician.

2 **Gustavus Adolphus** (1594–1632), also known in English as **Gustav II Adolf** or **Gustav II Adolph**, as King of Sweden from 1611 to 1632, and is credited with the rise of Sweden as a great European power. During his reign, Sweden became one of the primary military forces in Europe during the Thirty Years' War, helping to determine the political and religious balance of power in Europe. He was formally and posthumously given the name **Gustavus Adolphus the Great** by the Riksdag of the Estates in 1634.

3 **Sun Tzu** was a Chinese military general, strategist, philosopher, and writer who lived during the Eastern Zhou period (771–256 BC). Sun Tzu is traditionally credited as the author of *The Art of War*, an influential work of military strategy that has affected both Western and East Asian philosophy and military thought. Sun Tzu is revered in Chinese and East Asian culture as a legendary historical and military figure.

4 **Boris Mikhaylovich Shaposhnikov** (2 October 1882–26 March 1945) was a Soviet military officer, theoretician and Marshal of the Soviet Union. He served as the Chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces from 1928 to 1931 and at the start of the Second World War. Shaposhnikov was one of the foremost military theorists during the Stalin-era. His most important work, *Mozg Armii* («The Brain of the Army»), is considered a landmark in Soviet military theory and doctrine on the organization of the Red Army's General Staff.

5 **Carl Philipp Gottfried** (or **Gottlieb**) **von Clausewitz** (July 1780–16 November 1831) was a Prussian general and military theorist who stressed the «moral» (in modern terms meaning psychological) and political aspects of waging war. His most notable work, *Vom Kriege* («On War»), though unfinished at his death, is considered a seminal treatise on military strategy and science.

6 **Jacques Doriot** (26 September 1898 – 22 February 1945) was a French politician, initially communist, later fascist, before and during World War II. In 1936, after his exclusion from the French

Communist Party, he founded the French Popular Party (PPF) and took over the newspaper *La Liberté*, which took a stand against the Popular Front.

During the war, Doriot was a radical supporter of collaboration and contributed to the creation of the Legion of French Volunteers against Bolshevism (LVF). He fought personally in German uniform on the Eastern Front, with the rank of lieutenant. He was killed on 22 February 1945 while traveling from Mainau to Sigmaringen when his car was strafed by Allied fighter planes.

7 **Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin** (19 November [1875–3 June 1946) was a Soviet politician and Russian Old Bolshevik revolutionary. He served as head of state of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic and later of the Soviet Union from 1919 to 1946. From 1926, he was a member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

8 **Karl Rudolf Gerd von Rundstedt** (12 December 1875–24 February 1953) was a German Generalfeldmarschall (Field Marshal) in the *Heer* (Army) of Nazi Germany during World War II. In the invasion of the Soviet Union, he commanded Army Group South, responsible for the largest encirclement in history, the Battle of Kiev. He was relieved of command in December 1941 after authorizing the withdrawal from Rostov but was recalled in 1942 and appointed Commander-in-Chief in the West.

He was dismissed after the German defeat in Normandy in July 1944 but was again recalled as Commander-in-Chief in the West in September, holding this post until his final dismissal by Adolf Hitler in March 1945. Though aware of the various plots to depose Hitler, von Rundstedt neither supported nor reported them. After the war, he was charged with war crimes, but did not face trial due to his age and poor health. He was released in 1949, and died in 1953.

9 **Wilhelm Josef Franz Ritter von Leeb** (5 September 1876–29 April 1956) was a German *Generalfeldmarschall* (Field Marshal) of the *Wehrmacht* during the Second World War, who was subsequently convicted of war crimes.

10 **Alfred Josef Ferdinand Jodl** (10 May 1890–16 October 1946) was a

German *Generaloberst* who served as the Chief of the Operations Staff of the *Oberkommando der Wehrmacht* – the German Armed Forces High Command – throughout World War II.

After the war, Jodl was indicted on charges of conspiracy to commit crimes against peace, planning, initiating and waging wars of aggression, war crimes, and crimes against humanity at the Allied-organized Nuremberg trials. The principal charges against him related to his signature of the criminal Commando and Commissar Orders. Found guilty on all charges, he was sentenced to death and executed in Nuremberg in 1946.

**11 Thomson Dorothy (1893–1961)** was an American journalist and writer. After graduating from university she worked as a freelance correspondent for a number of American publications in Europe. In 1925 she headed the Berlin bureau of the New York Evening Post. In 1934 she became the first foreign correspondent expelled from Germany by personal order of A.Hitler. From 1936 to 1940 – President of the American PEN Club. From 1941 to 1958, she wrote a column in the New York Herald Tribune, which was reprinted in more than 170 American dailies. D. Thompson was recognized as the second most popular woman in the United States (after Eleanor Roosevelt) by the weekly Time. Author of a large number of books, including one on Soviet Russia (New Russia, 1928).

**12 Douglas MacArthur (26 January 1880 – 5 April 1964)** was an American military leader who served as General of the Army for the United States, as well as a field marshal to the Philippine Army. He served with distinction in World War I, was Chief of Staff of the United States Army during the 1930s and played a prominent role in the Pacific theater during World War II.

**13 Anne O'Hare McCormick (16 May 1880 – 29 May 1954)** was an English-American journalist who worked as a foreign news correspondent for *The New York Times*. In an era where the field was almost exclusively «a man's world», she became the first woman to receive a Pulitzer Prize in a major journalism category, winning in 1937 for correspondence.

**14 Sir Richard Stafford Cripps (24 April**

1889–21 April 1952) was a British Labour Party politician, barrister, and diplomat. A wealthy lawyer by background, he first entered Parliament at a by-election in 1931, and was one of a handful of Labour frontbenchers to retain his seat at the general election that autumn. He became a leading spokesman for the left-wing and co-operation in a Popular Front with Communists before 1939, in which year he was expelled from the Labour Party. During this time he became intimately involved with Krishna Menon and the India League.

**15**

**Wilhelmstrasse** is a major thoroughfare in the central Mitte and Kreuzberg districts of Berlin, Germany. Until 1945, it was recognised as the centre of the government, first of the Kingdom of Prussia, later of the unified German Reich, housing in particular the Reich Chancellery and the Foreign Office. The street's name was thus also frequently used as a metonym for overall German governmental administration: much as the term «Whitehall» is often used to signify the British governmental administration as a whole. In English, "the Wilhelmstrasse" usually referred to the German Foreign Office.

**16 Farson Negley (1890–1960)** was an American reporter and traveller. After changing many jobs, in 1924 N. Farson became a foreign correspondent for the Chicago Daily News. The author of vivid and often provocative materials made in Western Europe, the USSR, India, Egypt and other countries. He interviewed Gandhi in India, witnessed his arrest in 1934, met with A.Hitler, interviewed famous criminals, repeatedly visited the USSR, author of a series of articles on the peoples of the North Caucasus. Author of one of the most colourful Western publications on Soviet pilots, published in 1942.

**17 Herbert Louis Samuel, 1st Viscount Samuel (6 November 1870 – 5 February 1963)** was a British Liberal politician who was the party leader from 1931 to 1935.

**18 George Fielding Eliot (22 June 1894 – 21 April 1971)** was a second lieutenant in the Australian army in World War I. He became a member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and later a major in the Military Intelligence Reserve of the United States Army. He was the author of 15

books on military and political matters in the 1930s through the 1960s, wrote a syndicated column on military affairs and was the military analyst on radio and on television for CBS News during World War II.

19 **Ilya Grigoryevich Ehrenburg** (January 26 1891 – August 31, 1967) was a Soviet writer, revolutionary, journalist and historian. Ehrenburg was among the most prolific and notable authors of the Soviet Union; he published around one hundred titles. He became known first and foremost as a novelist and a journalist – in particular, as a reporter in three wars (First World War, Spanish Civil War and the Second World War)

20 **Harold Edward James Aldridge** (10 July 1918 – 23 February 2015) was an Australian-British writer and journalist. His World War II dispatches were published worldwide and he was the author of over 30 books, both fiction and non-fiction works, including war and adventure novels and books for children.

## **The Last Days Of Sevastopol**

**Audiofile**



## Chapter X

### Vespers in Moscow.

Colliers Magazine, January 2,  
1943

### Vespers in Moscow

By Irina Skaryatina<sup>1</sup>

**Collier's correspondent takes you to church in the Russian capital, where the women of Russia pray for the safety of their living and the salvation of the dead.**

Saturday evening I went to vespers to the Bogoyavlensky Cathedral, belonging not to the Living church<sup>2</sup> but to the Orthodox faith in which I was raised. As the cathedral is situated in Elokhovo district, which is quite far from the hotel, I took the subway and getting off at the fourth top, walked a few blocks. Luckily there was a full moon, or I never would have found my way in the utter darkness of Moscow blackout.

In the distance as I walked I could see the spire and the dome of the cathedral looming ghostlike in the light of the harvest moon. Many people were going in the same direction, and following hem, I got there without losing my way in the intricate maze of Moscow streets.

The service had already begun and the cathedral was full to overflowing. The usual church beggars that always terrified me in my childhood stood in their customary places on both sides of the main entrance, and in their chanting

voices repeated the familiar old words that I had heard hundreds of times: "Give alms to a poor blind one, to a cripple, to an old woman, and I'll pray for your health, for your dead, for your warriors at the front."

For a while, pushed back by the crowd, I stood near the entrance close to the counter where wax tapers are sold. Then little by little, in Russian fashion, I began to work my way up toward the altar. At last I succeeded in reaching the center of the church, where on a square elevation covered with a thick rug stood The Metropolitan of Kiev, Nicholas, in glittering vestments, whom I had seen many a time in the years following the revolution when he was Bishop of Peterhof. The passing years had not changed him much, and his voice as it rang out lead and high had the same "golden quality" that his followers always admired.

Two choirs sang alternately, but occasionally the entire congregation took up the hymn and then throughout the cathedral it rolled impressive and sonorous. Due to wartime economy of electricity, which is scrupulously observed everywhere, only one electric lamp shone near the metropolitan's elevation. Otherwise, the cathedral was plunged into darkness save for the flickering lights of the wax tapers and numerous lampadas that burned in front of the cons. The congregation consisted mostly of old and middle-aged women,

with a fair sprinkling of young ones, and the same applied to the men.

As I slowly made my way from the entrance door to the altar I had to stand for a while next to a very old man with a flowing white beard who looked exactly like a Biblical patriarch. In a perfectly audible undertone, he kept saying the words of the service just one second ahead of the clergy, and when a young priest stammered and omitted a line, the venerable patriarch shook his head reprovingly, murmuring, "What is the matter with you, my little father? Are you Hitler?" He repeated the whole line twice over for his own and my benefit, too. After that he had to pray fast so as to catch up and once more be ahead of the service.

A little farther I stopped for a few minutes near an elderly woman in a long black coat and a shawl wrapped around her head, and again I could not help overhearing her, as in low voice, with frequent bows and signs of the cross, she prayed over and over again for the safety of her son Vassily at the front, and for the victory of the Russian army. And as I kept moving along. I heard on all sides deep signs and whispered prayers for the loved ones in danger, for the end of the war, for victory and peace, and the destruction of the Antichrist Hitler.

It was startling to hear that name in a Russian church and to realize that in some way or other it had brought pain and suffering to nearly everyone there. Yes, there was the shadow of the "Antichrist Hitler" in that old Russian church and, as many times before in the thousand-year-old history of Russia, the people wept and prayed that the invader, whether a Tatar Khan, or Napoleon, or Hitler, be

conquered and destroyed and the land once more free. And in their eyes, some overflowing with tears, some dry but red from crying some shining with courage, I could see again that boundless love of Russia that is to be found everywhere.

At the end of the service, the metropolitan spoke. The theme of his sermon was the war, and that there is no greater love than to give one's life for others.

Chicago Daily Tribune, October 4, 1942

## **GODLESS COMMUNISM**

**It is a key theory of communism that religion is the opium of the people and that the role of the churches is to deliver the masses to their exploiters. The Marxist attack on property and its possessors in Russia was accompanied by the attack on religion, the churches, the clergy, and the devout. Church edifices were destroyed or desecrated and taken for party uses. The Society of the Godless<sup>3</sup> was organized to promote irreligion. Clergymen were driven underground.**

The Russians are a tenacious people and they were terrorized, they clung to the forbidden faith. They risked their lives as men of faith have done before to obtain the satisfaction of their religious needs and the godless dictators found that they were dealing with an indomitable spirit of resistance. Gradually the faith of the devout forced a modification of the edicts of the irreligious and a form of worship was permitted under conditions which would be regarded as intolerable in any land in which liberty of conscience was even a restricted privilege.

In the most humiliating conditions which could be devised the churches were allowed to minister to such communicants as had the courage to face the enmity of the commissars and the activities of the secret police. Altho the godless were permitted to spread their doctrines and campaign politically for recruits, the churches were forbidden any evangelical activities and all that was allowed was service divested of rites sacred to the congregation and limited almost to a mockery of divine worship.

In spite of the concessions which the people's tenacity forced out of their heathen dictators, religion and the churches were outlaws. The Russian has not yet won the right freely to proclaim his religious belief, celebrate its rites, and receive its sacraments as a person fully entitled to the blessings of even a moderately free civilization. The church is humiliated and religion is officially held in obloquy. So far as dictatorship can obliterate the religious impulses of people, it has done so.

The dogma of the Communist cult still asserts that religion is the opiate of the people. It still holds in its tenets that the church and worship should be abolished. These are the doctrines of the Communist party in Russia and that is the parent organization which gives the party line to its followers everywhere.

The American Communist party takes its cues from the Moscow Comintern, which in these days of stress has been retired to the background in Russia itself but is the international and revolutionary organization. The American Communist party is directly related not to the Russian people who are putting up this heroic struggle, but to the international

intriguers which seek to establish abroad the worst features of the vindictive and destructive cult.

The true character of communism is not to be disguised by the heroism of the Russian people, despite the efforts of the American Communists to use that heroism as protective coloration. Neither are the stubborn piety of the Russian people, and the concessions to religion that that tenacity has forced from the ruling party, to be taken as any indication of a changed attitude of communism and Communists toward religion, altho the Communists and their apologists in this country have practiced that deception, too.

The Communists are pledged to the destruction of religion wherever they can accomplish it. They cannot accomplish that, or anything else, in this country of their own strength. It is only by working thru the New Deal that they have made themselves a force to be reckoned with in American politics. That is something to be remembered by voters when they find the names of New Deal rubber stamps on the ballot.

The Evening Star, October 23, 1941

## **Religion Has Survived Great Upheaval of Russian Revolution**

**Observer Suggests That Resurgence May Come From Disaster**

**Here is a first-hand account of the religious situation in Russia, written for The Star's Special News Service by Wade Werner, veteran foreign correspondent, from his observations while he was stationed in Moscow.**

**By WADE WERNER.**

Not many months before the outbreak

of war in Europe in 1939, a strange thing happened in Russia. Bananas came back to the Soviet Union. No bananas had been marketed in Moscow for fully 17 years; then, suddenly, a shipload was acquired in some trade deal with a Latin American country and was offered for sale on the streets of the capital. Most Muscovites had not seen a banana for so long they almost had forgotten what one looked like. Many of the younger people never had seen one in their lives. Some of those who bought them out of curiosity were not sure whether to eat them skin and all or just the skin.

### **Not Under Soviet Ban.**

Now, the Soviet constitution never had banned the eating of bananas. It just so happened that for many years the Soviet foreign trade monopoly had imported a lot of other things, particularly things needed for the completion of this or that Soviet project — but no bananas. It was obvious that an educative sales campaign would be necessary if bananas ever were to become popular again in Russia. Somehow the current controversy over religious freedom in Russia strongly recalls to mind the odd episode of the bananas. For in some of the passionate arguments, pro and con there has lurked the implication that governments can make or break religions, just as they can make or break the traffic in bananas. Even the Soviet government never imagined it could abolish religion overnight by decree. Over a long period of years government-sponsored anti-religious propaganda patiently sought to wean the Russian people of their religious beliefs and habits. The propaganda was powerfully assisted by the destruction of many thousands

of churches, the conversion of other thousands into anti-religious museums, motion picture theaters, workers' clubs, warehouses and garages.

### **Sunday Became Work Day.**

Sunday was secularized and made like any other working day, so that regular church attendance became very difficult for most believers, even though there were a few churches still left to attend. Systematic religious instruction of the young was prohibited, and theological schools were closed. Thousands of priests rightly or wrongly were accused of anti-Soviet conspiracy and paid the penalty with imprisonment or death. Yet religion survived in Soviet Russia. Faith that was in the hearts of millions before the revolution still stirs a multitude of believers there today, and would no doubt continue to be a reality meant, to discourage prayers for such a cause. But what will the religious reaction be if the Soviet regime crashes in a great military defeat? Military disasters in the last great war not only ended with the collapse of the Czarist regime and a terrific period of suffering for the established church but touched off a revolution that rocked established churches and social institutions in many parts of the world besides Russia. The Bolshevik revolution was basically atheistic in character. If there is another defeat now, and another great revolution, will it be this time — in reaction against the other — a great religious revolution? If so, what kind of religion? There have been great religious movements in the past; which were characterized by their strong revulsion against violence, on the other hand, there have been militant religions which have carried a fanatical











faith along with their conquering legions. Russia is vast and unpredictable. What will come out of the colossal carnage in which Germans and Russians now are engaged, not even Hitler knows; not even a victorious Hitler. But if Russia's reaction to defeat should take the form of a great religious awakening, not even Hitler may be able to control or predict its course.

The religious freedom-in-Russia question may assume new and unexpected forms, a defeated Soviet regime might find a sudden revival of strong feeling in the Russian masses taking freedom into its own hands. Or a victorious Hitler, by proclaiming wholesale reopening of churches and restoration of an established state religion, might find a genial and genuine resurgence of Russian religious emotions running away with his show and upsetting all his calculations. Right now, of course, the colossal cauldron in the east still is cooking. No one really knows what will come out of it. This has been merely an attempt to suggest that religion sometimes makes its own freedom, and that great religious movements more than once have profoundly affected the course of history.

Newsweek, February 1, 1943

### **Baptists in the Soviet**

**To Dr. W. O. Lewis, small, plump, and white-haired secretary of the Baptist World Alliance, the announcement that 1,000,000 Russian Baptists will join with the 12,000,000 others all over the world in a day of prayer Feb. 7 was a personal triumph. For more than a decade he had been the chief link between the alliance and Baptists in the Soviet. Few**

**missionaries were allowed in Russia, and he had to work by remote control from Paris. At first he was able to help establish Baptist seminaries in Russia, nurse along the churches and schools, and keep in close touch with the far-away officials. Then, in 1929, "a curtain of silence" cut off the Russian church from the rest of the world as the Soviet embarked upon a new succession of religious persecutions.**

At last, late in December 1942, the curtain was drawn aside: American Baptists got a telegram thanking them for the \$1,000 check they had sent to their Russian brethren. This month brought another message of New Year and victory greetings. It meant that the church in Russia was experiencing a greater freedom of operation than anyone had dared hope. Overjoyed, the American Baptist churches declared in their day-of-prayer proclamation: "We shall pray that myriads in mighty Russia shall enjoy freedom and find fullness of life in fellowship with the Lord Jesus Christ."

As a matter of fact, Dr. Lewis contends that Russian Baptists have actually been happier under Stalin than they were under the czar. They sprang up about 70 years ago in a series of revivalist offshoots from the Orthodox Church and from among German Lutheran immigrants. They adopted the name "Baptist" after the western Baptists had discovered the similarity of their beliefs and practices, the latter including immersion. And most of them were peasants or middle-class, with none of the political power that brought Soviet wrath down upon the Russian Orthodox Church. Also, Russian Baptists had none of the official ties to churches abroad that brought the

Roman Catholics into disfavor. So they rode out the revolution — and the Lenin drive against Orthodoxy—comparatively unmolested.

But in 1928 came the five-year plan—and with it steps that did everything but outlaw religion. The six-day week was instituted, Sundays disappeared. Religious teaching for anyone under 18 was considered an offense against the state. Printing of Bibles was forbidden. Some 1,000 clergymen were imprisoned or sent into exile on charges of “plotting to overthrow the government.” Toughest of all, the government-backed and powerful League of Militant Atheists was given free rein. Through all this, however, the Baptists kept reading their old Bibles and chose laymen to preach in place of the exiled ministers.

Later the grip was relaxed, but 1937 brought a new wave of suppression. For under the 1936 constitution Russia was to hold an election. Fearing that the clergy might influence the vote, the government assigned a conscientious OGPU agent named Yezhoff to see that they didn't. He was a little too effective: he sent so many clergymen and personal enemies into exile that he himself was finally purged.

Now, apparently for the sake of wartime unity and to placate the other Allies, civil rights have again been restored in Russia and the clergy is allowed to vote. The seven-day week is back, school text revisions have eliminated offensive references to religion, and open funerals, with great crowds of townsfolk carrying icons, are again common. The atheist newspaper *Bezbozhnik* — Without God — has been liquidated (its final edition went so far as to attack Hitler for persecuting religion) . Altogether Dr. Lewis sees these

trends as signs that religious toleration in Soviet Russia will be more than temporary — particularly for the unpolitical minded Baptists

The Evening Star, October 4, 1941

## **The Political Mill**

### **Religious Freedom-for-Arms Trade Suggested As Practical Move Stalin Should Consider**

**By GOULD LINCOLN<sup>4</sup>.**

If President Roosevelt can obtain freedom of religious worship in Soviet Russia and make it stick, he will have done a wonderful thing. It will be so acclaimed throughout the world by those who believe in freedom — and especially by the people of this country. Certainly, it would appear that, at this juncture, Russia would listen to him. To put it practically, the Stalin government could afford to trade a bit of religious freedom for guns and tanks and planes, and the good will of many Americans. It may be that religion and Communism don't work together, but it does seem Stalin might try it out. As the President said at a press conference last week, the Soviet constitution does mention religious freedom — thought not just in the same way as the Constitution of the United States. It might be well to compare the language. In article 124 of the Russian constitution — quoted in this column September 6 — the following language is found: “Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens.” The Constitution of the United States says: “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion,

or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.”

### **U.S. Obeys Constitution.**

This language is found in the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States, submitted to the States by the First Congress in 1789, along with nine other amendments, known as the “Bill of Rights.” They were promptly ratified. In article five of the Constitution there is found also: “But no religious test, shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.” The language and spirit of the Constitution have been lived up to in this country. It is very clear, however, to any student of modern, very modern, history that such has not been the case in Soviet Russia so far as freedom of religious worship is concerned. The accent has been placed entirely on the phrase “freedom of anti-religious propaganda”— and to such an extent that hundreds have been killed for their religious beliefs. There is no blinking the facts. Religious freedom has not flourished in Communist Russia.

However, as the President has pointed out the constitution of Soviet Russia does recognize freedom of religious worship. All Stalin has to do, therefore, is to assert his adherence to that constitution and see that, it is lived up to. This seems like a small price to pay. There are other concessions that the President might well obtain from the Soviet government. One of them is that it cease to attempt to undermine the governments of other friendly countries, among them the United States. It may be that Russia will be in a frame of mind to join in a brotherhood of friendly nations after the war is ended, and to drop the idea of a world revolution

aimed at winning Communist control everywhere. The American people have no more love for the Communist idea than they have for Fascism or Nazism. Communism is just as foreign to the ideas of government, and of free enterprise and freedom, generally, as practiced in the United States. The President might have pointed to another article of the Soviet constitution, article 126, which guarantees the right of the people to organize in trade unions. But a trade union in Soviet Russia is a government affair — and has no more relation to the free trade unions of this country than black with white. The Russian government today is making a desperate fight — or rather the Russian people and the Russian armies are making a desperate fight — to keep from being included in Hitler’s “new order” for Europe, to keep the Nazi heel off their necks. It is making a gallant fight. But it was not so long ago that Russia was attacking little Finland, seizing part of Poland, making an agreement with Hitler and Mussolini that virtually gave Hitler the “go” signal for the present war. It was not so long ago that Communist activities in this country were under way, with subversive tactics, espionage and all that goes with such treacherous forms of activity. Within a short time — probably next week — Congress will have before it for consideration and action the second lease-lend appropriation bill, authorizing the expenditure of \$6,000,000,000 to aid Britain and other nations fighting the Axis powers. Threats have been made that an amendment will be offered, first in the House and then in the Senate, to bar the Soviet government from participation in these huge sums of money — that is, from receiving supplies under the terms



of the Lease-Lend Act. Opponents of the President's foreign policy have relied on the hatred of Americans for the activities of Communist Russia, and particularly for their hatred of the persecutions practiced in Russia against religious worship and the churches, to make headway against the administration's latest proposal.

### Foes Might Be Stymied.

Perhaps the President's present step — his intercession for the freedom of religious worship in Russia and for the churches, through the American Ambassador to Russia and through Averill Harriman, heading an American mission to collaborate with the Soviet government on aid against Hitler, will bear fruit in time to stymie attacks by the isolationists, to some degree. But whether they do or not, the President will be given credit for having tried to bring about better conditions. For the present the American people should understand that the policy of this Government toward the Russian government is one of aid through the supply of military equipment, intended to defeat Hitler.

### (Endnotes)

1 Skaryatina Irina Vladimirovna (1888 -1962) I.V. Skaryatina is a Russian aristocrat, writer, journalist and war correspondent. After the October Revolution, she emigrated from Soviet Russia. In the 1930s, Irina Skaryatina published several books in English in the United States, including her memories of childhood and youth in the Russian Empire, and diary entries from 1917–1919, about the hardships and losses of the post-revolutionary years, the collapse of the old world, about her departure, from Russia, his subsequent return to the USSR, in the status of an American citizen, and about her impressions, of what she saw in a completely changed country. During World War II,

Irina Skaryatina was an accredited war correspondent for the American weekly *Colliers*, which published her radiograms from the USSR about the need for the immediate opening of a second front, reports about the heroic struggle of the Soviet people against Nazi Germany, stories about meetings and conversations with very different people, united by one common goal - to defeat the enemy at all costs.

2 <sup>1</sup>**Renovationism** — also called **Renovated Church** or by metonymy the **Living Church** (*Zhivaya Tserkov'*), officially named **Orthodox Russian Church** (*Pravoslavnaya Rossiyskaya Tserkov'*), and later **Orthodox Church in the USSR** (*Pravoslavnaya Tserkov' v SSSR*), was the official Christian Church in the Soviet Union in 1922–1946, which following the World War II was proclaimed as a religious movement that schismed from the Russian Orthodox Church in 1922. Sanctioned by the Soviet authorities, the movement ceased its operations in the late 1940s. In 1927 the movement was blessed by the future Patriarch Sergius of Moscow, a political move that allowed reformation of the modern Russian Orthodox Church in 1943 by Sergius (Stragorodsky).

3 **The League of Militant Atheists** (Russian: *Soyúz Voínstvuyushchikh Bezbózhnikov*, 'The League of Militant Godless'), also **Society of the Godless** (*Óbshchestvo Bezbózhnikov*) or **Union of the Godless** (Russian: *Soyúz Bezbózhnikov*), was an atheistic and antireligious organization of workers and intelligentsia that developed in Soviet Russia under influence of the ideological and cultural views and policies of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from 1925 to 1947.<sup>1</sup> It consisted of party members, members of the Komsomol youth movement, those without specific political affiliation, workers and military veterans.

4 **George Gould Lincoln** (July 26, 1880 – December 1, 1974) was an American political reporter between the 1900s to 1960s. Lincoln started at *The Washington Times* and *The Washington Post* during the 1900s before joining the *Washington Evening Star* in 1909. With the *Evening Star*, Lincoln was a political reporter and named the newspaper's chief political writer in 1925. Lincoln remained with the *Evening Star* until his 1964 retirement and received the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1970.



## Chapter XI Stalingrad. The City of Steel<sup>1</sup>.

The Times, August 22, 1942

### Volga and Caucasus

The war-clouds seem to be banking thicker than ever; and the air is heavy with the electricity which heralds new storms. In the Pacific the first action dictated by allied initiative since the moment when Japan entered the war is in progress, and the auguries appear favourable. The combined operation at Dieppe<sup>2</sup> may have been no more than an experiment, but an experiment on a very large scale, providing many valuable lessons which are even now being digested. It has also given the Germans cause for reflection, and this is already rather less jubilant than it was immediately after the re-embarkation of our forces. It may be divined that the first relief at the discovery that the landing-force was only a gigantic raiding party has given way to considerations of what the result might have been had ten or twenty times the strength been employed. "The significance of this war has grown with its dimensions," writes GOEBBELS, some of whose recent pronouncements have not been lacking in realism; and again: "The German people faces the dilemma - either to fight or to abdicate." In Egypt both sides have been reinforced and both sides are sharpening their weapons.

The most suitable campaigning season is approaching, and the probabilities are that long before it is over the issue will have been decided.

But what is happening or may happen elsewhere cannot conceal the fact that the main theatre of the war is Russia; nor can it be doubted that this is likely to be the case for some time to come. It is in Russia that events count most and will most deeply affect the future progress, and even the final result, of the war. There the great bulk of the German combatant strength and material resources are fully engaged; there Germany is seeking the decision which she hopes will bring in its train still wider decisions. And it is more than ever clear that the first and immediate decision is being sought in the offensive against the line of the lower Volga. Reinforcements have been brought up into the shambles of the Don elbow, where the enemy, rebuffed again and again in a long and almost static struggle, is now making a supreme effort to reach Stalingrad. He seems to have cleared the greater part of the territory within the bend. He has at last forced a passage of the river, and though the Russians report that the majority of his troops on the left bank have been destroyed and that the mopping up of the remainder is in process, it is not clear that this bridgehead has ceased to exist. While there remains to him the slightest foothold beyond the Don there is deadly

danger, and even if this is removed, he will without doubt continue to thrust for weak points all along the wide eastern arc of the Don. The turning movement south of the bend has made very little progress in face of stout resistance and determined counterattacks, but it cannot be said that the peril here has diminished.

In the Caucasus the campaign has taken the course that might have been expected. The enemy is making progress, but only by the easiest avenues, and so slowly that – except in the region of Krasnodar – there have been no alterations to make on a small-scale map for several days' past. The most serious threat in this quarter is that to Novorossiisk and, indeed, to the whole Black Sea coastline in its neighborhood. Two processes have been simultaneously at work: a hardening of Russian opposition on ground more favourable to defence; and an exhaustion, distension, and absorption of the German fighting strength. The result has been one of those relative pauses relative but significant and unmistakable – which occurred on some half a dozen occasions during the campaigns of 1941. How long this will endure it is not easy to estimate; it certainly will not do to count upon an inability of the German staff work and supply system to accelerate the advance within another week or ten days. But so far, the enemy has made no serious penetration of the mountains, which are not an absolutely impregnable fortress but are, nevertheless, one of the most formidable military obstacles in Europe. It must not be forgotten, however, that complete possession of the vast isthmus between the Black Sea and the Caspian would create a situation which the Germans might be able to exploit in more than one direction.

There are no definite reports of events of major importance elsewhere, though the Germans speak of a new offensive starting at Orel. Taking the broadest view, it must be said that the danger is as great as ever, but that the Germans have never yet found the opportunity to deliver a knock-out blow. Russia has been grievously weakened, but she fights on. She continues the combat unshaken and defies the rules of obvious military logic. Yesterday, for example, Leningrad celebrated the anniversary of the opening of its siege. More than once the Germans proclaimed its imminent doom, which they would certainly not have done unless they had believed what they said. Leningrad is still fighting, and at this moment actually attacking. After losses and battering such as no other nation in the world could have survived Russia still remains Germany's principal immediate enemy. But the allied nations cannot count upon Russian resistance enduring for ever without increasing exterior support. Russia is the main front, and the main problem is to ensure that the growing allied strength is brought to her aid at the earliest possible moment by every means which resource can devise. Such is the counsel not only of gratitude but also of common prudence.

Daily Boston Globe, August 23,  
1942

### **If Russia Loses, Whole Middle East May Fall to Hitler, Stowe Warns**

**By LELAND STOWE**

The situation along the great Don bend and across the Don, above Kotelnikovo,

where the Nazis' armored divisions are hammering unrelaxed fury in an effort to break through to the great strategic city of Stalingrad, is as serious as words can possibly portray. The Nazi threat to the big oil center of Grozny in North Caucasus is equally grave.

This is why it will take a great deal more than one Dieppe raid to convince the Russians the British and Americans are doing everything possible to relieve the pressure of the Nazi armies here. At the very least there must be many and frequent landing parties on the European coast. There must also be more, much more regular 1000-plane raids over Germany. To have any effect here, even as uplift to the Russians' morale and relief to their feeling of aloneness, these Anglo-American raids cannot be postponed until October or November. They must be staged at once and with unprecedented force.

The British and American publics will be fatally misinformed unless they are told that the war can be lost or at the very least prolonged by three or four years - if Hitler is permitted to gain his lower Volga and North Caucasus objectives in the next month or two. There is nothing "secondary" about these South Russian battles.

**If the Nazis seize Stalingrad and Baku the chances of the Allies holding Iran, Iraq, Syria, Palestine, India and Egypt will be alarmingly small. Without this absolutely essential and incomparably important middle area of the vast world battlefield where and how and when can the British and American Armies hope to defeat Hitler's legions?**

For many months to come, and perhaps for the duration of the war, the attitude of the largest, most powerful

army on the Allies' side the Soviet Army and of 130,000,000 Russians toward their British and American war partners will be decided by what Anglo-American land, air and sea forces do in Western Europe now.

If the Russians get completely fed up with us, then Britain and the United States may have to figure out how they can carry nine-tenths of the burden of defeating Nazi Germany on European soil. What this means is very simple. In order to crush Hitler and his terribly efficient military machine, Britain and America must first win the wholehearted support of Soviet Russia, its huge army and its people. We can only win that kind of support by using every weapon we have got now, in these next few but decisive weeks, to ease and embarrass the Nazis' blows in South-Russia. As of today, there is probably not a single Russian adult who thinks that either Britain or America has begun to use every weapon it has got.

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The Times, September 7, 1942

## **The Issues At Stake OIL ROUTE FROM BAKU "GUARDIAN OF VOLGA"**

**From Our Diplomatic Correspondent**

More depends on the battle for Stalingrad than on any single battle since the one before Moscow last December and in many ways the dangers for Russia are even greater and sharper now than they were last December.

Even if Moscow had fallen the Russian armies would have remained unified, and they would have preserved all their sources of supply. The fall of Stalingrad

would bring a split in the Russian armies for the first time and would deprive the central armies of their main route of supply of Baku oil.

That would be the heaviest blow yet suffered by the Soviet war machine. The "second Baku" area in the Middle Volga is being rapidly developed, but these fields produce little more than 7,000,000 tons about a quarter of the Baku production.

But Stalingrad is much more than the guardian of the Volga. Its loss would be an industrial setback greater than that which the Russians suffered when Kharkov fell. Kharkov was recognized to be in the danger belt, and a high proportion of its factories had been moved before the Germans reached it. These factories had been taken east – some perhaps to Stalingrad, for Stalingrad was within the eastern reception area. Its job was to take in evacuee factories, not to send its own away.

### EXPANDING POPULATION

The pre-war population of the town was about 500,000; it grew rapidly during the first months of the war. The great tractor plant, which even in 1935 was producing 38,000 tractors a year, was extended and turned to the production of tanks. The motor car industries were similarly developed and changed. Probably some of these factories have been hurriedly sent farther east, but until a few months ago the town was working and developing in the confident expectation that the Germans would not reach it.

To the industrial loss has to be added the agricultural. The Stalingrad province, lying mainly to the west of the river, has been one of Russia's richest wheat areas. With the neighbouring north Caucasus and the Azov-Black Sea area, all recently

lost, it produced as much as the whole of the Ukraine. These considerations will bear heavily on the Russian people, already shocked in their minds that the invader has reached the "Mother Volga," their pride and their legend. The strategic importance is starkly apparent. The Germans are boasting that their right flank is secure for a northern advance towards Moscow. But the economic and other set-backs probably count for even more than the strictly strategic ones.

The Times, September 8, 1942

## PREPARING TO SMASH GERMANY

### PRESIDENT'S WAR REVIEW

From Our Own Correspondent

In his "fireside chat" tonight, which was principally concerned with the need for avoiding a domestic economic crisis by prompt action, President Roosevelt gave a front-by-front summary of the progress of the war, which closed with the statement that in Europe "the aim is an offensive against Germany, toward which preparations are in progress in both the United States and Britain."

**"The power of Germany must be broken on the battlefields of Europe,"** the President said. **"Certain vital decisions have been made. In due time you will know what these decisions are - and so will our enemies. I can say now that all of these decisions are directed towards taking the offensive."**

Of the Russian front, President Roosevelt said that Hitler was still unable to gain "the smashing victory" which almost a year ago he announced had already achieved.

The New York Times, September 14, 1942

## **STALINGRAD**

**Whether Stalingrad stands or falls, its desperate defense must have a profound effect on the development of the war. If the Russians accomplish a miracle and hold out, the event could mark the turning of the tide not only in Russia but all over the world. If the city falls, the war will certainly be prolonged, though – in all her future campaigns. She cannot revive the heaps of dead sacrificed in the gigantic assault or restore the vital weeks lost on the Volga.**

The defense of Stalingrad has been compared to that of Verdun in the World War. The city itself is not a natural stronghold, as Verdun was, but control of the banks of the Volga is as important to Russia as domination of the Meuse heights<sup>3</sup> was to France. In February 1916, the Germans launched their attack on Verdun and maintained a relentless pressure for four months.

They battered their way to within three miles of Verdun before the campaign collapsed. On this battlefield the Crown Prince used up forty-three divisions of elite troops, and the German army never quite recovered. But it was not alone the stubborn defense of Verdun which saved the city. The Germans were compelled to meet almost simultaneous counter-offensives by Earl Haig<sup>4</sup> on the Somme and by General Brusilov<sup>5</sup> in Russia. No comparable relief seems in sight for Stalingrad, with the Nazis even now in its southern suburbs.

**The fall of Stalingrad would be a disaster not only for Russia but for all the United Nations. Whatever cripples**

**the Russian giant cripples us. In the words of the Soviet army newspaper, Red Star, “Stalingrad is Grozny, Baku and Transcaucasia.” This means that its loss would cost Russia her main oil supply and all the riches that lie between the Caspian and Black Seas. It would dislocate the Russian armies, reduce their striking power, and permit Hitler to face the West again. It may bring Japan into Siberia. It might result in the conquest of Egypt. Yet for Hitler even such a victory would not be decisive. Russia will fight on the cruel Russian Winter is approaching.**

Hitler can hardly launch another major offensive there this year. But if the Russians fail now on the Volga, next year’s burden on Britain and the United States will be immeasurably increased.

The New York Times, September 20, 1942

## **Stalingrad Epic**

### **Verdun on the Volga**

The city, built by the toil of the young nation and the skill of foreign engineers, from which machines to cultivate the Russian harvests were poured out now is a vast caldron in which two armies with burning hate grapple for a decision.

This was Stalingrad last week as described by The New York Times correspondent in Russia. The greatest battle of all times had reached the city’s outskirts, had penetrated to its streets. Russian and German, civilians as well as soldiers, were struggling hand to hand with gun and tank and bayonet for the possession of the key Volga city. Amid the rubble of bombed houses, a portentous decision was in the making – a decision

that might affect the course of the war for months, perhaps for years to come. For Stalingrad means control of the Volga, and the Volga means South Russia, storehouse of Soviet wealth, important lifeline to Russia's allies, one of the shields of the Middle East, where the United Nations are gathering their might. If Stalingrad fell the Wehrmacht could flow on to the Caspian's shores and southward past the rich Caucasus oilfields to the border of Iran. The Red Army would be split in two, and Russia and the United Nations would face somber days.

### **500,000 Attackers**

Upward of 500,000 Germans, it was believed, were engaged in the assault on the Volga citadel, defended by an unknown number of Red Army soldiers and thousands of its half-million population. Stalingrad, straggling for twenty miles along the banks of the broad Volga River, was a valuable objective in itself. It was one of Russia's greatest industrial centers, built in the last twenty years with the help of American technicians. Before the siege it had processed the ores of the Donets basin, the oil of the Caucasus; its great factories had turned out tractors and farm machinery for Soviet agriculture in peacetime, tanks, guns and planes for the Red Army in war. The mile-wide Volga, flowing past steep cliffs on its western shore, had been a busy artery of water-borne traffic along which had flowed 7,000,000 tons of oil yearly to all parts of Russia, and equal amounts of foodstuffs and industrial goods.

It was twenty-five days ago that the assault on Stalingrad began. The Germans had crossed the Don River to the northwest and southwest and their tanks had

pushed to within forty miles of the city's suburbs. Stalingrad's residents, waking on the morning of Aug. 26, could hear the distant booming of the guns and in their newspapers, they saw for the first time their city mentioned in the High Command communiqué. Life in the Volga citadel took on a quickened tempo—barges were unloaded faster, war factories worked day and night while men, women and children aided Red Army soldiers in throwing up earthwork defenses, barbed wire, and tank traps on Stalingrad's outskirts in preparation for the coming siege.

### **The Big Push**

All through the days that followed, days of hurtling heat beneath a relentless sun, the Germans pushed steadily closer while Stalingrad stood at bay. Out on the fighting front the Wehrmacht shifted its pressure from northwest to southwest to center in unending attacks by wave upon wave of men and machines. The city itself was battered ceaselessly by German planes which dominated the sky. Railroads to the north and the south were cut by the German armies; only the broad Volga remained as a supply line from the Russian hinterland. But Stalingrad stood, as Leningrad, Odessa, Sevastopol and countless other Russian cities and villages had stood before, fighting back all through the long retreat, taking its toll of German dead. The Wehrmacht's advance elsewhere was likewise registering gains: a new drive was reported in the Middle Caucasus.

Last week the battle was raging close to the city's heart, where the Germans were met by the supreme efforts of its defenders. German tanks

had spearheaded the thrust through the northwestern suburbs; German shock troops followed to fight the Russians hand to hand. It was a bitter and savage battle that raged on the city's pavements a struggle where ruined houses were turned into forts, where men grappled and heaved and swayed to hold a street corner or a front door. It was a struggle of grimy, hate-filled individuals, in which counter-attacks were measured in terms of a house recaptured, a block of ruins won. At one place the defenders fought with their backs to the cliffs falling away to the Volga against German tanks before them: in the clutter of fallen buildings they attacked, man by man, and drove the invaders back. Yesterday Moscow reported that troops from Western Siberia had entered the fray, recalling the last-minute reinforcement of the Soviet capital's defenders by similar units last Fall.

### **War's Most Important Action**

The importance of Stalingrad's resistance transcended all other actions of the war. If the Russians could hold it, all of Germany's gains in the great midsummer offensive might well be nullified. There were Russian forces poised on his flank at Voronezh which might smash through to Rostov in a Winter attack. The threat might be such that the German commander would be forced to withdraw to the region beyond the Don, giving up the Caucasus prize. Such a defeat, after the terrible strain of the nearly three months' campaign, might turn the tide definitely against Hitler's forces. Conversely, for the Russians the loss of Stalingrad would mean a retreat beyond the Volga line, the isolation and possible loss of the

entire Caucasus region. For 200 miles east of the city there is no point where an army could regroup and prepare for a counter-offensive. The Germans, firmly established on the Volga, would be able to recuperate and consolidate their gains in Russia, perhaps to prepare new blows on other fronts, certainly to withdraw large parts of their armies to the West of Europe against the threat of a second front by the Allies. The Red Army, wearied by the campaign and with valuable bases lost, might be crippled for months as an effective attacking force.

### **Remaining Resources**

If Stalingrad fell, Russia would still have left the strength for protracted defense. There are oil and minerals in the Urals, old industries still functioning around Moscow and Leningrad, new factory centers built in the regions beyond the Volga. Russia still has great reserve strength in manpower; her armies have not been destroyed, and the ranks thinned by the fallen could be filled with young men to strike again. In time, perhaps, a second front would be opened by her allies among the democracies, bringing the day when the Fascist invader could at last be driven from Russian soil. But if Stalingrad fell-and the Russians fighting there knew this that day of liberation for all of their mother country might be postponed for an indefinite time.

The New York Times, September 21, 1942

### **CRISIS AT STALINGRAD**

On the blood-stained pavements of Stalingrad the Russians have turned and, house by shattered house, are driving the

Nazis out of some of the streets of the city. It is a breathless moment. On most of the war fronts a pause has fallen as the world watches the outcome of this greatest battle of all time. Not only is the spirit of resistance not failing; it seems to have had a resurgence in a tremendous demonstration of courage and stamina.

Almost a month ago the Germans crossed the Don and moved on the Volga. For twenty-six days the Russians, outnumbered and cut down by crushing mechanical power, withdrew step by step from the furious assault of half a million men. The heaps of German dead piled ever higher, but always fresh divisions pressed forward, paced by their tanks and dive-bombers. Last week they reached the plateau on which the city, or what enemy bombs had left of it, stands. By the end of the week they had surged into the streets. The German High Command was ready at last to announce the long-delayed fall of Stalingrad with the customary flourish of trumpets. Then something happened.

Instead of the expected victory announcement from Berlin came excuses. Rain fell. Russian reinforcements from Western Siberia marched into the beleaguered city. Russian planes swept in to meet and check the tanks and dive-bombers. The tide of street fighting hesitated, then turned. Once more the Russians were contesting strategic heights even beyond the city.

All we know now is that the doom of Stalingrad had been postponed. The battle rages from crisis to hourly crisis under a pall of mounting smoke. What is clear is that the Russians will not yield the city at a price or any price. They intend to hold it, as they held Leningrad and

Moscow. That seemed impossible. Now, at the eleventh hour, the world wonders if it may be barely possible. If the miracle happens and Stalingrad does stand, even in smoldering wreckage, Russia will have won a victory to match in decisive effect the Battle of England fought two years ago in the skies. And whatever happens, the Battle of Stalingrad will not have been fought in vain.

For time has been gained as well as a lesson in devotion; attrition has taken its toll of the enemy; and the faint hope that seemed dead for Stalingrad rises for Russia, even though it may be low for the hour on the banks of the Volga.

The New York Times ,  
September 30, 1942  
**Why Stalingrad Produces So  
Much Emotion**

By ANNE O'HARE MCCORMICK<sup>6</sup>

The day-by-day story of the fight for Stalingrad has made the war more real to distant places than any engagement since the conflict began. When the two greatest land armies in the world are locked in battles for streets and houses, the very narrowness of the frame in which the terrific action is crowded gives the picture an unequaled clarity.

In this long-drawn-out contest for a city the whole global struggle is reduced to a scale the human imagination can compass. In Stalingrad we see more vividly than before just what this war is like. We realize how fierce and merciless and desperate it is, and this realization produces an emotion hardly matched by the feeling evoked by Dunkerque or Bataan<sup>7</sup> or the bombing of London.



This is partly because Stalingrad is the climax of a decisive campaign and partly because it coincides with the recognition that there is no immunity anywhere from the kind of fighting we watch at Stalingrad. But largely it is because for the first time this Summer the war has become truly universal; throughout this country and this hemisphere the understanding that every battle involves us all has at last penetrated below the reaches of the mind to touch the aching depths of the heart.

### **Our Amazing Army**

For Americans Stalingrad makes the war more vivid than other battles for still another reason. It is a man-to-man combat fought at a time when every town in the land is conscious of its own contribution of manpower to the world-wide struggle. At every turn we see American boys turned into soldiers; almost overnight, it seems, the so-called "soft" generation has been transformed into an army that amazes even its commanders by its temper and its quality. Wherever one goes, the trains and the railway stations are crowded with these new soldiers, and anyone who has observed other armies in the process of mobilization – German and Italian, French and British, Rumanian and Turkish – must be struck by the extraordinary physical fitness of these young Americans, moving by stages toward that second front which is forming somewhere under the fog of talk.

These boys are better than fit. Perhaps they should be expected to be taller, better turned-out and stronger than other armies. They are the children of abundance, brought up in a land

where plumbing, higher education and space to grow in are more universal than anywhere else. But also they might be expected to be spoiled by ease and comfort, central heating and automobiles. It was imagined that they had been made skeptical by the doubts and questions of disillusioned teachers.

They were supposed to have been made cocky, undisciplined and selfish by too indulgent parents.

### **The British Impressed**

Well, look at them! One has only to meet the new American army traveling about the country to feel that if this is the generation this country has produced in the unsettled years between this war and the last, we have more to fight for than the most fervent interventionists imagined. If these boys are the fruit of the American system and the emanation of the American spirit, they prove that nobody on earth has so much to defend as we have. Seen en masse, they are more moving than the sight of the Stars and Stripes waving in the Solomon Islands.

Their deportment is almost too good to be true. Presumably they are being taught to be tough, trained in the dreadful art of killing, but they never fail to give up their seats to women in crowded cars, they offer to carry your bag when there are no porters. They are gay and modest, friend and polite. In England their good manners impress the British, themselves one of the politest of peoples. But what impresses Americans most of all is their attitude; they believe in themselves and in their country with a casual and matter-of-fact faith that shames the doubters and debaters among their elders.

## As Good as They Look

Stalingrad is a flaming background for this procession of American soldiers. We see the enemy now not only as the opponent of the fighting Russians but of our own fighting men. The picture of the reality of war is imprinted even more vividly upon our minds by the stories of the performance of Americans in action.

The arresting report published in The Times yesterday from Hanson Baldwin on the fighting of the Marines in the Solomons portrays the Japanese as the best jungle fighters in the world, "hard, ruthless, brave, well-equipped" and full of tricks. It warns us of the kind of foe we have to meet in the Pacific, just as the Volga battle shows us how desperately the Germans fight. On both sides of the world we are opposed by fanatic and thoroughly organized armies. But Mr. Baldwin also makes us see how quickly the American doughboy develops into a jungle fighter. The story of Private Morrison and his buddy at Guadalcanal is an epic of incredible courage and resourcefulness on the part of "green" Americana.

The short annals of our war are already rich in such epics. They prove that the cheerful boys coming out of the camps are as good as they look. How can the rest of us ever live up to them?

Daily Boston Globe, December 17, 1942

## Stalingrad Made Drive by Eisenhower Possible

**Stowe Says 400 Nazi Planes Kept From African Front; Soviets Using Improved Snow Equipment, Better**

## Troops; Offensives Promise Hitler Worse Winter than Last One

By LELAND STOWE

*Leland Stowe, one of the greatest war correspondents the present world wide struggle has produced, has returned by air to this country after a prolonged stay in Russia. His homeward route was by way of the Middle East and Africa, a front of particular interest to Americans since the landing there of Gen. Ike Eisenhower's doughboys. Globe readers will recall Stowe's previous dispatches from Europe and India, particularly his sensational exposure of the Allies' failure in Norway which had a large share in forcing the retirement of Neville Chamberlain in favor of Winston Churchill. Mr. Stowe has written several stories of what he observed on his way home. This is the first of that stories.*

The 250,000 Red Army soldiers who died to keep Stalingrad out of Hitler's hands saved Egypt for the British and made Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower's offensive in North Africa possible.

I brought this point home to a group of American airmen I had met in an advanced base on the Libyan desert, a few weeks after I left Moscow on Nov. 12. These clean-cut Yankee airmen had had their baptism of fire over El Alamein and Hellfire Pass and had contributed their important bit, helping Gen. Montgomery's 8th Army drive Rommel's Afrika Korps out of Egypt and hundreds of miles toward points west. As we lounged in their squadron's officers mess tent that night, they told me about the Allied war battles which had paved the way and decided the issue.





The Evening Star, October 26,  
1942

## **Leland Stowe Credits Reds For African Win**

### **Stalingrad Keeps 400 Nazi Planes From African Front**

"What would it have been like if Rommel had had about 400 more planes to put up against you?" I asked casually.

This chance shot netted a collection of unanimously knitted brows and a circle of suddenly serious faces. One of Lieut. Col. Frank Mears' operations staff officers, Maj. Archie Knight, obviously spoke for everyone present when he exclaimed: "Four hundred more German planes? Phew! I even hate to think of it".

"Do you think you'd be sitting out here in Libya with the Nazis digging in at El - Agheila if Rommel had had several hundred more planes?" I asked.

"Not on your life. Not a chance!" the answer came in a general chorus.

"Well, that's all I want to know," I said. "You're the fellows who are doing the fighting. But if the Russians hadn't held Stalingrad all through September and October you can bet your flying boots Rommel would have had at least 300 or 400 more planes behind El Alamein."

So far as these American flyers in Libya were concerned there was no need to press the point. In a flash Stalingrad had taken on a very personal meaning to them. There was no telling how many gaps there would have been in this little circle if the Red Army had not sacrificed 250,000 men or more in order to hold Stalingrad if Hitler's Luftwaffe had not lost hundreds of airplanes trying again and again to take Stalingrad.

## **Russian Offensive to Date Has Exceeded All Expectations**

But now the Russians were on the offensive at last, both around Stalingrad and around Rzhev and battling toward Velikie Luki, and with this the almost inconceivable had happened. No foreign correspondent or military observer in Moscow would dare predict all this, or more than a tiny fraction of what the Red Army has accomplished in the past six weeks. They could not have predicted it because the Russians know how to keep military secrets - but if Russian Army commanders did not know how to keep military secrets some 25 Nazi divisions would not be menaced with eventual annihilation in front of Stalingrad today.

Accordingly, when I attempt to analyze the Red Army's Winter prospects, it must be clearly understood that my observations are not based on any "inside" military information. I do not know any foreign observers in the Soviet Union, including military attaches who possess any really "inside" information about the Russian armed forces; much less about the strategic plans of the Russian high command.

Meanwhile, the only advantage which a correspondent, freshly home from Moscow, possesses accrues from having been closer to the Russian war effort and from a somewhat more detailed knowledge of the weapons, methods and morale of the Soviet armed forces.

## **Jolt to German Soldiers' Morale Must Be Considerable**

My editors ask what undoubtedly you the reader would ask: How far can these Russian offensives be expected to go? Whenever and wherever they take

the initiative, how well prepared are the Russians to maintain it? Are the Germans still very strong along most sectors of the Russian front?

Unquestionably, the Germans still have very powerful forces on Soviet soil and large amounts of tanks, planes, guns and other equipment. The possibility of a desperate Nazi counter-offensive, either on the Don or on the central front, cannot be discounted. Even so, the Red Army has dealt a staggering blow in the Don elbow and south of Stalingrad and the jolt to the German soldiers' morale must be very considerable; perhaps even of long-term consequences. Dump the paralyzing Russian Winter on top of this blow and it may well be that the fighting spirit of the simon-pure Aryan invaders will never be quite the same again.

This is one big reason why the Russians are certain to hit with everything they can muster throughout this Winter, but don't ask me to tell you how far their present offensive can go. I don't know and I don't know anyone outside of the Red Army's high command and the Soviets' Commissariat of National Defense who could pretend to know. But there are certain broad aspects of the Russians' opening Winter campaign which are well worth considering and here are several which seem most important to me.

The Times, December 23, 1942

## **RUSSIAN VICTORIES**

The Russian armies on the middle Don continue to drive the enemy before them with magnificent dash and fury. In the conditions of midwinter on the frozen steppe, to advance at all against the powerful German fortifications is a

remarkable achievement; to advance seventy-five miles in five days might well have been accounted impossible, until it was done. The large number of prisoners taken, the impressive tale of booty that has already been counted, expose the falsity of the automatic German explanation that a voluntary withdrawal is being made to prepared positions. The Red Army is pressing forward with an air of conscious superiority over its opponents born no doubt of the natural exhilaration that comes to men who have held their heads high through long months of fighting against odds, and now at last begin to feel the grim joy of turning successfully to the attack.

The value of this offensive, or rather of the series of admirably timed movements of which it forms the latest part, has to be judged in relation to the whole strategic situation of the enemy, not only in Russia but on all fronts. In the Nazi system the winter is always the season for recuperation and the building up of strength, to be expended in the concentrated assaults of spring and summer. This year the need for recuperation is redoubled, first because the strain of the past season has been greater than ever and its results less, and, secondly, because HITLER knows he must prepare to meet in the coming year the attack of a far greater and better equipped combination of his enemies than he has yet faced. His need to husband his resources is urgent, almost desperate. Therefore, so long as the Red Army can keep him fighting at high pressure in the season, he had designed for rest, it is already helping to win, for all the United Nations, the battles of next year's campaign. Not only are the

men being exhausted who will ultimately be required for the defence of German soil; there is now a dangerous drain on the material resources of the Reich. This depletion may be especially felt in the matter of oil. By thwarting one of the main summer objectives of the enemy, the capture of Baku, the Russians have already deprived him of much of the value of his territorial conquests, for without that great source of supply he will be hard put to find fuel in 1943 for the tractors of the Ukraine, on which depended so much of his plans for provisioning the fortress of Europe. According to an authoritative estimate, the monthly output of the oil wells he controls is about a million and a quarter tons, at which figure it about balances his requirements for the mere routine of war, so that the heavy demands of every major offensive are bound to cut into his reserves. Hence once more the need for a respite in winter; and hence the value to the general cause of holding him to lavish expenditure of fuel, as he is held, not only by such violent battles as each Russian offensive brings about, but also by the very costly process of supply by carrier aircraft, to which he is reduced for the maintenance of HOTH's beleaguered army before Stalingrad. The Red Army is, however, doing considerably more than depriving the enemy of rest and compelling him to draw upon reserve supplies that will be acutely needed later on. There is something in the Russian strategy which recalls that by which wore down and ultimately disintegrated the German army of 1918. Here is a vast invading army whose prodigious onrush, intended to carry all before it, has been stemmed just in time and which is left in consequence holding a dangerously extended line, full of bulges

and irregularities. The moment when the impetus of such an army is exhausted is the moment of opportunity for the defence, if it retains sufficient resilience to exploit it. The Russian commander-in-chief is doing very much what Foch did. He mounts a vigorous offensive against a salient or other favourable point of the German line, penetrating to a considerable depth, or even encircling a large hostile force. By hard fighting and the movement of reserves to the threatened sector the enemy may ultimately restore equilibrium there; but immediately another offensive is launched many miles away, and a second hurried regrouping becomes necessary. The rhythmic repetition of this process entails a heavy strain, not only on the enemy's troops in the front line, but on his communications, especially his lateral communications, in the rear. In Russia it has not yet gone nearly, so far as it went in France in 1918; but its cumulative effect is already shown by the fact that the latest offensive has penetrated in its first week considerably farther than its predecessors.

The attack on the middle Don profits, no doubt, by the fact that the tension at several other points on the front is unrelaxed. Round Rzhev and Velikiye Luki the armies remain heavily engaged, and the Russians are still gaining ground, although resistance has stiffened. Both sides are reticent about events on the Stalingrad front; but a fierce battle is certainly proceeding south-west of the city, in which the enemy is expending much effort in the attempt to break the Russian ring. He has no alternative, for to desist is to abandon the encircled army to its fate. Now comes the great drive from the frozen Don towards the valley of the Donetz. There are two main thrusts, one

on a broad front driving south-westward, the other, moving up the valley of the Chir, which comes in on the left, almost at right angles to the first, and threatens another large German force with an encirclement. The main spearhead of attack points down the strategically important railway from Voronezh to Moscow, and its immediate objective seems to be the considerable junction at Millerovo, which is in imminent danger from a two-pronged attack. On the enemy's own showing, there is as yet no abatement in the force of the offensive, which imperils his whole position in the broad belt of territory between the Don and the Donetz. This is the corridor through which runs the supply route by land to the German army now snowbound in the Caucasus; and the Russian successes have already narrowed it by half. At Millerovo they will be within 120 miles of Rostov. Rostov, the principal seaport of the region, and the indispensable base for the whole Caucasus enterprise. It is too early to think of Rostov itself as a practical Russian objective. Nevertheless, the need to provide for its defence lies near to the heart of the enemy's strategic difficulties. His pressing need is to shorten his line. But he cannot do so by abandoning the great area within the bend of the Don, as MARSHAL TIMOSHENKO abandoned it in the summer, because that would be to abandon also the army of the Caucasus. He must therefore stand and fight for every position that he holds; and that is to play into the Red Army's hands, provided only the pressure can be maintained through the still colder months to come.

After the middle of last January, the Russian counter-offensives were frozen into immobility. But this year there is evidence that our allies are better

equipped, better trained, and more experienced in mechanized war. Their spirit seems to be even more eager, and high hopes may be entertained.

The New York Times, February 4, 1943

## **FROM STALINGRAD**

The last remnants of the great German garrison at Stalingrad have surrendered, and the Russians are coming back into the ruins of the city that now lies like a skeleton on the battered banks above the unconquered Volga. Stalingrad is the scene of the costliest and most stubborn struggle in this war. The battle fought there to its desperate finish may turn out to be among the decisive battles in the long history of war. But whether or not the record will say that the fate of the German armies was sealed when they were turned back from the Volga, it is certain that in the Russian legend the story of Stalingrad will be retold and resung for generations to come. Already it has dwarfed the little battles of Napoleon. In the scale of its intensity, its destructiveness and its horror, Stalingrad has no parallel. It engaged the full strength of the two biggest armies in Europe and could fit into no lesser framework than that of a life-and-death conflict which encompasses the earth.

From the beginning Stalingrad was for Stalin and Hitler a test and a symbol. The test of endurance was won by the Russians. As for the symbol, the issue of the epic duel is indeed a victory for Russia, perhaps the most glorious and rewarding in a series of victories. But the Red armies have left Stalingrad 250 miles behind them. They are pushing very close to the



line where the Germans started the drive that took them to the Volga. The garrison at Rostov, the pivot on which the whole campaign hinges, already hears the guns of the advancing Russians.

For Germany the symbol spells defeat. Stalingrad is the first great military disaster the Wehrmacht has suffered in the war. There was retreat last Winter, but never from a position that Hitler was so fanatically determined to hold. Three days of national mourning have been ordered in Germany, and this wallowing in grief expresses more than sorrow for a lost battle or even for the regiments left to perish there. It signifies the failure of Hitler's costliest gamble with the blood and patrimony of the Reich, and in the strange, twisted interplay of disintegrating forces going on behind the scenes, it may even be intended to underline Hitler's responsibility.

In any case the dirges and the period of mourning write the obituary for any hopes the German people may have cherished of compensation in Russia for the inhuman sacrifices they have to Hitler's ambition. The Russians estimate that since mid-November the advance and retreat from Stalingrad have cost the enemy 500,000 troops. What are the Germans thinking today of the leader who paid this price for nothing?

The New York Times, February 7, 1943

## **STALINGRAD**

The destruction last week of what remained of the German Army at Stalingrad wrote the end to a story that will live for generations. For savage attack and grim resistance there has been no

such siege in this great war, not even at Leningrad.

The story falls naturally into four phases covering a six-month period: the investment, which really started when Hitler launched his ill-starred offensive from Kursk; the siege itself, with three months of furious fighting around and within the city; the Russian counter-offensive, which isolated the besiegers, and the final annihilation of the enemy army. Today only the littered streets of Stalingrad are recognizable. The buildings have been blown away. But in their rubble, in the choked gutters beside them, and the cellars beneath them, the battle was decided. At its height the Germans overran more than half the city. Its fall seemed inevitable. But always on the brink of disaster the Russians managed to ferry fresh squads across the Volga, to meet foot by foot the ceaseless wave of assaults that broke upon the city.

How many men were sacrificed at Stalingrad to Hitler's "intuition" we may never know. Some 330,000 were trapped there in the last stages. As the end approached German propaganda sought to transfer to the lost Nazi Army the epic of heroism which belongs to Russia. The Berlin radio chanted the daily tale of their last-ditch stand. No doubt there was hard fighting by some of the German divisions. But even then, German prisoners were yielding in large numbers. After the last call for surrender on Jan. 10 disintegration was rapid. Three weeks later 91,000 had laid down their arms, including a field marshal, twenty-three generals and thousands of other officers. So, crushing a defeat throws a long shadow.

The New York Times

February 11, 1943

## IN THE STONES OF STALINGRAD

Reporters who have talked to the Germans captured in the graveyard of Stalingrad note the sharp contrast between the temper of the officers and the ordinary soldiers. All these men have experienced the hell they have created for others in their savage drive over Europe. They are sorry specimens, the broken and ragged remnants of the arrogant armies that rolled over Poland and France and Greece in the first fine rapture of conquest and destruction. They stumbled out of their cellars, over the frozen heaps of their own dead, like scarecrows in a scene of desolation. Through the eyes of the correspondents on the spot we see a field of stones, without a street or a house or a tree or any landmark to show that this was once a city. We see, too, the human wreckage of a great the generals sullen, tight-lipped and full of venom; the soldiers starved, confused and glad to be captured. To the haughty officers of the Sixth

Army to be prisoners of the Russians is the final humiliation. They are bitter, and what they think of Hitler for sending them to the Volga and leaving them there to perish probably explains much of their bitterness. But the soldiers express their opinions openly. Since Duesseldorf and Cologne, one of them told a reporter, are now almost as bad as Stalingrad, they can no longer believe their Fuehrer is a superman. "These fellows could stand almost anything from Hitler", adds their interlocutor, "but not failure". Applied to the Germans in general, this observation has great significance. The break in

Germany will not come suddenly or soon. Hitler still commands powerful weapons which he will use to the utmost, against the Germans themselves, if necessary; Stalingrad is the proof of how little he values his troops compared to his own pride. But when the people realize that they have endured and sacrificed everything for failure, their revulsion against Hitler is sure to be as terrible as the fury of conquered nations.

What the gaunt and beaten soldiers of Stalingrad say today all Germany will be saying tomorrow.

### (Endnotes)

1 Based on "The City of Steel 1942-1943, The Battle of Steel through the eyes of British and American newspapers", The Foundation of Historical Outlook, Editions des Syrtes

2 *Operation Jubilee* or the *Dieppe Raid* (19 August 1942) was an unsuccessful Allied amphibious attack on the German-occupied port of Dieppe in northern France, during the Second World War. Over 6,050 infantries, predominantly Canadian, supported by a regiment of tanks, were put ashore from a naval force operating under protection of Royal Air Force (RAF) fighters. Within ten hours, 3,623 of the 6,086 men who landed had been killed, wounded, or taken prisoner. The *Luftwaffe* made a maximum effort against the landing as the RAF had expected, but the RAF lost 106 aircraft (at least 32 to anti-aircraft fire or accidents) against 48 German losses. The Royal Navy lost 33 landing craft and a destroyer.

3 The *Battle of Verdun* was fought from 21 February to 18 December 1916 on the Western Front in France. The battle was the longest of the First World War and took place on the hills north of Verdun-sur-Meuse., The Germans planned to capture the Meuse Heights, an excellent defensive position, with good observation for artillery-fire on Verdun. The Germans hoped that the French would commit their strategic reserve to recapture the position and suffer catastrophic losses at little cost to the German infantry.

4 *Earl Haig* is a title in the peerage of the United Kingdom. It was created in 1919 for Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig. During the First World War, he served as commander of the British Expeditionary Force on the Western Front in France and Belgium (1915–18).

5 *Aleksei Alekseyevich Brusilov* (1853–1926) was a Russian and later Soviet general most noted for the development of new offensive tactics used in the 1916 Brusilov offensive, which was his greatest achievement.

6 *Anne O'Hare McCormick* (16 May 1880 – 29 May 1954) was an English-American journalist who worked as a foreign news correspondent for *The New York Times*. In an era where the field was almost exclusively «a man's world», she became the first woman to receive a Pulitzer Prize in a major journalism category, winning in 1937 for correspondence.

7 The *Bataan Death March* was the forcible transfer by the Imperial Japanese Army of 75,000 American and Filipino prisoners of war (POW) from the municipalities of Bagac and Mariveles on the Bataan Peninsula to Camp O'Donnell via San Fernando. The march was characterized by severe physical abuse and wanton killings. POWs who fell or were caught on the ground were shot. Exact figures casualties are unknown. Estimates range from 5,500 to 18,650 POW deaths.

## **BBC reporters Paul Winterton on Stalingrad**

**Audiofile**



## **BBC reporters Robert Robinson victory in Stalingrad**

**Audiofile**



## Chapter XII

### Glad to see you Mr. Stalin!

*I know that after my death a pile of rubbish will be heaped on my grave, but the wind of History will sooner or later sweep it away without mercy.*

JOSEPH STALIN

Time Magazine, September 22,  
1941

### Man of Steel

Behind blackout curtains, the lights burned late in a second-floor room of the Kremlin. Often last week, as in other weeks, they burned until four or five in the morning. Joseph Stalin was studying the greatest battle in history. One night the ballet season came to Moscow. A great Moscow crowd applauded the lyricism of Tchaikovsky's Swan Lake. But this year it was not for Joseph Stalin, who loves the ballet. He was absorbed with the most crucial reflections and decisions of his life. And now with a British mission in Moscow and a U.S. mission on the way, Occidentals caught occasional glimpses of the Dictator, learned how he lived, how he worked, how he thought:

Hour after hour, from noon when Stalin reached his office until early dawn when he retired to his apartment on the same floor, there were deferential callers. They found him looking tired. His thick hair and bushy mustache were greying.

His belly was fattening under his khaki shirt. But usually, his dark eyes flashed at his callers. He spoke to them brusquely, toughly, brandishing his arms.

Everything, during these hours, was momentous, but sometimes Joseph Stalin got off simple, heavy jokes. He said that the Nazis were too smart to put the Italians in the front line; Hitler used them for dishwashers. He laughed loudly at this one, but behind his own laughter he could hear the mechanized, Hitlerian tramp of destiny.

Every night there came times when there were no more officers or politicians waiting to see him. At his desk at the end of the long room he was alone. He considered the vast bloody picture puzzle of reports and rumors that he had been putting together all day. The war was going none too well. In the center, yes, Timoshenko was sharply counterattacking, the Germans were falling back. But in the north Voroshilov might soon be trapped in Leningrad. And in the south Budenny's defense of Kiev and Odessa was gravely threatened by new German eruptions east of the Dnieper. Aside from possibilities of more immediate catastrophes, if the Germans could hole up in these great Russian cities before winter, they might prepare crushing flank movements for the spring.

Stalin sometimes let his mind play on Japan and his problems in the East. But how far away, how far ahead, did it pay

to think? The crisis was on Russian soil, right now. And where was the great aid that Churchill and Roosevelt had talked about? So far, he had received only a few squadrons of British planes and a few tankers of American oil. He was fed to his pipe-clamping teeth with talk.

From where he sat, he could see portraits of Marx and Engels and a pale death mask of Lenin. But the Russian past all seemed very far away now—even the recent past in which he had consolidated his own dictatorship by executing hundreds of old friends and Old Bolsheviks. He was a hard man, worthy of the name of steel. He could feel it in himself. If anyone could come through the great historic grinding in which he now found himself, he could.

But now he could not depend on his own personal political shrewdness, on his personal stony capacity for the killing of those who opposed him. Now he was forced to admit that he depended on the millions of Russian soldiers. For once Joseph Stalin depended more on the Russians than they did on him.

He had been mistaken about them, he admitted, in Finland. He and his generals had told them that in Finland they were really fighting for Russia. It had been wrong, psychologically. Most of them had been too young to care that Finland had once been part of Russia.

Now the Russians were fighting on their own soil for their own homes. He knew that their morale was high. He had seen it make a great difference. He hoped it would make the difference. And he bluntly told callers that Russia would eventually win the war.

But at midnight, every night, he was glad to try to forget some of it for a while. He

went to his apartment and dined with his wife. If anything was likely to delay him, he thoughtfully called her up and told her so.

## LIFE Magazine, October 5, 1942 **STALIN: "GLAD TO SEE YOU, MR. WILLKIE"**

**Through LIFE Roosevelt's personal representative reports on his interview on war in the Kremlin  
by WENDELL WILLKIE<sup>1</sup>**

Stalin's invitation to me to come to the Kremlin for a conference reached the Foreign Office Goose Hotel I am staying at 7:30 on my third evening in Moscow. I knew that something important had happened from the way the receptionist acted when he announced that the Kremlin was on the telephone. The man was so excited that he could hardly speak, and his arms bobbed up and down like a marionette's. It isn't every day that Russians make a connection with the Kremlin, even by telephone.

The time set for the meeting was 7:30 in the evening of Sept. 23. I spent the morning touring the defense installations of Moscow which I am glad to report are among the most formidable that I've seen in any country I've visited, and in the afternoon attended a reception given for me by Admiral Standley<sup>2</sup> at the American Embassy.

At about 7:15 I stepped into the black Packard sedan that has been placed at my disposal and set out for the Kremlin. It was a cool autumn evening with the moon just beginning to climb over the Kremlin walls as we drove past them. I was wearing a business suit under my black overcoat.

The tall, rifle-bearing Red Army guards

at the gates of the Kremlin had evidently been advised of my coming because they let my car roll through with nothing more than a casual glance as they saluted stiffly. Somewhere near the center of the grounds I got out and walked into the building where Mr. Stalin has his office. I reached the second-floor reception room at 7:29 and just after removing my coat and hat an interpreter appeared to say that Stalin was ready to begin the conference.

The moment I entered his office Mr. Stalin rose from his chair at the end of the long birch conference table and strode toward me. He was dressed in pink whipcord trousers, a gray military blouse and black boots. Though stockily built he was shorter than I expected him to be, despite reports I had read to that effect. Actually, he would have to stand on his tiptoes to look over my shoulder. As we shook hands his first words were: "Rad vas videt gospadin Willkie" (Glad to see you, Mr. Willkie). I replied: "Delighted to see you, Mr. Stalin." After this exchange I greeted Mr. Molotov who remained throughout the interview. Besides the interpreter, no one else was present.

We felt completely at ease with one another throughout the conference. It was clear from the outset that Mr. Stalin did not look upon my visit as a courtesy call (which it wasn't), but as an opportunity for a frank heart-to-heart discussion about the war and the problems which always beset united nations in war and peace. Realizing that the greatest battle of the war the battle for Stalingrad – was drawing to a climax every minute that we were sitting there, I thought it only proper after an hour that I should make a move to leave although there was really much

more that I wished to take up with him. But when I made this move, he urged me to remain longer. We talked for another hour with only one break: when Mr. Stalin left for a few minutes to wash his hands.

Our talk took place around the end of the long table which has about six leather chairs on each side and one at each end. Mr. Stalin sat at one end with Mr. Molotov in the chair on his right and me and the interpreter on his left. As Mr. Stalin lit his pipe—a thing he did numerous times during the conference I took in the room with one sweeping glance. Behind me stood a heavy mahogany desk where apparently Mr. Stalin works when he is alone. I noticed that it was piled with papers that might have been of a military character. Large rich squares of birch paneling covered all the walls of the room to a height of 8 ft. The walls above the paneling were plain yellow, decorated with several large black-and-white drawings, one of which was of Lenin. In an alcove off one end there was a colossal relief globe about 10 ft. high. Although the office is large (about 75 ft. by 25 ft.), there is nothing pretentious about it.

First, Mr. Stalin inquired about my journey<sup>3</sup>. I told him that the military position in Egypt was much better than I had expected to find it, that the British had recently dealt Rommel's forces a stunning blow and that throughout the entire Middle East in general the military and political situation for the Allies had become much firmer. Turning to lighter aspects of the trip, I said that I had enjoyed my air journey immensely, adding that one had to ride in airplanes really to understand how small are man and his works. "Aha, so there's something

of the philosopher in you," Mr. Stalin said with a twinkle in his brown eyes.

Most of our conversation concerned military matters of a highly secret nature which, needless to say, cannot be disclosed. I can, however, state that Mr. Stalin gave frank, comprehensive and satisfactory replies to all of the many questions I raised. Furthermore, he said that Hitler, by rolling across South Russia to the Volga, had struck a terrible blow at the Soviet Union. But he left no doubt in my mind about Russia's power and determination to resist Germany at every tree, hillock, bridge and street until the United Nations destroy Hitler's war machine.

At one stage of our conference, Stalin made a convincing appeal for the United Nations to put every ounce of energy into the war effort with the greatest possible speed. If the will was present, he said that seemingly impossible obstacles could be overcome. In the simple eloquence and sincerity with which he spoke these words he showed a tremendous power of persuasiveness. Certainly, one of the keys to his greatness lies in this ability.

I told Mr. Stalin that I was eager to get back to America to tell everyone what I had seen of the great fight Russia was putting up, both at the front and behind it. The work that women were doing in factories, hospitals, on farms and on the transportation system was particularly impressive to me, I explained.

Thereupon Mr. Stalin looked at me like an old friend and said: "Mr. Willkie, do you mind if I make a suggestion?" I said: "Of course not." Stalin then said:

**"Yes, tell America all that you've seen here. Tell Americans if you like that we need all the products they can send**

**from their great workshops. We will be most grateful. But I would suggest that you understate the case rather than give anyone the impression that you are encouraging Americans to assume a patronizing attitude toward us."**

These I thought were wise words from a sagacious and alert man. With every minute that passed my appreciation of Stalin's gift for clear, straight thinking increased. He never talked around a subject, but always stuck right to the point until there was nothing more to say. When he spoke and of course it was always through an interpreter – he looked me straight in the eye and when I talked, he listened attentively to every word, though he doesn't understand English. Stalin appeared to be in excellent health and spirits, though he probably works as hard and shoulders as great a responsibility as any man in the world. The war has turned some of his jet-black hairs gray, but it has also steeled his heart more than ever against Fascist tyranny.

When our discussion ended, I asked Stalin if he would be so good as to let me introduce Gardner Cowles and Joe Barnes, my two companions on this trip. He said: "Pazhaluista gde oni nakhodiatsia?" (Please, where are they?) I then explained that I had told them to wait at the Guest House within arm's reach of the telephone in case I could arrange a meeting. So, I handed the interpreter a slip of paper with the Guest House telephone number, which I was carrying especially for this purpose. In ten minutes they arrived. Meanwhile Stalin had asked me if I would pose with him for a picture. We left the Kremlin at 9:45 and at midnight started for the front.

Time Magazine January 4,  
1943

## Die, But Do Not Retreat

The year 1942 was a year of blood and strength. The man whose name means steel in Russian, whose few words of English include the American expression “tough guy” was the man of 1942. Only Joseph Stalin fully knew how close Russia stood to defeat in 1942, and only Joseph Stalin fully knew how he brought Russia through.

But the whole world knew what the alternative would have been. The man who knew it best of all was Adolf Hitler, who found his past accomplishments turning into dust.

Had German legions swept past steel stubborn Stalingrad and liquidated Russia’s power of attack, Hitler would have been not only man of the year, but he would have been undisputed master of Europe, looking for other continents to conquer. He could have diverted at least 250 victorious divisions to new conquests in Asia and Africa. But Joseph Stalin stopped him. Stalin had done it before — in 1941 — when he started with all of Russia intact. But Stalin’s achievement of 1942 was far greater. All that Hitler could give he took—for the second time.

**Men of Good Will.** Above the heavy tread of nations on the march, above the staccato uproar of the battlefields, only a few men of peace were heard in 1942.

Britain’s William Temple<sup>4</sup>, who made his pilgrimage to Canterbury in 1942 and became the new Archbishop, was one of them. His church-approved program of reforms brought religion closer to the center of British national life than at any time since Cromwell’s

Roundheads. Temple challenged all Britain’s well-established institutions of economic privilege, espoused the cause of mankind’s economic freedom (which Britain loosely calls socialism), probably to leave a lasting mark on British history.

Another man who may leave a similar mark is Henry J. Kaiser<sup>5</sup>, the man who launched one of his Liberty ships in four days and 15 hours and, more important, preached as a practical businessman “full production for full employment.” His gospel challenged U.S. industry to lead the post-war world out of depression.

A third man who left a mark was Wendell Willkie, whose world-circling trip as the politician without office had an effect perhaps more lasting than the U.S. yet realizes on U.S. relations with Russia and the Orient.

But Willkie’s accomplishment was dimmed by his failure to command the firm support of his party, and the plain fact was that in 1942, a year of war, men of good will had no achievements to match those of men of arms and men of power.

**Men of War.** Flamboyant Erwin Rommel<sup>6</sup> and cold-mouthed Fedor von Bock were Germany’s two top generals in a year whose laurels were reserved primarily for fighting men. Rommel, who drove to within 70 miles of Alexandria before he was stopped by the British, established himself as one of the great virtuosos among field commanders. Bock directed a brilliant campaign which reached the west bank of the Volga, but the final spark that would have meant victory was not in him.

The greatest military conquests of the year — although not against the greatest forces — were those of frog-legged



Tomoyuki Yamashita<sup>7</sup>, who blasted the British out of Singapore, the Dutch out of the Indies and the U.S. out of Bataan and Corregidor. Yamashita in one year successfully seized a great empire for his country. On his side were advantages in numbers, in preparation, in the stupidity of the Allied nations, but Yamashita successfully capitalized on them.

Quite different were the military triumphs of Yugoslavia's General Draja Mihailovich<sup>8</sup>, who capitalized on a conquered nation's unconquerable urge for freedom to fight when fighting seemed impossible. But before the year was out thousands of his countrymen, probably distrusting the Yugoslav Government in exile more than they did Mihailovich, supported the rival Partisan guerrillas who were carving out their own fighting front. From high on the crags of southern Serbia, Mihailovich, a great fighter, saw, instead of the unification of his country, a preview of rival aims and clashing ideologies which may bring out a rash of civil wars in post-war Europe.

As for the military men of the U.S., 1942 offered them few opportunities for great achievement. General Eisenhower's able occupation of North Africa only placed him on the threshold of his real test. Douglas MacArthur, whose brilliant skill and courage raised him to the rank of hero while he fought an inevitably losing fight, still lacked the means to win the crown of a great victory. Outstanding among Americans for accomplishment in battle stood the name of Admiral William Halsey<sup>9</sup>, who, not once but again & again, took his task force into swift encounters against the Japs to deal them telling blows.

Yet no military man from Rommel to

Halsey was the man of 1942 for a good sufficient reason: there was no military victory of the year which showed signs of being conclusive.

**Men of Power.** There was perhaps no more unlikely place to look for a Man of 1942 than in prostrate France. Yet two Frenchmen, both of whom the U.S. disliked and distrusted, rose to the top of a soiled political heap. One of them was Pierre Laval<sup>10</sup>, who rose to the honor of a meeting with Hitler to which the tragicomic Benito Mussolini was not invited. If Hitler wins, Pierre Laval may yet be a successful man, Jean François Darlan's deal with General Eisenhower might have profited him eventually, but his award was an assassin's bullet.

A far greater step to power was taken by a Japanese. From behind his horn-rimmed glasses and the ack-ack of his cigar smoke, Premier Hideki Tojo emerged as a character worthy of his nickname: The Razor. He, like Stalin, was tough. So were his people. He took the major political risk of the year in tackling Britain and the U.S., and, for the year, it turned out to be a good speculation. His armies conquered Hong Kong, the Philippines, Singapore, the Dutch East Indies and Burma. Never in history had one nation conquered so much so quickly. Seldom had any nation's fighting abilities been underestimated so badly. Tojo, or Emperor Hirohito, in whose name all Japanese wage holy war, might well have been the man of the year, if the explosive Japanese campaigns had not shown signs of burning out.

For the great leaders of the United Nations 1942 was another story. China's Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek struggled on stubbornly against China's internal problems and the invading Japanese.

Britain's Winston Churchill, Man of 1940, delivered victory in Egypt after standing on the verge of defeat. Franklin Roosevelt, Man of 1941, shouldered mountainous problems, solved some, left others still crying to be solved. He successfully brought the weight of the U.S. to bear against the Axis. But the 1942 accomplishments of Chiang, of Churchill and of Roosevelt will not bear fruit till 1943.

And worthy though they may prove, they inevitably pale by comparison with what Joseph Stalin did in 1942.

At the beginning of the year Stalin was in an unenviable spot. During the year before he had sold over 400,000 miles of territory at the price of saving most of his army. Gone was a big fraction — how large only he knew — of the precious tanks, planes and war equipment which he had been hoarding for years against the Nazi attack. Gone was roughly one-third of Russia's industrial capacity, on which he depended for replacements. Gone was nearly half of Russia's best farmland.

With all this gone, Stalin had to face another full-weight blow from the Nazi war machine. For every trained soldier the Germans had lost in the previous year's battles, he had probably lost as many and more. For every bit of valuable experience which his soldiers and commanders had gained, the Germans had had the opportunity to gain an equal amount.

Stalin still had the magnificent will to resist of the Russian people — who had as much claim to glory as the British people had when they withstood the blitz of 1940. But a strong people had not prevented the loss of White Russia and the Ukraine. Would they be any better

able to prevent the conquest of the Don basin, of Stalingrad, of the Caucasus? The strongest will to resist can eventually crack under continued defeat.

Only one new resource had Stalin for 1942: the help of the U.S. And, as events were to prove, that was to come late and to be bottlenecked by German attacks on the North Sea route and the Caucasus.

With these reduced resources, Stalin tackled his problem, trying to pick abler leaders for his Army, trying to improve its resistance, trying to maintain the morale of his underfed people, trying to extract more aid from his Allies and to get them to open a second front.

Only Stalin knows how he managed to make 1942 a better year for Russia than 1941. But he did. Sevastopol was lost, the Don basin was nearly lost, the Germans reached the Caucasus. But Stalingrad was held. The Russian people held. The Russian Army came back with four offensives that had the Germans in serious trouble at year's end.

Russia was displaying greater strength than at any point in the war. The general who had won that overall battle was the man who runs Russia.

**The Man.** In his birch-paneled office within the dark-towered Kremlin, Joseph Stalin (pronounced Stal-yn), an imponderable, soberly persistent Asiatic, worked at his desk 16 to 18 hours a day. Before him he kept a huge globe showing the course of campaigns over territory, he himself defended in the civil wars of 1917–20. This time he again defended it, and mostly by will power. There were new streaks of grey in his hair and new etchings of fatigue in his granite face. But there was no break in his hold on Russia and there was long-neglected recognition

of his abilities by nations outside the Soviet borders.

The problem for Stalin the statesman was to present the seriousness of the plight of Russia as an ally to Western leaders long suspicious of Stalin and his workers' State. Stalin, who had every reason to expect the city named for him to fall shortly after its heroic siege began on Aug. 24, desperately wanted aid from his allies. Stalin the politician made these desires the hope of the Russian people. He made them think that a continental second front had been promised to them, and thereby strengthened their will to hang on.

For his armies Stalin coined the slogan Umeraite No Ne Ostupajte (Die, But Do Not Retreat). It had been shown at Moscow that a strongly fortified city can be held as a strong point against attack by mechanized forces. Stalin chose to make Stalingrad another such point. While Germans and Russians were booting each other to death in the bomb-pocked streets, Stalin was organizing the winter offensive which burst into the Don basin with the fury of the snowstorms that accompanied it.

To keep his home front intact, Stalin had only work and black bread to offer. He added a promise of victory in 1942 and called to his people to sacrifice collectively to preserve the things they had built collectively. Children and women foraged in the forests for wood. A ballerina canceled one performance because she was stiff from chopping wood. Production norms were increased, apartments went unheated, electricity was turned off four days a week. At year's end the Russian children had no new toys for the New Year's celebration. There

were no red-cloaked wooden replicas of Dyed Moross (Granddad Frost). There was no smoked salmon, no pickled herring, no goose, no vodka, no coffee for the grownups. But there was rejoicing. The Rodina (Motherland) had been saved for the second time in two years and now victory and peace could not be too far off.

The trek of world dignitaries to Moscow in 1942 brought Stalin out of his inscrutable shell, revealed a pleasant host and an expert at playing his cards in international affairs. At banquets for such men as Winston Churchill, W. Averill Harriman and Wendell Willkie, Host Stalin drank his vodka straight, talked the same way. He sent Foreign Minister Viacheslav Molotov to London and Washington to promote the second front and jack up laggard shipments of war materiel. In two letters to Henry Cassidy of the A.P., Stalin shrewdly used the world's headlines to state the Russian case for more aid.

Stalin did not get his continental second front in 1942, but when a new front was opened in North Africa he publicly approved. On the 25th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, Stalin, in his big state speech of the year, reviewed the past and for the future struck the note of statesmanship.

**The Past.** The Revolution that was begun in 1917 by a handful of leather-coated working men and pallid intellectuals waving the red flag, by 1942 had congealed into a party government that has remained in power longer than any other major party in the world. It began under the leadership of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, on Marxist principles of a moneyless economy which challenged the right to accumulate wealth by private initiative.

The world reviled and caricatured the early Bolsheviks as bush-whiskered anarchists with a bomb in each hand. But Lenin, faced with hard facts and a war-beaten, superstitious, illiterate people, compromised with Marxism. Stalin, succeeding him, compromised still further, concentrated on building socialism in one state. Retained through the years of Russia's great upheaval was the basic conception that the ownership and operation of the means of production must be kept in the hands of the state.

Within Russia's immense disorderliness, Stalin faced the fundamental problems of providing enough food for the people and improving their lot through 20th-century industrial methods. He collectivized the farms and he built Russia into one of the four great industrial powers on earth. How well he succeeded was evident in Russia's world-surprising, strength in World War II. Stalin's methods were tough, but they paid off.

**The Present.** The U.S., of all nations, should have been the first to understand Russia. Ignorance of Russia and suspicion of Stalin were two things that prevented it. Old prejudices and the antics of U.S. Communists dangling at the end of the Party line were others. As Allies fighting the common enemy, the Russians have fought the best fight so far. As post-war collaborators, they hold many of the keys to a successful peace.

The two peoples who talk the most and scheme the biggest schemes are the Americans and the Russians. Both can be sentimental one moment, blazingly angry the next. Both spend their money freely for goods and pleasures, drink too much, argue interminably. Both are builders. The U.S. built mills and factories and tamed

the land across a continent 3,000 miles wide. Russia tried to catch up by doing the same thing through a planned program that post-pioneer Americans would not have suffered. The rights as individuals that U.S. citizens have, the Russians want and believe they eventually will receive. Some of the discipline that the Russians have, the U.S. may need before the end of World War II.

**The Future.** In his 25th-anniversary speech Stalin emphasized that the most important event in foreign affairs, both for war and peace, was Allied collaboration. "We have the facts and events," he said, "pointing to a progressive rapprochement among the members of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition and their uniting in a single fighting alliance." This was a frank approach to the post-war world, as realistically sensible as Stalin's expressed ideas on dealings with Germany. "Our aim," he said, "is not to destroy all armed force in Germany, because any intelligent man will understand that this is as impossible in the case of Germany as in the case of Russia. It would be unreasonable on the part of the victor to do so. To destroy Hitler's army is possible and necessary."

What other war aims Stalin has are not officially known, but there are reports in high circles that he wants no new territories except at points needed to make Russia impregnable against invasion. There is also a story in high places that, in keeping with the "tough-guy" tradition, credits Stalin with one other desire: permission from his allies to raze Berlin, as a lesson in psychology to the Germans and as a burnt offering to his own heroic people.

**(Endnotes)**

1 **Wilkie Wendell** (1892–1944)-American politician and diplomat, throughout the Second World War he made publications in the press about co-operation with the USSR, which ranged from calls for the opening of a second front in Europe to outright accusations at the end of 1944. He was an active opponent of the New Deal and participated in the presidential elections of 1940 as a rival of F.D. Roosevelt from the Republican Party. In 1942 he was on a diplomatic mission to the USSR, met with Stalin.

2 **William Harrison Standley** (18 December 1872–25 October 1963) was an admiral in the United States Navy, who served as Chief of Naval Operations from 1933 to 1937. He also served as the U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union from 1941 until 1943.

3 After leaving the United States on 26 August 1942, Wilkie first visited North Africa, where he met with General Montgomery and toured the front at El Alamein. In Beirut he stayed with General de Gaulle, leader of Free France. Next in Jerusalem he met with representatives of the Jewish and Arab population and the British administration of Palestine before travelling to Moscow.

4 **William Temple** (1881–1944) 98th Archbishop of Canterbury, leader of the ecumenical movement, British education and labour reformer.

5 **Henry John Kaiser** (1882–1967) was an American industrialist and entrepreneur, founder of a number of large industrial and commercial companies. Kaiser's most famous brainchild was the shipbuilding yards, which were the first to apply modern principles of ship construction. During the Second World War, cargo ships of the Liberty series were produced on average every 45 days. During the Second World War ships of this type were built in large numbers (2751 ships were built). To speed up the construction, the ships were assembled from ready-made sections, which were prefabricated in the hull shop. The labour of women welders was widely used.

6 **Johannes Erwin Eugen Rommel** (1891–1944) was a German *Generalfeldmarschall* (field marshal) during World War II. Popularly known as the **Desert Fox** he served in the *Wehrmacht* of Nazi Germany, as well as in the *Reichswehr* of the Weimar Republic, and the army of Imperial Germany. Rommel was injured multiple times in both world wars. In World War II, he commanded the 7th Panzer Division during the 1940 invasion of France. His leadership of German and Italian forces in the North African campaign established his reputation as one of the ablest tank commanders of the war. In 1944, Rommel was implicated in the 20 July plot to assassinate Hitler. Rommel was given a choice between suicide he chose the former and took a cyanide pill.

7 **Tomoyuki Yamashita** (1885–1946) was a general in the Imperial Japanese Army who defeated the British Empire in Southeast Asia during World War II and expanded Japan's borders to India and Australia. He was nicknamed the Malay Tiger for the success of the lightning Malay Operation.

8 **Dragoljub (Draža) Mihailović** also Mihailović ( 1893–1946) was a Yugoslav and Serbian military figure, participant in the Balkan Wars and World War I, leader of the Chetnik movement, Chief of Staff of the Supreme Command of the Yugoslav Army at home and Minister of Army, Navy and Aviation in the émigré government of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia during World War II.

9 **William Frederick Halsey, Jr. ('Bull')** (1882–1959) was an American admiral during World War II who commanded formations and fleets in the Pacific. In 1942, his primary mission as fleet commander in the South Pacific was to hold Guadalcanal, an island in the Solomon Islands. The battle included 3 major land battles and 5 sea battles. Under Halsey's leadership, the fleet achieved its objectives, albeit at quite a cost, setting the stage for victory at Guadalcanal. It was the first major Allied offensive against Japanese forces and was a turning point in the struggle in the Pacific. As a token of his honour, William Halsey was awarded the rank of full admiral.

10 **Pierre Jean Marie Laval** (1883–1945) was a French politician who held high government

posts during the Third Republic, serving as Prime Minister (1931–1932, 1935–1936). In 1936–1940 he became known as a media magnate, owner of several newspapers and radio stations. Active in the collaboration 'Vichy government' during World War II and its head (Prime Minister) from 1942 to 1944. He organized the forced removal of the best French workers to Germany, allowed the Gestapo to operate in the unoccupied territory, led the arrests and sent to extermination of the Jews of France. After the war he was tried and sentenced to death by firing squad.

## Chapter XIII

### Victory Is a fighting word! Barrage of 1943.

Time Magazine February 22,  
1943

#### How Many Rivers to Cross?

**New victories are imminent after the fall of Rostov and Voroshilovgrad. The Red Army is already far west of the line between these two cities. In its irresistible sustained drive it has encircled large parts of Hitler's Army.— Moscow Radio.**

It was hard to conceive what new victories would seem epic at the end of last week. For last week was the greatest, the happiest week of the war for Russia's armies. The triumphs of the week were dizzying. New possibilities were unfolded which a month ago would have seemed fantastic. The focus of war had suddenly moved westward. Men's eyes turned toward the Dnieper, toward the old borders of Russia — toward Berlin.<sup>1</sup>

*Success In Snow.* What a young Russian general (Filip Ivanovich Golikov)<sup>2</sup> accomplished on a limited Russian sector (Kursk) as the week opened seemed at first to be another wonderful but local success. Actually the way Kursk was captured and the consequences of its fall shed much light on Russian potentialities.

A snowstorm had been raging for several days. On the day when Colonel General Golikov's campaign opened there was such a whirling blizzard that a Russian correspondent's car took three hours to negotiate a quarter-mile. The Germans, sure that human beings would not fight on such a day, crawled into their dugouts and turned their backs on war.

The Russians advanced. They staggered forward, blinded by snow and bending over their green-lit compasses. In the forests they felt for tree trunks for guidance and support. Their frozen greatcoats crackled like splitting boards. When the Russians reached the napping defenders far east of Kursk, they charged and quickly captured batteries that fired not a shell.

Having won the first round by surprise, the Russians pressed their advantages. Sticking to the roads, they pushed through to the northwest of Kursk, and moved into positions to the northeast and southeast. Planes dropped pamphlets showing pictures of the captured Field Marshal von Paulus at Stalingrad and describing the slow strangulation there. The three groups attacked concentrically. Kursk fell so fast that even the Russians must have been surprised.

*Success in Bulk.* That was the signal for a general crumbling of what had been for over a year a rigid, unbreakable line. On both Colonel General Golikov's front and that to the south under Nikolai Vatutin,

who was last week promoted from Colonel General to Army General, the Reds exploited their advantage. Belgorod fell. So did Lozovaya, Voroshilovsk, Voroshilovgrad, Likhaya. The attackers rolled around Kharkov, which like Kursk had been one of the main fortresses on Germany's great wall of last winter. Russians crept early this week to within seven miles of Kharkov, and the city's fall seemed imminent. It was all surprisingly easy. The hedgehogs seemed to be walking away in the snow, shedding only a few barbed quills.

*Success in Fire.* As a climax to a week of climaxes, Rostov, the southern anchor of the whole German line and a bitterly defended place, burst into flames and fell to the attackers. Thus the Germans lost the one sure foothold for an attack in the Caucasus in the spring. Rostov's loss was the clearest indication yet that there might not be another German offensive in Russia, since any offensive would have to start all over again on a program which had once failed.

*Success in Fluidity?* All this suggested that the Germans on the southern front had been forced to go over (as Rommel did when he left El Alamein<sup>3</sup>) from rigid to elastic defense. They had been forced to do so because of the Russian mastery of winter tactics and because of their own fear of encirclement.

Elastic defense can be masterful, as Rommel's retreat to Tunisia was, or merely chaotic. The Russians had two chances of making it chaotic—they could drive south through Stalin to the Sea of Azov, pocketing the routed defenders of Rostov, and west from Lozovaya to the Dnieper bend at Dnepropetrovsk, cutting the Caucasian remnant and Crimean

garrisons off from convenient retreat by rail or good roads.

If the Germans succeeded in some masterful withdrawals, it was possible that they might marshal reserves at some line of their choosing—perhaps along the Dnieper—and counterstrike at the then extended Russians. Since the Russians had again done their best work in their worst winter weather, and since the thaws of southern Russia produce a mud which is beyond description, the Germans probably look forward to a slackening of Russian momentum in a month or six weeks.

*Fears.* This uncertainty as to how far the Russians might be able to go gave rise to a curious reaction in Britain and the U.S. Many voices, some nervously, some skeptically, asked the question: Just what kind of victory does Russia want? The question arose from two mutually contradictory fears. One group seemed to fear that the Red advance would sweep to Russia's old borders and stop, leaving the German fox still dangerously alive, the Allies holding a still-empty bag. The other group feared that the Red advance would sweep to and perhaps beyond the Rhine, that all Europe would be Bolshevized.

The first school thinks Joseph Stalin may be playing a sly, lone, isolationist hand. It points out parallels, such as Kutuzov's reply to the British observer Wilson when the latter urged the Russian to destroy Napoleon instead of merely pursuing him. "Kutuzov told him plainly," says Eugene Tarle (*Napoleon's Invasion of Russia*), "that his aim was to eject Napoleon from Russia and that he did not see why Russia should waste her forces on the complete destruction of Napoleon, since the harvest of such a victory would be reaped by England, not Russia."



The other (Red menace) school is exemplified by a recent editorial in the New York Daily News: "It is a cinch bet that the much-discussed postwar policing of Germany will be done by the Russians. . . Stalin will accomplish what Hitler tried to do—dominate all Europe. The effect of all this on us will be to leave us in as much danger from Europe as we were before this war."

Which, if either, of the apprehensive schools is within a light-year of the truth? What kind of victory does Russia want? The only way even to approximate an answer at this stage, besides examining the nature of the Red successes and their potentialities, is to estimate what Stalin and his Army want, review the known facts as to what Stalin's Government has said it wants.

*Front Commander.* In trying to gauge how far the Russians can go, it is important to try to see what her military men want. They all seem to want: terrible punishment of the Nazis.

Filip Ivanovich Golikov, a typical front commander, seems to want that. He is young: 45. He fought in the revolution. He is a product of Frunze Military Academy. He is one of few Red generals who have firsthand knowledge of Russia's allies.

Just after the war broke out, he was sent to Britain and the U.S. for staff talks on supply problems. In the U.S. Golikov was treated (and behaved) more like a mystery man than a visiting celebrity. He was observed to be a muscular man with a head which seemed to have been carved from pink glass, to be so short that the handkerchief in Sumner Welles's pocket showed above his clean-shaven crown. Beyond that nothing was known. He disappeared after a brief visit.

Back in Russia he was given command of one of the seven armies that saved Moscow. There he saw what the Germans were capable of doing—but also what his own men could do. Golikov's army defeated two divisions of much-touted Heinz Guderian's Second Tank Army and took the towns of Mikhailov and Yepifan. This year he was promoted from army commander to commander of the Voronezh front. What he has done there, culminating last week in the cracking of the Germans' rigid southern line, suggests that he personally burns for total destruction of the enemy.

*Commander in Excelsis.* But the key to Russia's military determination is the man who is key to everything in Russia. If Russia's allies knew as much about Joseph Stalin as he knows about them, they would have a much clearer idea of where he stands. The few U.S. and British diplomats and officers who have talked with Stalin say that he knows more than most Washington and London officials about Allied performance, personalities and weaknesses. He has on the end of his blunt tongue the exact dates of and reasons for the fall of Bataan, Corregidor, Singapore, Hong Kong, Rangoon. He says: "Timoshenko is my George Washington" (because Washington retired from Philadelphia to Valley Forge but still won the Revolutionary War); and: "Zhukov, he is my George B. McClellan—except that he has never lost a battle" (McClellan always hollered for more men, more weapons, more supply, more cavalry—but he lost the Seven Days' Battles, June 1862).

Responsible men who have talked with Stalin all come away with the conviction that he has the fixed determination to destroy Hitler's Army

and to punish, man by man, Hitler's henchmen. He has, they say, a fanatical desire to keep hammering the Germans, to keep them rolling, never to let them get set for a counteroffensive. Some say he wants to raze Berlin, as so many Russian cities have been razed. They are unanimous in believing that there is no thought of a negotiated peace in his stubborn mind. They are satisfied that the reason he did not attend the Casablanca conference was that he was busy at his desk directing the crucial stages of his offensive—and last week's news seemed to bear this out.

*The Record.* Since Stalin has been Russia's dictator, Russia has made much of abiding by signed agreements and official promises. The occupation of the Baltic States was accomplished by diplomatic pressure. The military occupation of part of Poland, the Russian argument runs, took place after the Government of Poland with which Russia had a non-aggression pact had ceased to exist. Finland was attacked on the somewhat flimsy grounds that the Finns allegedly fired first. Nevertheless, Russia's efforts to keep the peace of Europe were stronger than most. She tried to give the League vitality. She led the way in making bilateral pacts.

The Russians themselves point to these promises as the definition of their war aims. Last week Pravda quoted Joseph Stalin's speech of Nov. 6, 1941: **"We have not, nor can we have, such war aims as the seizure of foreign territories or the conquest of other peoples. . . Our first aim is to free our territories and our peoples from the German Nazi yoke. We have not, nor can we have, such war aims as the imposition of our**

**will and our regime on the Slavic and other enslaved peoples of Europe who are waiting for our help. Our aim is to help these peoples in their struggle for liberation from Hitler's tyranny."**

Other Russian declarations:

- On Russian border demands, Stalin said in the May Day order of 1942: "We want to liberate our Soviet land—our brothers the Ukrainians [including Bessarabians], Moldavians, White Russians [perhaps including those in its Polish sections], Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, and Karelians."

- Soviet Ambassador Ivan Maisky<sup>4</sup> said to the Inter-Allied Meeting, London, Sept. 24, 1941: "The Soviet Union defends the right of every nation to independence and territorial integrity . . . and its right to establish such a social order and to choose such a form of government as it deems opportune and necessary. . . ."

- The Anglo-Soviet Treaty of May 26<sup>5</sup>, 1942, says: "Britain and Russia wish to unite with other like-minded States in adopting proposals for common action to preserve peace and resist aggression in the postwar period."

- On the punishment of Nazis, Foreign Commissar Molotov's Declaration for War Crime Trials, Oct. 14, 1942 (urging the immediate trial of Rudolf Hess<sup>6</sup>): "The Soviet Government . . . expects that all interested States will mutually assist each other in searching for extradition, prosecution and stern punishment of the Hitlerites and their accomplices guilty of the organization, encouragement, or perpetration of crimes on occupied territory." A decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet setting up a

committee to list Axis crimes against Russia (Nov. 1942) specifically asks for trial of German Army commanders.

– On the clashing ideologies of the Soviet-Anglo-American coalition (from Stalin’s address on the eve of the 25th anniversary of the October Revolution, Nov. 6, 1942): “It would be ridiculous to deny the differences in ideologies and social systems of these countries. [This does not] preclude the possibility of joint action on the part of the members of this coalition against the common enemy. . . .”

*Bitter Taste.* These declarations are specific — perhaps more specific than the published postwar aims of the U.S. and Britain. But they leave many a forward-looking question unanswered. They omit any reference to Japan, with which Russia has a non-aggression pact. Some of the phraseology of these declarations is ambiguous and, to the Allied way of thinking, at least open to debate: e.g., the inclusion of Bessarabia and the Baltic States (“our brothers”) in “Soviet lands”; government, self-chosen or not, which is “opportune and necessary.”

On their part, the Russians might well have some uncertainties about the intentions and desires of Britain and the U.S. toward Europe. Their main clue is the Atlantic Charter, which is not notable for its reinforced-concrete qualities. To this Russia has subscribed. If the record of Allied politics in North Africa has caused certain British and U.S. citizens qualms, it had certainly not been reassuring to the Reds. They cannot be any more certain of the Allied game in Yugoslavia than the Allies can of theirs. The Russians, who consider that they have a right to the Baltic States and Bessarabia, do not like to hear Americans question that right.

When Columnist Constantine Brown did just that last week, Pravda answered angrily: “Why should he not make a generous present of California or Alaska to the United States? Do there not exist curious people who are ready to present to the Soviet Union parts of the latter’s own territory?”

Mutual uncertainty might develop into one of the great tragedies of World War II: that, having won a victory over an enemy who was certainly common, the victors might not be able to negotiate a common future. The thing which made this tragedy a real danger was the tendency of people at large and even some statesmen to speak in vague, fearful clichés without attempt to find out even what the Russians want.

The Russians are conscious of this danger. It was a danger which U.S. citizens, as wartime partners in a United Nations not yet efficiently united, would have to face and think about, not in vague and fearful clichés nor in sentimental idealistics, but as citizens of the postwar world.

Newsweek, March 1, 1943

## **KHARKHOV’S STORY**

**Bill Downs<sup>7</sup>, Newsweek’s Moscow correspondent, sent the following cable on his return from a visit to Kharkov just eight days after the recapture of the city by the Red Army.**

Fifteen months’ occupation of Kharkov — what Hitler calls “Aryan Colonization” — has all but killed the Soviet capital of the Ukraine. Kharkov today looks like a city which has undergone earthquake, the Black Plague, and the Chicago Fire all at

once. But the city's wounds are not so much on the surface as at its foundations — they are spiritual rather than material.

It is in the faces of the people of Kharkov that you read the city's real tragedy. They had been hungry for so long that they had got used to it. Their faces were dough white or pastry yellow. The children had deep circles under their eyes. Every body's clothing needed washing, patching, and replacing.

These people who were lucky enough to survive lived for fifteen months on a maximum of 300 grams of bread a day — supplemented with what the family furniture and clothing would bring in the way of food through secret barter with the farmers in the surrounding district.

There are few young men anywhere in the Kharkov district today. Those caught in the city when the Germans marched in were either sent to Germany or were shot or hanged or escaped to unoccupied Russia. Even boys of 12 and 14 have the look of men about them. There are many women, some of them young. But one school teacher told me: "Most of our beautiful Ukrainian girls are gone now." The Germans also shipped beauty back to Germany as a Ukrainian commodity.

When the Germans entered the city a year ago last October, they immediately began hanging men. For a distance of 2 miles down Sumskaya Street, from the government center to the business center, Russians were hanged from every balcony. Thereafter, hangings were frequent, disappearances common, and beatings occurred every day.

The prewar population of the city was 900,000 which was swelled to 1,300,000 by refugees shortly before the occupation. The Soviets evacuated 250,000 before

the occupation. The population today is estimated at 350,000. A number of people escaped to the unoccupied zone, but what happened to the rest no one will ever know. The Germans didn't bother to issue death decrees or keep records of their executions. *The Nazis organized their "colonization" schemes carefully. First, they used the extensive records of the Ukrainian Nationalist movement they had prepared in Berlin. Then they sent Nationalist leaders whom they found sympathetic into the Western Ukraine. They appointed Professor Alexeyev Kramerenko<sup>8</sup>, an instructor of chemistry at the famous Kharkov university, as the town's first burgomaster. Kramerenko was an ardent Ukrainian Nationalist. The town was divided into six districts, and Kramerenko's friends were appointed district heads. At the same time German "colonists" — businessmen, shopkeepers, carpetbaggers, and just plain adventurers — began to drift into town. The best buildings, shops, and houses were turned over to these colonists. The original Russian occupants were given worthless receipts or were told plainly to get out — or were hanged. Although the exact circumstances are unclear, Kramerenko finally realized he had been duped, and the Germans were forced to shoot him. The rate of exchange for the German reichsmark was set at 1 mark for 10 rubles, giving the Germans a neat exchange profit. There was absolutely no civil law, and martial law did not include civil cases. There were many cases of rape where the parents of the offended girl were simply too terrorized to complain to the authorities. When the Red Army drive reached the outskirts of Kharkov and two days before the Germans left, the Nazis*

began systematic demolition of the city's biggest and newest buildings, many of which were the pride of the Ukraine. The House of Projects, which looks like a small-sized Radio City, the House of Cooperation, which looks like a miniature Stevens Hotel, Kharkov International Hotel and others of the biggest and newest buildings were completely gutted by fire and by mining. Then the day after the Red Army's reoccupation the Germans sent over 25 bombers which systematically flew down street after street, dropping bombs on the smoldering buildings.

This is only part of the story. The rest would require a book. But Kharkov is only the first of the cities of Eastern Europe which must be retaken from the Germans. There are Kiev, Riga, Danzig, Warsaw, and a string of others where this same story is going to form one of the saddest chapters in the world's history.

Meanwhile, the Germans succeeded in reestablishing part of Kharkov's factories but only for the repair of army equipment. While the population starved, parties of German soldiers searched homes of Russians suspected of hoarding sugar and other foods. Executions and internments continued. A man would be denounced to the Germans on one day and disappear the next. The Germans even tried pressing Ukrainian men into the German Army—mostly in the labor corps as there were large numbers of desertions.

Newsweek, March 15, 1943

## **BATTLE FOR RAILWAYS**

For eighteen months Moscow lived in the shadow of grave danger. Just 180 miles away, in the ancient city of Rzhev, a

powerful German army stood ever ready to strike at the capital. One after another, Red offensives broke against Rzhev<sup>9</sup>.

Last week, Rzhev fell. Its German garrison slipped out, and only a few detachments stayed behind to fight rear-guard actions and destroy the: Volga bridge. With the memory of Stalingrad still fresh in its mind, the Nazi High Command obviously decided not to risk encirclement by the Red forces sweeping westward on both flanks. Once Rzhev was gone, Gzhatsk too was abandoned. And with Gzhatsk gone, Vyazma was also untenable in face of the Red advance. Thus, the entire German wedge into the heart of Central Russia was crumbling apart, and, at its base, Smolensk itself was in danger.

Farther north, on the desolate shores of frozen Lake Ilmen, the Russians opened a new front. In this region of rivers and lakes, a force under Marshal Semyon Timoshenko—whose whereabouts have been a mystery since last fall—drove forward against the powerful German base of Staraya Russa.

The latest Red victories in the northern and central sectors threatened vital German rail communications and opened captured lines to the Soviets. The Russians especially stressed the fact that they had gained control of the entire line running west to Velikiye Luki. In the south as well as in the north, the struggle began to center around the control of the railways.

## **Significance**

The weather was one reason the Battle of Russia had become a battle for railways. Already the Ukraine was a vast expanse of mud. In another few

weeks the thaw will send the carpet of mud rolling northward, until it covers the entire eastern front. Then and until the sun dries the soil late in May — the railways will be virtually the sole means of transportation.

Control of railroads thus was essential to victory. This was why the Reds put so much weight behind their attack on the Bryansk-Kiev railway. This, too, explained Moscow's elation over the capture of the line to Velikiye Luki. Some day soon, this railroad will become the lifeline of the armies hammering at Smolensk or Latvia.

In the Red scale of values, railroads have always ranked high. Back in 1935, Marshal Klementi Voroshiloff told a congress of Soviets: "Give us better transport! It is the blood brother of the Red Army." Top Communists always drew the tough task of reorganizing railroads. Russia's harshest laws were invoked against the slackers and the incompetents in railway jobs. For years, reports on the tonnage of freight moved pushed foreign news off the Soviet front pages.

Under such careful nursing, the railroads did improve. But the war put them under an almost unbearable strain. Countless industrial plants, with their tools, machinery, and workers, were bodily moved eastward. The factories thus uprooted included Russia's largest, and their average migration was 1,000 miles. At the same time, masses of men and arms flowed westward, toward the front. Rolling stock rescued from the Germans formed huge jams at rail junctions, and for months desperate, sleepless railway men struggled to break the bottlenecks. Sometimes the only way to keep the traffic moving was to lay rail detours around the congested stations.

By last fall, the crisis had passed. Industry was rooted in new soil. The transport jams were broken. Traffic began to flow largely in one direction: west. The trip from Moscow to Kuibyshev, which took six days in 1941, was reduced to a normal three. When the great Red offensive opened last Nov. 19, the railroads were ready and able to cope with the burden of supporting the attacks. One way used to ease the load put on the railways was to shift part of it to trucks. Eighty-odd thousand Lend-Lease trucks came from the United States. Dodges and GMC's carted Red Army supplies in the Don River area. Perhaps 10,000 trucks captured from the Nazis were also put to work. But the usefulness of all these vehicles was limited by the thaw.

Red labor brigades are now working feverishly to restore traffic on recaptured railways. The main job before them is gauge widening. Wherever they advanced, the Germans altered the gauge from the Russian 5-foot width to the European gauge, 314 inches narrower. This enabled the Wehrmacht to move its supplies straight from the Ruhr to Kursk and Stalingrad. On retreating, the Germans often sawed off the tie ends. However, it was improbable that they could saw the ties close enough to the rails to prevent the necessary 14-inch widening. Rails can be fastened to the edges of the ties; then they last but a few months — but that's all the Russians count on. Nevertheless, as their advance continues, the Soviets will have to solve these all-important transport riddles:

Equipment: The Germans did a thorough scorched-earth job on the railway stations, junctions, and depots they abandoned. They removed all junction frogs and blew

up the bridges—including the great bridge over the Volga River at Rzhev. At Kharkov, for example, they destroyed the station and railway repair shops.

**Rails:** With munitions holding absolute priority, Russia's steel mills cannot hope to meet the demand for rail replacements. Shortly before the war, the Soviets bought a limited quantity of used rails in the United States. An order for new rails in Sweden was never delivered because of the war. Under Lend-Lease, 75,000 tons of rails and 17,000 tons of other railway equipment have been sent to Russia up to Feb. 1. But all this is a small drop in a very large bucket.

**Spare Parts:** There is no shortage of locomotives and freight cars, for most were saved—and of Russia's 59,520 miles of track half is still in German hands. But deterioration has been great, and no spare parts are being manufactured.

**Fuel:** The railways have always been Russia's heaviest coal users. Therefore, they suffered most from the loss of the great Donbas mines. The shortage of coal has been only partly overcome by increased coal output east of the Urals and by a switch to wood and peat.

The Reds tackled their railway problems with the same ruthlessness with which they fought their battles. To widen the gauge and repair the beds of the recaptured lines, they conscripted the local population into Army-directed labor gangs. To supply their new industries and their troops, they planned 6,800 miles of new railways last year. They bought railway equipment in the United States, including the largest order for automatic signals ever placed in this country. Their railroad to Murmansk often sank out of sight in the treacherous tundra—but it

was shored up. When Leningrad cried for supplies, the Reds laid a railroad across the ice of Lake Ladoga.

The miracle man of Russian transport is Lazar Kaganovich<sup>10</sup>. For more than a decade now, this swarthy human dynamo has been Stalin's favorite trouble shooter. After the terrible famine of 1933, Stalin rushed him to the Ukraine to organize the harvesting of the 1934 crop. Kaganovich combined oratory with an iron hand and special tractor shock brigades and did the job. When the railways buckled under a wave of accidents—60,000 collisions in a single year—Stalin made him Commissar of Railways. He got the same post a second time when his successor botched the job.

There were few tasks Kaganovich did not tackle. He built the Moscow subway, a section of which was shown at the New York World's Fair. He "bossed" the Moscow Communist machine. He revised textbooks. In many branches of industry—oil, coal, steel, machinery, chemicals—he proved himself a superb organizer and efficiency expert. He knew the limits of human endurance, and he drove men right up to those limits. But it was the railways which always remained his specialty, and he visited the United States in 1937 to study American methods.

Kaganovich is one of the few remaining "Old Guard" Bolsheviks still in power. He was a young and rebellious shoemaker when he joined the party in 1911, and he stayed with it through all its troubles. A born spellbinder, he rose quickly to the omnipotent ten-man Polit-Bureau which rules Russia. Today, he is one of the three secretaries of the Communist party. The other two are Andrei Zhdanoff, the Leningrad boss, and Stalin.

Kaganovich's loyalty to Stalin is

unwavering. He wears a Stalinesque mustache, assumes Stalin's gestures, and copies Stalin's dress. Whatever tasks he performs, he gives all credit to Stalin. He shies away from publicity. His working day seldom goes below sixteen hours, and he contents himself with four or five hours of sleep.

When Hitler's armies raced across the Ukraine last year, Stalin rushed Kaganovich to the Caucasus to team up with Gen. Ivan Tulyeneff: In this post, Kaganovich rallied the civilians to new efforts and sacrifices, and saw to it that the earth captured by the foe was really scorched. The battle won, Kaganovich returned to his modest apartment in the Kremlin last month. His new job: Commissar for Transport.

The Evening Star, March 3, 1943

## **Threat to Moscow Lessened By Red Seizure of Rzhev**

### **One of the Bitterest, Most Important Battles of Russian War Is Ended**

**Henry Cassidy, Chief of the Moscow bureau of the Associated Press, who toured the Rzhev front last August, analyzes in the following article the significance of the German surrender of the city. Mr. Cassidy, who has been stationed in Moscow since August, 1940 at present is visiting in the United States.**

**By HENRY C. CASSIDY**

The German evacuation of Rzhev ended today one of the longest, hardest-fought and most important battles of the war in Russia, with the fate of Moscow at stake.

The struggle for this city on the Volga, 130 miles northwest of Moscow has been

second in length only to the siege of Leningrad and surpassed in violence only by the battle of Stalingrad.

### **In each case victory so far has gone to Soviet arms.**

Why possession of Rzhev has been so significant to each side becomes clear when it is realized that the major German objective throughout the 20 months of year on the eastern front has been Moscow.

During 1941 the German Army threw its greatest weight into two offensives against the capital, starting October 2 and November 16, even drawing forces from the northwestern and southwestern areas for the second push.

It was during the first. 1941 drive that the Germans entered Rzhev and converted this provincial manufacturing city into an armed camp, one of the mainstays of their line. After their failure to take Moscow they fell back to a fortified line just east of Rzhev.

During 1942 the eventual German objective remained Moscow. While one Nazi column went rushing into the Caucasus and another dashed to Stalingrad, the main force was concentrated in the Orel sector, southwest of Moscow. The plan was to push north from Stalingrad along the Volga, isolate and take the capital.

In this campaign, the Germans clung to Rzhev as a pivot from which their forces northwest of the capital might, turn in a final rush on Moscow. The Red Army put on a three-week push against Rzhev last August, broke into the city but was unable to win complete possession of it. For 1943 many Moscow observers believed, the Germans still planned another offensive



against Moscow while they were beaten back from Stalingrad, the Caucasus and the eastern approach to Leningrad, the battled bitterly for every inch of' land west of Moscow.

### **Feared Another Nazi Push.**

As I left Moscow a month ago, there were reports the Germans were massing in the Smolensk region for another push on the capital. Red Army men with whom I talked believed the German strength had undergone a severe drain, but that the Germans might still be able to mount an offensive on a single sector.

Now, the withdrawal from Rzhev means an apparent abandonment of such a plan — might mean the Germans have decided to relinquish all hopes of the offensive on the Eastern front and fight, an entirely defensive war inside occupied Europe.

Moscow, at least, appears safe. I saw the Rzhev front last August after the Red Army's summer offensive against that city. Before it stood the Todt Line, a duplication of the West Wall, bristling with barbed wire, trenches, dugouts and pillboxes.

### **May Have Saved Moscow.**

By piercing the northern flank of the German salient in this sector, the Russians had stormed the northern outskirts of Rzhev. Since then, although there had been no spectacular new push, the Red Army had been shelling the city constantly, breaking off enemy positions bit by bit.

Before the announcement of the German evacuation, about threequarters of Rzhev was estimated to be in Soviet hands. The city was as much a heap of ruins as Stalingrad.

The Red Army's occupation of Velikie

Luki due west of Rzhev, and the cutting of the Rzhev-Vyazma railroad line, to the south, left Rzhev an isolated German outpost.

The decisive factor in German evacuation of the city may have been the approach of spring, when road communications also will be bogged down hopelessly for two months and no way in or out would be left to the Nazi garrison.

Adolf Hitler has been quoted by the Soviet Army newspaper, Red Star, as telling his Rzhev garrison. "**The loss of Rzhev would be equal to the loss of half of Berlin.**" Its occupation by the Russians may be worth the same amount in terms of Moscow.

Newsweek, March 15, 1943

## **THE CENTRAL FRONT AFTER RZHEV**

**by Maj. Gen. STEPHEN O. FUQUA,  
U.S.A. Retired**

As the thaws of approaching spring slow down the armies of the Ukraine, the tide of battle rolls northward through the corridors of the central front. For it is in that sector, Orel to Leningrad, where the Red Army — regardless of all other struggles northward to the Arctic Ocean or southward to the Black Sea—must fight the decisive battles to free Russia of the Nazi invaders.

The lower corridor, lying between the present front and the valleys of the Dnieper and Dvina, contains the direct route, through Vyazma-Smolensk-Orsha, to the ultimate goals of the battling armies — Moscow and Berlin. In addition to the river lines, the area possesses vital

railway links uniting it with Latvia to the northwest, with White Russia to the west, and with the Ukraine to the south as well.

This region is the main bulwark of the German line from Leningrad to the Black Sea. It is hinged to the south front by the hedgehog defenses of Orel and Bryansk and to the upper corridors by the fortified triangle Smolensk-Orsha-Vitebsk. It was across this corridor that the first German major offensive was launched, and it is on this central plateau that the Red Army is sparring for its final drive across White Russia which, if successful, would cut in twain the German armies of the north and south as effectively as Sherman's march to the sea divided the Confederacy. In this corridor, therefore, are found Hitler's strong east bastions, and it is against these pivotal points that the Red Army's attacks directed. The occupation of Rzhev, gateway to Moscow, compares in strategical importance with the greatest victories of the Russian winter offensive. The German evaluation of the town as being "equal to half of Berlin" is an acknowledgment of its keystone position in the Velikiye Luki-Vyazma arch. And the retreat from this stronghold is a true indication that the Hitler threat against the Soviet capital has ended.

With Rzhev and Gzhatsk in the case Red Army's pressure increases against Vyazma and Bryansk, while Orel, at the start of this week, was almost encircled. The fall of these fortresses would open wide the gateway to the Nazi citadel of Smolensk and dangerously threaten the whole German defense system in this corridor. And the opening of the railroad to Velikiye Luki will give impetus to the launching of an attack southward in support of the main effort from the east,

directed on Smolensk, and, in time, to the drive toward Latvia.

In the middle corridor—the area east of the Latvian border—lie the roadways to the Baltic. And here rests the Russian spearhead deep into the German lines in the Velikiye Luki sector—a vital springboard position for launching a drive to the west or south. In Russian hands this corridor would become a grave threat to the German Baltic flank and would be a pivotal support for Timoshenko's forces to the north.

The upper corridor, south of Leningrad between Lakes Peipus and Ilmen, holds the north and south communication lines and the lateral routes to Estonia. The recent capture of Demyansk, the focal center of resistance of the Valdai Hills region, further endangered the partly encircled German-occupied city of Staraya Russa and the fortified base at Kholm. Continued Russian successes in this area would be the signal for an offensive against the important Nazi-held railway centers of Dno and Pskov, and a threat to the whole Nazi defense structure in the Leningrad area.

Although the cry for help is heard from all fronts, it is the call of the Red Army that must be heeded first, for it is in these central battle corridors of the Russian front that Hitler's eastern legions can be defeated this year.

Time Magazine, July 5, 1943

### **BATTLE OF RUSSIA: Victory is a Fighting Word**

Last week, as in their bitter summer of 1942, the Russians again asked the U.S. and Britain for a second front in Europe. Unofficial interpretations came thick &

fast. The Russians, as in June 1942, had already learned that there was to be no second front this year. The Russians knew that there was going to be a second front and were deceiving the Germans. Russian officialdom, aware of the terrific strain upon the Russian people, was passing the buck from the Kremlin to the Allies.

More likely the Russians merely meant what they said:

- A special Moscow communique, on the second anniversary (June 22) of German invasion, said: "To miss the opportunity afforded by the favorable conditions now prevailing for the opening of a second front in Europe in 1943, to be late with the opening of it, would be a serious set back for our common cause."

- The Moscow newspaper "Izvestia", in an editorial broadcast to the Russian people by Government radio, said: "**Without a second front, victory over Hitlerite Germany is impossible.**"

- Foreign Commissar Viacheslav Molotov, in an address to U.S. Ambassador William H. Standley, said: "**Let us remember that millions of people who have made countless sacrifices live in profound hope . . . of a combined Allied offensive.**"

- Joseph Stalin wrote to President Roosevelt: "**Conditions have been created for the final defeat of the common enemy. Victory will come all the sooner, of this I have no doubt, the sooner we strike our joint united blows against the enemy from the east and from the west.**"

Last June Winston Churchill brought on similar but more insistent requests from Moscow by telling Joseph Stalin in writing that "while we were preparing to make a landing in 1942, we could not

promise to do so." Last week President Roosevelt, in an anniversary message to Stalin, did not mention a second front; at a press conference he said only that no one wants a second front more than he does. In Moscow Ambassador Standley suggested that the U.S. and Britain would appreciate some assurance "that the wartime cooperation now working to defeat Hitler will continue until Japan is defeated."

*Endure the Agony.* Whatever the Russians may think of their allies' timing for 1943, Moscow can have no quarrel with the official U.S. and British conception of what it will take to make a proper second front and to defeat Germany.

General George Catlett Marshall, Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army, made this conception very clear last week. General Marshall addressed the Governors' Conference at Columbus, Ohio, but he might have been addressing himself to the Russians, and to their doubts that Britons and Americans comprehend the realities of all-out war. Said he:

- On victory from the air — "I think it proper to express a word of caution against hasty conclusions or impromptu conceptions... I am convinced more & more each day that only by a proper combination of war-making means can we achieve victory in the shortest possible time and with the greatest economy in life... Your adversary may be hammered to his knees by bombing, but he will recover unless the knockout blow is delivered by the ground army..."

- On the nature of invasion — "Tunisia gave us an invaluable pattern for the future. But the tasks will be increasingly difficult, usually with the great hazard of an over-water approach and a heavy

battle to be maintained beyond the beaches. The way will be far from easy, the losses heavy but the victory certain.”

- On the imminence of victory—“Sudden waves of optimism [lead] the public to feel that we have made our great effort and the end is in sight. This is far from the case. We are just getting well started. The great battles lie ahead. We have yet to be proven in the agony of enduring heavy casualties, as well as the reverses which are inevitable in war. What we need now is a stoic determination to overwhelm the enemy, cost what it may. .

“Two things we must guard against. There must be no divisions among the Allies. There must be no letup in our preparations.”

The Russians would have applauded this frank and statesmanlike speech. Their new Red Army of 1943, born in the blood and death of millions, could ask only one thing more—that the preparations be completed and the blow fall while Russia is still strong, while the Russian soldier is still fit and ready.

*Power on the Fronts.* In 1943 the world tends to believe that Russian endurance is eternal, that Russian victory is inevitable. Among those who do not share this belief are the Russians.

By Moscow’s account, the Russians, up to June 22, had lost 4,200,000 men (against 6,400,000 Axis casualties). Most foreign observers believe that the actual Russian losses have been at least twice the announced total. Certainly the losses of men and weapons have been huge—so huge that the Red Army of 1943 is literally a new army.

It is bigger, and it is probably stronger, than the Red Army of 1942. In artillery, always one of the Russians’ chief

standbys, its troops are better equipped than ever. Its armored forces, reorganized for the winter offensives of last year, are probably mightier today than they have ever been. Its air force is certainly stronger, and it probably holds front-wide superiority over the Luftwaffe. Its mobility is at the highest: never has the Red Army been so well equipped with trucks and motorized weapons. Its famous cavalry, favored originally because the Russians were short of trucks and tanks, is still effective and honored in its own right. The infantry force is undoubtedly the largest in the world (unofficial estimates run up to 20,000,000 men for the entire Red Army), and many of the infantry units are now among the best equipped in the world.

For this prodigious endurance and recovery, the Russians have two factors to thank. Mainly, they can thank themselves and a national effort singly devoted to manning, equipping and re-equipping their successive armies. To a lesser but great extent, they can also thank U.S. and British aid. Published figures by no means convey the full effect of the planes, tanks, other weapons and materials delivered to the Red Army. Many, and in some sectors most, of the bombers harrying airdromes, railway junctions and supply centers are U.S. bombers, with Russian crews.

On the front as a whole the Russians outnumber the Axis. According to a nonofficial estimate from London last week, the Red Army has some 265 divisions disposed along or immediately behind the front, with its heaviest forces massed south of Moscow against a still heavier concentration. The precise strengths and dispositions of those forces are unknown, but the map on p. 25











represents the best guesses available last week.

Each army has the same problem: to hold a 2,000-mile front with sufficient forces everywhere yet find the troops to concentrate for its own purposes and to counter enemy concentrations. On such a front the whereabouts of ever-shifting air and tank formations and the availability of concealed reserves may mean more than the relative bulk of the forces routinely assigned to a sector. If, as the Germans reported last week, the Russians are moving reinforcements into the sector between Orel and Kharkov for a summer blow, the kind and quality, rather than the size, of the forces may be decisive.

In this constant hide-&-seek the Russians with their larger numbers have an advantage which the Germans can offset only with superior air and armored forces. Lacking this superiority, the Germans recently indicated that they would attempt only a limited offensive, perhaps intended mainly to reduce the Red Army's tank strength, and thus improve the Axis' chances in a prolonged campaign.

Berlin propagandists suggested that even this modest design has withered. Now, they said, the Wehrmacht has adopted a solely defensive strategy in Russia, (which might include local, limited offensives, but no large-scale blow at the Red Army). They also indicated that the Allied menace in the south influenced this decision.

Said one of the Wehrmacht's favorite apologists, Lieut. General Kurt Diettmar<sup>11</sup>: **"We started this war with different conceptions from those we hold now. Many illusions were shattered. . . . We realize that such an adversary cannot be**

**knocked out with one blow."** Inasmuch as Adolf Hitler conceived the invasion of Russia, this remark constituted indirect criticism of the intuitive Führer.

*Power at the Top.* Marshal Joseph Stalin and his colleagues in the Supreme Command probably noted these Axis signs with interest last week. But it was certain that he and the Chief of his General Staff, 46-year-old Marshal Alexander Mikhailovich Vasilevsky<sup>12</sup>, did not take the signs to mean that the Red Army had already beaten the Germans. Joseph Stalin has seen too much of war: his country and his Red Army exist today only because they proved the power of defense on the long Russian line. If his young protege, Marshal Vasilevsky, had been blind enough to make that mistake, he could never have achieved the most rapid rise in the Red Army's recent history.

Since the middle of 1941, when he was still a major general — the lowest general rank in the Red Army — he has risen four grades. In army power, and in the esteem of Joseph Stalin, he has risen even faster. Now his responsibility is threefold: he is one of the six or seven members of Stalin's Supreme Command, which lays down overall strategy; as Chief of the General Staff he reduces the Supreme Command's strategy to specific plans; as Chief of Political Administration he directs the army commissars, who no longer share command, but still have an important place in the Red Army.

Typically, he was all but unknown to most Russians when he suddenly appeared in the army limelight last year. Like most of his contemporaries, he had been a Czarist soldier but had fought for the Revolution. Some said that he was the son of wealthy Cossack horse

breeders, others that his parents were Volga peasants, others that he came of Polish stock. The army knew that he had been principally a staff officer, a man of the schools rather than the field, that he helped to reorganize the Red Army after the Finnish War. Last week a Russian official in the U.S., queried about Vasilevsky, looked blank and said:

“Who? Vasilevsky? Ah, yes!”

Marshal Vasilevsky owed his rise to Joseph Stalin’s decision last year to revitalize the army command. As in any other army, war had been unkind to many of his generals. Some were dismissed. Famed Marshal Semion-Timoshenko, hero of Smolensk, Rostov and the retreat to Stalingrad, simply disappeared for a while. Then he reappeared in a sector command.

In this process Stalin achieved a flexibility unmatched by any other army. To serve with him in the Supreme Command he chose Vasilevsky; aggressive Marshal Georgy Zhukov), chief of the operational staff which executes Vasilevsky’s plans; Marshal Alexander Novikov<sup>13</sup>, who represents the Red Air Force; the army’s leading artillerist, Marshal Nikolai Voronov<sup>14</sup>; and veteran Marshal Klimenti Voroshilov<sup>15</sup>. (According to some reports, ailing Boris Shaposhnikov, whom Vasilevsky succeeded as Chief of the General Staff, is also on the Supreme Command.) In the field Stalin placed such commanders as General Nikolai Vatutin<sup>16</sup> and Colonel General Filip I. Golikov, who pressed the Germans back from the Donets last winter; General Kiryl Meretskov<sup>17</sup>, who lifted the siege of Leningrad, and General Leonid Govorov<sup>18</sup>, who commanded troops inside the city; General Ivan Konev<sup>19</sup>, who was one of the

defenders of Moscow; General Konstantin Rokossovsky, one of the commanders at Stalingrad. Along with these field commanders, a small host of juniors rose to the command of corps, armies and army groups.

In critical times the top staff officers do not remain at their desks. Last year Vasilevsky, Zhukov and Voronov went into the field to coordinate the counteroffensives which led to the victory at Stalingrad; then Vasilevsky rushed to the Voronezh front, led an army group into action there. In the north Marshal Zhukov first planned, then directed the counteroffensive which touched off the Red Army’s entire winter campaign. When the time for major action comes again Stalin’s luminaries will be on the fronts again, wielding complete authority as “representatives of the Supreme Command.”

*Power at the Source.* The Germans would like nothing better than to make the world believe that their defensive strategy in Russia automatically means the defeat of the Wehrmacht in Russia.

Marshal Vasilevsky and his colleagues know that all the Red Army’s victories to date have been defensive. They know that even the triumph at Stalingrad and the drive toward the Dnieper this spring were defensive in character and result. They know that behind them, on the heavily-manned Siberian front, there is always Japan.

They know that, for them, summer has been a time for bleeding, winter for victory — and that in their two winters of war they did not crush the Wehrmacht. For world consumption, and in the interest of an early second front, they specifically deny that the Red Army alone

can do so. They know, above all, that the Red Army in the end can be no stronger than the country which produced and largely sustains that army.

The Wehrmacht is equally dependent upon its home base, and that base is certainly weakening. Thus, until one side or the other strikes for a decision, the war in Russia will be a race between two processes of attrition — one in bombed and distracted Germany, one behind the lines in Russia. At the moment the Germans evidently hope to win that race. It is a desperate hope. But it is their best hope.

From the U.S. or Britain it is hard to see how the Germans can win anything in Russia. Yet the Russians evidently do not welcome a war of attrition. In again calling for the second front, and for the maximum chance to strike soon and decisively on their first front, they plainly say as much.

Perhaps they are not sure that they can win the race. If so, their chief worry is probably over food. For all its brave bragging to the world, the U.S.S.R. has never recovered completely from the loss of the Ukraine's grainfields. Belated rains in central Russia last week improved the uncertain crop prospects, but at the best a severe food shortage will continue. Vast but often badly tilled new acreages plus Lend-Lease shipments have not filled the shortage or ended the drain on the U.S.S.R.'s dwindling grain reserves. The result is that only the Red Army, a few foreigners and higher officials are tolerably well-fed in Russia. The rest exist and labor at a level of bare subsistence.

Industrially the U.S.S.R. is at its peak of military production. But it is a production achieved by continuous and progressive

strain upon underfed workers. So far Government and people have met the war's demands by rigorous decrees, harsh penalties for failure (Russian railway workers, under martial law since April, may be arrested for any negligence) and fierce resolve.

Germany is betting that the Russians cannot keep it up.

Key West Citizen, June 17, 1943  
**JUNE 22 IS DER TAG WATCH  
 FOR GREAT DATE IN HISTORY  
 OF WAR**

**BY HENRY CASSIDY, AP Bureau Chief,  
 Moscow**

**Watch for June 22, 1943, as another  
 great date in the history of this war.**

It will be the second anniversary of the German invasion of Russia, the beginning of the third year of the enormous campaign which many thought, at its start, would last only three weeks to three months. But even more important it will be the date by which Hitler, to make one more venture in the east, must have started on his course.

Hitler has already lost one valuable month of the fighting weather which has limited German arms each year to offensive operations between May and November. A year ago, on May 8, he started his campaign on the Kerch peninsula of the Crimea. This year, he has let May slip past without a major move.

**Caucasus Abandoned**

That can be interpreted to mean the Germans will not strike in the south, that they have abandoned, for this year at

least, any gamble on getting the riches of the Caucasus, the oil of Baku.

They never have made a serious effort in that direction. Their southern campaign last year was limited to a few divisions, designed as a diversion while they made their main effort to strike North through Stalingrad against the heart of Russia. That diversion proved fatal to their own plans, because it weakened their own strength in the battle of Stalingrad to a point, where the Red Army could, and did, check them and throw them

back beyond their Taganrog-Kharkov-Kursk starting point.

### **One at a Time**

They seem to be avoiding that mistake this year, the mistake, as Josef Stalin put it, of "chasing two hares at once." The Caucasian bridgehead they clung to last winter, and are defending so stubbornly this spring around Novorossisk, now appears to have been left as a decoy for the Russian forces. Instead of being used as the spearhead for a German offensive against the Caucasus, it has been kept as a bastion of German defense against Red Army attacks.

The Russians have not been deluded into diverting any great forces to this sector at the expense of the vital center. They appear to be battering down the bridge-head gradually with artillery as the main weapon, but keeping their main forces opposite the principal German concentration on Russia's western front.

Having sacrificed a month of fighting time in the south, the Germans cannot afford to lose a minute of their potential period of operations in the center. They started their momentous march east on June 22, 1941, after a late spring. They

launched their major offensive June 22, 1942, from Kharkov. They must start again by June 22, 1943, if they are to get anywhere.

### **Major Objective**

Their major objective, throughout the war, has been destruction of the Red Army. The Germans' capacity to strike at that goal has diminished progressively, from a three-front offensive in 1941, to a two-front offensive in 1942, and probably to a single-front offensive in 1943.

Their objective has correspondingly diminished. Probably, it has now reached a point where the most the Germans could hope to do this year would be to knock the offensive power out of the Red Army before the Allies strike in the west. Stalin does not think the Germans can do that.

**"Another two or three powerful blows from the west and east are needed," he said in his last speech May 1, "for the catastrophe of Hitlerite Germany to become an accomplished fact."**

By June 22 just two years after the Germans brought their ordeal in the east upon themselves, they may be on their way to bringing their final downfall upon themselves/

The Times August 6, 1943

### **THE VICTORY OF OREL**

In a special order of the day, issued late last night, MARSHAL STALIN formally announced that Orel had been taken and gave the world at the same time its first tidings of the capture of Bielgorod. Salvos of gunfire proclaimed these splendid victories to the city of Moscow. It was on Wednesday that the Red Army crowned

its labours in the offensive launched in mid-July by the seizure of the town of Orel, with its road and railway junction. On that same day eighty centres of population passed into Russian hands. Nor did this end the Russian successes of August 4. Farther south in the region of Belgorod, where the Germans had achieved the most considerable results in their abortive offensive against the Kursk salient, an advance of six miles was made. by the forces of our ally. More limited but satisfactory gains also resulted in the improvement of the Russian position on the Donetz, south-west of Voroshilovgrad, The material benefits of the capture of Orel are manifest. It restores to Russian hands a valuable railway junction and will lead to the restoration of through railway traffic on the main line from Moscow to Kursk. It thus improves the situation of the Russians from the point of view of defence or for the purpose for which Orel is more likely to be required - a further development of offensive operations. It is reported to have brought in much booty, but it may safely be assumed that the Germans have lost far more material than the Russians have gained. The Germans have had time enough for a good deal of demolition but only a limited amount for evacuation. It is little over three weeks since their own offensive finally collapsed and the Russian offensive began. They have therefore had at their disposal much less than that time to withdraw from Orel all that had been put into it during the two years in which it served as one of their principal advanced bases. To clear the place would thus have been a physical impossibility and the sole alternative would be to destroy as much as possible.

The Russians will assuredly exploit

their recent victories to the utmost, though it would be unwise to bank upon any sudden and spectacular further advance, such as the capture of Briansk, for the time being. This central sector is probably more deeply fortified than any other on the Russian front, and the Germans have had a warning that they must stand upon their guard in it. The Russian operations, since the first stunning blows penetrated deeply into the enemy's lines, have been methodical and deliberate. There has been a grimly unhurried air about them which is in some respects even more disquieting for the Germans than a swifter but less regular advance would have been. Yet in the situation which has developed there is scarcely any part of the front which the enemy can afford to denude of front-line garrison or local reserves. Nothing can be listed as safe, any position that is of value to the Germans may suddenly become the centre of a new battlefield. They are condemned not only to constant watchfulness and unrelenting strain but also to a dispersion of resources which greatly decreases their power to recover the initiative. Their own reports, as quoted by our Special Correspondent in Stockholm in a message printed yesterday, admit that they have only just escaped another disaster in the south, where a double Russian offensive across the Donetz and the Mius almost simultaneous with the opening of the offensive against Orel, "surged forward in both areas for two days" before German counterstrokes limited it. The Germans do not pretend that they stopped it, but congratulate themselves on the alleged fact that the Russians have progressed "only a few miles" since July 19. The same

thing, or worse, may happen anywhere at any time.

It may well be argued, however, that the greatest importance of the victory of Orel is to be sought in the psychological field. It stands as a symbol of the complete defeat of a German offensive launched in the most favorable possible circumstances and of the Russian recovery of the initiative. It is probably the most considerable Russian success and Orel itself the biggest capture achieved in the summer season, which the enemy's spokesmen used to call "German "weather." The German High Command has now to stomach the realization that its own offensives are not likely to succeed even when best suited by the circumstances, whereas those of the Russians are likely to succeed in circumstances always considered hitherto as unsuited to Russian methods and tactics. How much more then have the Germans cause to look forward with anxiety to the coming winter and to circumstances in which Russian supremacy has always been complete? And there is no deep mystery as to why these things have occurred. The explanation is that the Russians have made greater progress than their enemies in both offensive and defensive tactics. In some respects their own preconceived doctrine — that part of it, for example, which insisted upon the mingling of armour and infantry — has proved sound. Where it has not they have got rid not only of the doctrine but of commanders who did not appear to be able to adapt themselves to the developments of warfare. The Germans themselves have not stood still, but they have tended to cling to the methods which gave them sweeping successes

against a half-armed enemy as if still trusting their validity against opponents at least as well armed. The crumbling of the Orel front might not, viewed in itself, rank as a decisive victory, but coming almost simultaneously with the crumbling of the Catania-Paterno front on the southern slopes of Mount Etna it may well make this first week of August a landmark in the future history of the war<sup>20</sup>. Both victories have been won in the outpost zone, but both have shattered a bastion in the outposts which the enemy had exerted every possible effort to defend. Both too are forward steps which afford hope of further successes. In particular the victory of Orel lights up the writing on the wall which proclaims the doom of Nazi Germany, that doom which Russian endurance and fortitude have done more than anything else to ensure. It furnishes evidence of the intention and of the power of Russia to persevere until the process which began at Stalingrad and El Alamein has been carried to its predestined end.

The Evening Star, August 19, 1943

### **Tense Drama Lies Behind Soviet Gains**

**By HENRY C. CASSIDY, Associated Press war correspondent.**

OREL. —The terse lines of communiques and the stiff phrases of front-line dispatches tell you that "after stubborn fighting, the Soviet troops occupied" a populated point or city.

But walk across the still-steaming battlefield and see what such terms as "defense lines broken—town occupied

— prisoners released — mines removed” really mean.

They have taken on even new meaning in some new types of fighting in the Red Army’s first summer offensive. Here is what they meant in retracing the battle of Orel:

“Defense lines” meant three rows of barbed wire stretched between wooden poles, backed up by solid land mines and then a continuous front line trench with communicating trenches running back to the rear.

Two hundred yards back there was a similar line, farther back still another.

### **Foe Well Entrenched.**

Deep timber-supported dugouts were built on the rear sides wherein the enemy took cover under artillery bombardment and then emerged to reply with his own blaze of fire to any attempt to advance.

To break such lines meant sending artillery into the open under enemy fire to blast the positions out of the ground.

“Occupation of the populated point” at Mtsensk, just north of Orel: meant fighting a way through such defenses into the ones beautiful garden town famed in Russian literature where now the only living things were two cats and one dog.

### **The only building intact was a log cabin.**

In the yard at that house Maj Gen. Boris Terpilovsky, the first commandant of Mtsensk, established headquarters in a stable with the ground covered with straw. His staff set typewriters on a door laid across some barrels to tap out the orders. They lived in a dugout which was blown up by a delayed action enemy mine the day after they moved.

### **How Orel Was Entered.**

To enter Orel meant a dash across a railroad track on the east side of town where the bombings made an opening while the enemy remained on the hills to the rear, then fighting down Moscow street past ruined factories and apartment houses to the Oka River running through the city.

There 55 Tommy-gunners crossed the stream just before the bridge was blown up and two steel spans rose from the concrete foundations and sagged into the water. They established a foothold in a two-story red brick house on the west bank and held that bridgehead until reinforcements crossed the 100-yardwide shallow stream by fording or over pontoons.

“Prisoners released” meant finding fellows like Sergt. pilot Dmitry Demovoy, 21, who told his story as though recounting a nightmare.

He made a forced landing north of Orel and was given refuge in the cellar of a peasant house, but the Germans found him and made him a prisoner.

### **Hanged Three Times.**

His wounds unbandaged, he said they took him to the command post, hung him by the neck three times for five minutes each and drained off 300 grams of his blood in a futile effort to make him talk about the strength and position of his regiment. Then they threw him into a concentration camp.

He escaped and hid in Orel until the Red Army arrived and put him in a hospital. “Mines Removed” meant hunting tricky instruments—some with new devices with chemical soundless

qualities which still are being studied—and get rid of them before they exploded. They included all kinds of pressure mines, tension mines, clock mines and photo mines. In Mtsensk, the Red Army men heard clocks ticking monotonously toward their explosion point and toiled for 13 days before they finally found 16 mines buried in a ditch beside a stream.

They go off in anywhere from to 48 days and any day might be the day you are there.

That's what those terms really mean.

The Washington Post, August 25, 1943

## **Fleeing Nazis Hammered at Both Ends of Southern Salient**

**By the Associated Press**

Victorious Russian forces yester day captured vital Kharkov, streamed through a major break in the German Donets River front almost 200 miles to the south, and hammered the retreating Nazis at both ends of the southern salient today in a drive to retake the industrial river basin.

Moscow's midnight communique said the Red army, perhaps 150,000 strong, broke into the third largest of Russian cities from the north, east and west and inflicted enormous losses on the enemy. The Russians continued to throw heavy blows at the reeling Germans as they fled the city.

Nazi forces west of Kharkov at tempted to counterattack, the Russians said, but were repulsed with 2000 killed.

Fifteen more villages were recaptured by Russian forces in another sector of the Kharkov front.

## **30 Villages Overrun**

Berlin acknowledged Kharkov's fall prior to a special Russian announcement by Premier-Marshal Joseph Stalin, but the Germans said the city had been "evacuated" in an orderly retreat.

In the break on the Donets River mouth of Izyum, the Russians said their forces had smashed through From 19 to 22 miles in three days of savage fighting and had overrun 30 villages, including the railway station of Donetsko-Amvrosievka on the only rail connection with German-held Taganrog 50 miles below on the Sea of Azov.

Tonight Moscow celebrated Kharkov's capture with a display of fireworks amid a cluster of machine guns and other light arms, and as heavy cannon boomed out a victory salute ordered personally by Premier Marshal Joseph Stalin.

## **Double Threat to Donets**

Donetsko-Amvrosievka lies about 70 miles northwest of Rostov and about 40 miles southwest of Stalino. Thus the Donets area was threatened both from Russian forces driving westward and by the Red troops which toppled Kharkov, almost 200 miles to the northwest.

Soviet forces, throwing heavy blows at German defenses along all active sectors of the long front, yesterday disabled 85 German tanks and shot down 134 enemy planes, the Russian announcement said.

Stalin's order of the day said Soviet forces, "as a result of fierce engagements, broke the resistance of the enemy and took the town of Kharkov by storm."

The Germans admitted they had retreated from the virtually encircled city, but painted it as an orderly withdrawal leaving the Russians surrounding an



empty shell, the city itself, once the Pittsburgh of Russia, declared to be “only a heap of ruins.”

The capture of Kharkov gives the Russians control of one of the main railroads to Moscow and opens a trap-door to the coal and iron rich Donets Basin to the south.

In his order, Stalin praised the troops for “high military skill, courage and ability to maneuver” and authorized 10 divisions, about 150,000 men, which took part in the operation to use the name “Kharkov” in their titles.

At 9 p. m, Moscow time, on Stalin’s order, 30 artillery volleys from 234 guns were to boom through the capital in a salvo of victory. The Germans said “the evacuation is a natural measure to shorten the front line in this area and will considerably improve the German positions.”

Kharkov was the greatest prize yet for the summer Russian drive, which has reached the highwater mark of last winter’s offensive west of Kharkov deep in the Ukraine.

Time Magazine, November 15, 1943

## **Mother Freed**

To Stalin’s listeners it was good to know that Kiev was free again.

For to the Russians Kiev was the “mother of cities,” Russia’s ancient capital, a venerated center of history and lore, a beloved and lovely spot. From Kiev, Slav buccaneers sailed on their raids to ancient Byzantium, down the Dnieper and across the turbulent Black Sea. A thousand years ago, Kiev’s ruler, Prince Vladimir, was baptized in the sluggish

Dnieper, made Kiev the heart of Russia’s Greek Orthodox faith. When Berlin was still a muddy village, Kiev’s famed Petchersky Monastery was green with age.

Arrogant Field Marshal Walter von Reichenau, who captured Kiev in 1941, was not its first alien invader. For eleven centuries, men of the sword—Variags and Khazars, Tatars, Lithuanians and Poles—ravished the beautiful city. The proud conquerors became dust; Kiev, with its seven rolling hills, its glistening church domes, its banks towering above the Dnieper, survived. It sprawled on the border between the rich, black-soiled south and the forested north, and their wealth was the plasma which always revived it.

This week Kiev lay black and tortured again, awaiting transfusion. In its wrecked buildings, Red Army sappers patiently searched for hidden mines. In its streets, the civilian survivors toiled overtime, in a race with the approaching winter.

To recapture Kiev, the Russian Supreme Command had picked two of its ablest field commanders: Generals Konstantin Rokossovsky and Nikolai Vatutin. Their armies arrived before Kiev in September, weary after the summer’s cruel fighting. For many weeks, they stood in an arc before the city, regained strength, indifferently pounded the enemy defenses.

Reassured, the Wehrmacht pulled some troops out of Kiev, rushed them south to help hold Krivoi Rog. Only then did peasant-faced, tank-wise Vatutin (by now, for unannounced reasons, in full command) give the order to attack. His veteran troopers stood on the heights before Kiev and wept with anger and

sorrow at the sight of flames eating through the city. Then, with fury in their hearts, they swept down upon the foe.

Tank spearheads drove through the city, and continued in pursuit. Behind them came the bulk of Vatutin's army, estimated at 300,000. German garrisons of some 150,000 men withdrew before the trap was sprung. In Moscow, the Red Army's newspaper Red Star said proudly: "History has not known such a swift operation."

### (Endnotes)

1 In January 1943, the Soviet command conducted two major successful offensive operations: the Ostrogozhsko-Rossoshanskaya and Voronezh-Kastornenskaya. After the loss of Voronezh on 25 January 1943, Kursk gained special importance for the Germans as a transport hub, and a strong defence consisting of two lines was created. The Germans considered Kursk practically impregnable. The liberation of Kursk was entrusted to the 60th Army of the Voronezh Front under the command of Major-General I.D. Chernyakhovsky and separate divisions of the 13th Army of the Bryansk Front. Having made a march from Voronezh and having passed 200 km in 12 days, on February 6, 1943 the units of the 60th Army approached the outer defensive line. On 7 February 1943, early in the morning divisions of the 60th Army started fighting on the outer defensive line of the Germans. The enemy resisted stubbornly, using defensive fortifications, but still could not resist the powerful onslaught of the Soviet troops. Having broken through the Kursk defensive rim, the troops by the end of the day came directly to the city, and on the night of February 8 burst into it. By the evening of February 8, 1943 the regional centre was completely liberated. All in all during the time of our troops' operation on Kursk liberation the enemy lost 8000 people killed and wounded. The 4th tank and 82nd infantry divisions were defeated, the remnants of four more infantry divisions were destroyed, 250 guns, 300 vehicles, hundreds of thousands of shells and bombs were captured.

2 **Filipp Ivanovich Golikov** (1900–1980) was a Soviet military commander. As chief of the GRU (Main Intelligence Directorate), he is best known for failing to take seriously the abundant intelligence about Nazi Germany's plans for an invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, either because he did not believe them or because Joseph Stalin did not want to hear them. He served in subsequent campaigns and was promoted to the rank of Marshal of the Soviet Union in 1961.

3 At the end of June 1942, Rommel commanded Afrika Korps during the Battle of Tobruk, which was the most fortified, as it was considered impregnable, British fortress and the main Allied bridgehead in Africa. On the night of 20–21 June, with the very successful use of bombers, Rommel's tank columns managed to overcome minefields and take Tobruk. As a result, the situation in this theatre of war changed in favor of Germany. Then Rommel decided to continue the offensive against the superior British forces, called 'Aida', and by July 1942, parts of his army were already near El Alamein, just 100 kilometers from Alexandria and the Nile Delta. For the British troops it was one of the most difficult moments of the entire war. 22 June 1942 Rommel was promoted to the rank of Field Marshal-General. At the same time, due to lack of fuel and lack of reinforcements in manpower and materiel, the offensive of Rommel's army stalled. At the end of October 1942, when Rommel was undergoing treatment in Europe, the British began their offensive, less than two weeks tank army 'Africa' was pushed back a thousand kilometers back to Tunisia.

4 **Ivan Mikhailovich Maisky** (1884–1975) was a Soviet diplomat, historian and politician who served as the Soviet Union's ambassador to the United Kingdom from 1932 to 1943, including much of the period of the Second World War.

5 **The Anglo-Soviet Treaty**, formally the **Twenty-Year Mutual Assistance Agreement Between the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics**, established a military and political alliance between the Soviet Union and the British Empire. A military alliance was to last until the end of World War II, and a political alliance was to last 20 years. The treaty was signed in London on 26 May 1942 by British

Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden and Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov.

6 **Rudolf Walter Richard Hess (Heß)** in German; 26 April 1894–17 August 1987) was a German politician and a leading member of the Nazi Party in Nazi Germany. Appointed Deputy Führer to Adolf Hitler in 1933, Hess held that position until 1941, when he flew solo to Scotland in an attempt to negotiate the United Kingdom's exit from the Second World War. He was taken prisoner and eventually convicted of crimes against peace. He was still serving his life sentence at the time of his suicide in 1987.

7 **William Randall Downs, Jr.** (August 17, 1914–May 3, 1978) was an American broadcast journalist and war correspondent. He worked for CBS News from 1942 to 1962 and for ABC News beginning in 1963. Throughout 1943 Downs delivered intermittent shortwave radio reports on the *CBS World News Roundup* and concurrently served as the Russia correspondent for *Newsweek*.

8 In October 1941, after Soviet troops left Kharkiv, he was appointed mayor of the city. He had no real power – groups of Bandera and Melnyk supporters fought each other for power in the city, and Melnyk's police chief, B.I. Konyk (who later served in the SS division 'Galicia'), had great influence.

9 The **Battles of Rzhev** were a series of Red Army offensives against the Wehrmacht between 8 January 1942 and 31 March 1943, on the Eastern Front of World War II. The battles took place in the northeast of Smolensk Oblast and the south of Tver Oblast, in and around the salient surrounding Rzhev. Due to the high losses suffered by the Soviet Army, the campaign became known by veterans and historians as the "**Rzhev Meat Grinder**"

10 **Lazar Moiseyevich Kaganovich** (1893–1991), was a Soviet politician and administrator, and one of the main associates of Joseph Stalin. He was one of several associates who helped Stalin to seize power.

11 **Kurt Dittmar** (1891–1959) was a German general in World War II, who served as

the Official Military Commentator of the German Armed Forces.

12 **Aleksandr Mikhaylovich Vasilevsky** (30 September 1895 – 5 December 1977) was a Soviet career-officer in the Red Army who attained the rank of Marshal of the Soviet Union in 1943. He served as the Chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces (1942–1945) and Deputy Minister of Defense during World War II, and as Minister of Defense from 1949 to 1953. As the Chief of the General Staff from 1942 to 1945, Vasilevsky became involved in planning and coordinating almost all the decisive Soviet offensives in World War II, from the Operation Uranus of November 1942 to the assaults on East Prussia (January – April 1945), Königsberg (January – April 1945) and Manchuria (August 1945).

13 **Alexander Alexandrovich Novikov** (1900 – 3 December 1976) was the chief marshal of aviation for the Soviet Air Forces during the Soviet Union's involvement in the Second World War. Lauded as "the man who has piloted the Red Air Force through the dark days into the present limelight" and a "master of tactical air power", he was twice given the title of Hero of the Soviet Union as well as a number of other Soviet decorations.

14 **Nikolay Nikolayevich Voronov** (1899–1968) was a Soviet military leader, chief marshal of the artillery (1944), and Hero of the Soviet Union (7 May 1965). He was commander of artillery forces of the Red Army from 1941 until 1950. Voronov commanded the Soviet artillery during the Battle of Stalingrad and was the Stavka representative to various fronts during the Siege of Leningrad and the Battle of Kursk. He also fought in the Russian Civil War, the Polish-Soviet War and the Battle of Khalkin Gol, as well as serving as an advisor to the Spanish Republican Army during the Spanish Civil War.

15 **Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov**, popularly known as **Klim Voroshilov** (1881–1969), was a prominent Soviet military officer and politician during the Stalin-era. He was one of the original five Marshals of the Soviet Union, the second highest military rank of the Soviet Union (junior to the Generalissimo of the Soviet Union,

which was a post only held by Joseph Stalin), and served as Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the nominal Soviet head of state, from 1953 to 1960.

**16 Nikolai Fyodorovich Vatutin** (1901–1944) was a Soviet military commander during World War II who was responsible for many Red Army operations in the Ukrainian SSR as the commander of the Southwestern Front and of the Voronezh Front during the Battle of Kursk. During the Soviet offensive to retake right-bank Ukraine, Vatutin led the 1st Ukrainian Front, which was responsible for the Red Army's offensives to the west and the southwest of Kiev and the eventual liberation of the city.

He was ambushed and mortally wounded in February 1944 by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

**17 Kirill Afanasievich Meretskov** (1897–1968) was a Soviet military commander served in the Red Army from 1920. During the Winter War of 1939–1940 against Finland, he had the task of penetrating the Mannerheim Line as commander of the 7th Army. He was awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union shortly afterwards. The NKVD arrested Meretskov at the start of invasion of the Soviet Union. Released two months later, he returned to command the 7th Army and later the Volkhov Front during the 1941–1944 siege of Leningrad. He commanded the Karelian Front from February 1944, notably the Petsamo–Kirkenes Offensive of October 1944. From April 1945 he was assigned to the Far East, where he commanded a front during the Soviet invasion of Japanese Manchuria. During the war he reached the rank of Marshal of the Soviet Union.

**18 Leonid Aleksandrovich Govorov** (1897–1955) was a Soviet military commander. Trained as an artillery officer, he joined the Red Army in 1920. He graduated from several Soviet military academies, including the Military Academy of Red Army General Staff. He participated in the Winter War of 1939–1940 against Finland as a senior artillery officer.

In World War II, Govorov rose to command an army in November 1941 during the Battle of Moscow. He commanded the Leningrad Front from April 1942 to the end of the war. He reached the rank of Marshal of the Soviet Union in

1944, and was awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union and many other awards. He was the father of Soviet General Vladimir Govorov.

**19 Ivan Stepanovich Konev** (1897–1973) was a Soviet general and Marshal of the Soviet Union who led Red Army forces on the Eastern Front during World War II, responsible for taking much of Axis-occupied Eastern Europe. Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, Konev took part in a series of major campaigns, including the battles of Moscow and Rzhev. Konev further commanded forces in major Soviet offensives at Kursk, in the Dnieper–Carpathian and Vistula–Oder offensives. In February 1944, he was made a Marshal of the Soviet Union. On the eve of German defeat, Konev's 1st Ukrainian Front was pitted against the armies of Georgy Zhukov in the Race to Berlin. Konev was the first Allied commander to enter Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia, after the Prague uprising.

**20 The Allied invasion of Sicily**, also known as the **Battle of Sicily** and **Operation Husky**, was a major campaign of World War II in which the Allied forces invaded the island of Sicily in July 1943 and took it from the Axis powers. It began with a large amphibious and airborne operation, followed by a six-week land campaign, and initiated the Italian campaign.

To divert some of the Axis forces to other areas, the Allies engaged in several deception operations, the most famous and successful of which was Operation Mincemeat. Husky began on the night of 9–10 July 1943 and ended on 17 August. Strategically, Husky achieved the goals set out for it by Allied planners; the Allies drove Axis air, land and naval forces from the island and the Mediterranean sea lanes were opened for Allied merchant ships for the first time since 1941. These events led to the Italian dictator, Benito Mussolini, being toppled from power in Italy on 25 July, and to the Allied invasion of Italy on 3 September.

**NBC program “War Telescope”  
on Russian Offensive**

**Audiofile**



## Chapter XIV Fearless Women of Russia

Time Magazine, January 11,  
1943

### Nichevo, Tovarish!

For generations large-familied Russians have repeated a proverb: V tesnote, da Ne V Obide (Crowding is no discomfort). Veronika, a Moscow glovemaker, remembered it as she got up from her narrow bed, stumbled over her sleeping daughters and lit a fire in the little iron pechka in the center of the tiny room. It was below freezing in the room, water had to be left dripping to keep the pipes from freezing and on this, the first day of 1943, Veronika Popova, Russia's Jane Smith, dressed quickly, repeating to herself a newer Russian proverb: Nichevo, Tovarish (Everything's Fine, Comrade).

Veronika lit her improvised lamp—a cup of kerosene with a twisted thread for a wick—and made breakfast: water-thin gruel, black bread and brick tea brewed on the pechka. When it was ready she woke 16-year-old Grusha, fed her and, with an endearing Nichevo, sent her off to work in a war plant. Eight-year-old Fanya tied her ragged valenkis<sup>1</sup> on her feet and went off to school. “Nichevo, Mama, I am not very hungry,” she said.

There was no letter from her husband, but Nichevo, he had everything he needed at the front.

Veronika banked the pechka<sup>2</sup> and set to work making gloves for the Red Army. Her factory had been bombed and she worked at home. By midmorning it grew light and she blew out the lamp. It grew warmer, too, and she could no longer see her breath as she stitched quickly, trying to keep up with the new high norms. In past years there had been a New Year's fir tree and presents for the children.

Christmas, the old Russian Christmas, was coming in a week, but there would be no celebration. It was a bleak new year that Veronika and nearly 200 million other Soviet citizens faced—cold, hunger and suffering.

There were many reasons why all the Veronikas of Moscow and their families had no light, no heat, little food and endless work. Russia had lost:

Five million men, killed or maimed. A territory larger than France, Germany and the United Kingdom combined, inhabited by some 77 million people, of whom roughly 39 million, mostly men, were evacuated and resettled. Sixty percent of the country's pre-war iron & coal output.

But Veronika and millions of her fellow countrymen knew why the Red Armies were relatively well supplied and were winning victories. Veronika knew that: Much of Soviet industry had been evacuated to the Urals and Siberia, where it was producing more tons of products than all Soviet pre-war industry. In Magnitogorsk a giant new blast furnace

had been blown in, a strange, but fitting, Christmas present from the Russian people to themselves. Baku oil production was 40% above 1941.

The Evening Star, October 31,  
1942

## **Miracles of Red Army Credited In Large Part to Its Women**

**Thousands Serve as Guards,  
Gunners,  
Telegraphers, Storekeepers and  
Nurses**

In every sector of the front you find young Russian girls in uniform. They are usually between the ages of 18 and 24. They are husky, athletic young women. They are proud of their posts with the Red Army, and they seem to thrive on the rugged outdoor life and on hard work and danger. They have complexions which are unsurpassed anywhere in the world. They devote themselves to their jobs with intense seriousness and great capability, yet they love laughter and they radiate good cheer. When you drive out of Moscow you first meet these girls standing guard on the main highways. Some do sentry duty with rifles. Others direct all traffic. They stand very erect and cut trim figures as they snap their red flag back under the arm and sweep their yellow flag forward in the go-ahead signal.

Then they come to a salute as your car passes. Every one of these Russian girls means one more man in active combat service — and there are hundreds of thousands of young women performing tasks like this all over the Soviet Union.

Here along the front there are squads

of girl soldiers at every head-quarters and hundreds more camped here or there, wherever any battalion or regiment of the Red Army may be. Girls operate the commissary stores of various army units. Uniformed girls prepare and serve meals in almost all the officers messes. Of course, there are nurse and girl stretcher bearers, even in many of the front lines. There are also whole detachments of telegraphers and telephone operators many of them working in exposed front-sector positions.

### **Brave and Determined.**

These young, apple-cheeked girl contribute enormously to the feeling normalcy which constantly surprises you even in advanced zone of the fighting front. They have happy faces. They are completely self-possessed and self-reliant. They take the way in their young, vigorous stride, and they are every bit as brave and determined and self-effacing as the simple Russian soldier, who performs his duty without a murmur or questioning.

Riding up to one advanced headquarters, I saw Red Army girls who were living in earth caves along "Dugout boulevard" under precisely the same conditions as troops. They were busy about their work, and obviously it seemed perfectly natural to them that they should be here. In other sectors girls were camped in the woods living in tents. All are highly disciplined, and they give as snappy and clean-cut a salute as any soldiers in the army.

These young front women in uniform have all been carefully selected, and thousands of them have been at the front since the first weeks of the war. They have

been shelled and bombed, and although many are still only 18 or 19, they are all veterans today. No small number of them have been decorated.

In one front zone we talked with a group of girl telegraphers who have served on this front for 14 months. They might well have stepped off the campus of any American college, except that their cheeks were far rosier and their physiques much stronger than the average American girl could boast. They wore khaki Russian tunics, blue shirts and blue berets — as fine looking, smiling and shining-eyed youngsters as you could hope to meet anywhere.

### **Girls Like Life at Front.**

Sergt. Katja Schelbaldova acknowledged the full total of 20 years, and on the breast of her tunic she wore the combat medal of merit. Katja attended a professional telegraphers' school in Moscow when she was 16, and Tamara — this pretty, shy and unspoiled dark-haired girl — was her roommate. Katja and Tamara were graduated together, started their telegraphers' careers together and went to war together. Dusja, this curly-haired blond girl of 19, also went to the same school. They have all been here on the Kalinen and Rzhev fronts since last November.

Wasn't it pretty terrible here last winter?

"Oh, no," says Sergt. Katja. "We all had our valinki and army overcoats." (Valinki are those marvelously warm Russian felt boots which the German soldiers envy so much.) Have you been home since the war began? "We had five days' leave in September," Dusja says. "That was the first time in one year. We saw our families and we went to a movie." I suppose life

was more fun in Moscow? But Tamara hastens very earnestly to correct my false impression.

"Oh, no. We like it much better here. The work is more interesting, and besides we have movies here, too. Sometimes we even have artists from Moscow, who come out to entertain the soldiers. We have everything you could want."

Yes, they had been in a good many sir raids, but they didn't remember how many. Sometimes they worked in log cabins, sometimes in tents or in the open in forests. Did they have any brothers in the army? Yes, Katja had two brothers at the front, and Dusja had two more — and so it went. Were any of them married? They all laughed. "There's plenty of time to think about getting married after the war," Katja declared, and when we were saying goodby it was Sergt. Katja who said: "Tell your American girls to come and join us in fighting the war." When we reached Gen. Dmitri Lellushenko's headquarters the brigade commissar showed us into a clean, cozy, three-room "guest" dugout with the remark: "This is your house." He had scarcely left us when a buxom, girling bundle of health entered, asking if we cared to have tea. Clean towels lay folded on the pillows of our beds. It was difficult to realize that this was a dugout in the front line and the more so when Shura, the smiling girl attendant, served our meals with attention to every detail.

Then in another sector we were served by none other than the general's 17-year-old, brown-eyed daughter. She had been on a trip to an advanced post for the first time.

"I had never been under a hellfire before," Elena said. "But I wasn't at all afraid. We saw an air fight too, and

three Nazi planes were shot down. Once a bunch of shells came over and one exploded quite close- maybe 30 or 40 yards away. I wanted to stay, but they wouldn't let me stay after that."

### **Afraid of Nothing but Spiders.**

The general, Elena's father, had an understandable light in his eyes as Elena talked. "I really wasn't afraid of anything except the spiders," Elena was saying. "There were lots of spiders and I hate spiders. My brother is an aviator, and I wanted to join an anti-aircraft battery. But papa won't let me. He says I'm too young but I don't see why. I'm very strong, and I know I could shoot an anti-air gun. But papa says I've got to stay at headquarters and be his librarian."

This is a fair sample of the spirit of young Russian girls who serve with the Red Army. Many of their tasks are sheer drudgery, and in many front sectors they live under the same hard conditions as the soldiers themselves, but they all do their work cheerfully and do it well. The girl telephone operator in Gen. Tshantshebadza's dugout was a perfect example. For more than five hours she sat on a stool holding the telephone apparatus to her ear. She had to hold it to the ear all the time because she was in direct communication with the front lines. When we left she was still sitting on the same stool, still listening intently, still quietly efficient.

(Copyright, 1942, by Chicago Daily News.)

The Evening Star, October 22, 1942

### **Soviet Woman Leads Her Son To Battle as Regiment Captain Emma Wolf Looks 30, but She Fought With Loyalists and Was Wounded**

**By LELAND STOWE<sup>3</sup>,  
Foreign Correspondent  
of The Star and Chicago  
Daily News.**

#### **WITH THE RED ARMY ON THE RZHEV FRONT.**

In the course of my rather variegated journalistic gypsying. Capt. Emma will remain unique as the only person who has ever translated to me in three languages at once — at any rate, almost in one breath and all in the same paragraph.

Emma usually starts in French or Spanish, slips over into the other Latin tongue whenever the going seems easier, and then throws in a few 12-syllable jawbreakers in German when things begin to get complicated. If I could grasp Italian, she'd mix in some of that to complete the linguistic cocktail.

But Capt. Emma is distinguished for much harder accomplishments than this. She was the first woman to be assigned as a commissar with front-line units of the Red Army and she has served in front zones most of the time since the German invasion began.

She was wounded in action and she wears the decoration of the Red Star. She, her husband and her son, who was then 16, all voluntarily enlisted in the Russian Army in the first week of war. Capt. Emma's husband has since been killed. Her son is a soldier in her own regiment here on the Rzhev front.



### **She Looks About 30.**

It is not strictly correct to call Emma Wolf a captain. She's really a "politruk," which is the Soviet abbreviation for political leader. But in the Red Army politruk has the same rank as the captain of a company. For an American it seemed much simpler to describe Politruk Wolf as a captain. After all, there are plenty of captains all over the map who have done much less fighting and much less leading than Capt. Emma has.

You might not guess it at first glance. She's just a slender mite of a woman; not more than 5 feet 2, I suspect, nor much over 100 pounds in weight. She's dark-eyed, vivacious and her hair still has a short mannish cut because it all had to be shaved off when she had typhus. You would take her to be about 30, but Emma laughs and says you'd better add 10 years to that figure. It would take a particularly bold or foolhardy person to suggest to Capt. Emma that a woman nearing 40 might be too old to fight in a war.

### **Learned How to Hate.**

Before this war, Emma was in Spain. Her husband was one of those anti-Fascist Italians who joined the Garibaldi Battalion of the International Brigade, so Emma went along too. Once she was apparently cut off in Bilbao but she escaped on a submarine and at the war's end she got out to France in one of the last Loyalist airplanes. The Fascists, first in Italy, then in Spain, taught Emma how to hate. I have noticed there are extremely few good soldiers who don't know how to hate.

"No, not with my revolver, with rifle or with a tommy gun, in attacks."

One day we lunched together in a

brigade commissar's tent not far from the Volga. That was the day we had red caviar, onion salad, salami and real bacon. The only trouble was they served the bacon raw, but I was so hungry after all these months I ate one piece raw anyhow. With a dash of vodka for a chaser it tasted fine and, meanwhile, I learned a number of things about Capt. Emma and her job which is one of the most dangerous in the Red Army. Commissars, you see and especially politruks, have to lead their men in the most difficult attacks and Emma has led plenty of them.

### **Lives Only For Victory.**

"I'm a pretty small captain," Emma said, "but if a woman is going to be a commissar at the front, that's probably an advantage. Anyway, whenever I lead my soldiers in attack, you should see how gladly they follow. When a woman is advancing against the Fascists naturally the soldiers feel they must be braver than ever. I love to go with our men. They are wonderful in battle. "Sometimes my son goes in the attack beside me. Then you should see the soldiers when they see mother and son going forward together. Twice, before my husband was killed, all three of us went into battle side by side." There was a sudden pause and I knew this was something which did not bear talking about. Once before Capt. Emma had told me: "bombs and gunfire really don't bother me. I almost always sleep well at the front, too. It was only after my husband died that I couldn't sleep. For one whole month, then, I couldn't sleep at all. Then finally I realized I must concentrate all my strength and all my thought on each day's battle. I must only live for winning the war."

### **Fascism or Humanity.**

So we talked about Emma's son, Vladimir, now 17, who fights as a soldier but also writes articles and poems for the division's daily newspaper. "Yes," said Capt. Emma. "It's fine to have my boy in the same division with me. But sometimes it makes it harder too — when I know he is in an attack, somewhere not far away, but I can't be with him. And I know I can't do my job right if I let myself keep thinking about him or wondering if he will come back. Then it's really hard. "You know," Capt. Emma added earnestly, "it's not difficult to have no fear about yourself. But it's much different, much more different not to have fear for someone you love. Yet one must remember' that any one life does not matter. Just as one must remember that this war is not Fascism or Bolshevism. This war is only one thing— Fascism or humanity."

### **Message for Americans.**

Sitting across the table from me in a tent, she was just a slender little woman — who might have been sitting at home except that she, Emma Wolf, could not possibly be sitting anywhere so long as this war is on. She did not dramatize herself. She did not indulge in gestures or postures. She was simply here at the front because that was the one place she wanted to be — and because she knows why. If enough people understood why, how much sooner this war might be won— "Fascism, or humanity."

On another day I asked Capt. Emma if she thought of anything she would like to say to American women. "I would like American women 'to know," she said, "that we have fought a very hard war for 16 months now: Yet, despite our great

losses in dead and wounded and despite all the suffering which we must yet endure, the Russian women have never lost their courage. "Each Russian woman knows the meaning of the words of the Spanish, patriot. Dolores Ibarruri.<sup>4</sup> 'It is better to die standing up than better to die standing up than to live on your knees.'"

### **Modest Sacrifices.**

Then Capt. Emma said something which is one of the truest things which can be said about Russia at war, yet I have never heard it expressed so supremely well: "All the sacrifices which our women make are made modestly — without big words," Capt. Emma said.

I was reminded of the millions on millions of Russian women who labor 10 or 12 hours daily, and often more, in factories of all kinds; of other millions of women who planted, tended and have just harvested all of the Soviet Union's crops and food supplies; of women train conductors, trolley and bus and subway drivers; of the army of young women who have chopped millions of cords of wood in the past few months to fuel Russia's war efforts this winter; of girls who police the roads and those who man the entire anti-aircraft batteries around Moscow and other cities, and of the many other Russian women who have enabled millions of men to take their place in the army and similar active war positions. But Capt. Emma had not quite finished: "They do this," she said simply, "out of the necessity of their hearts." These words too were not meant to be big. But when words are really big, they just are. The next day came the time to say dosvydanya — Russian for au revoir. Capt.





Emma was returning to her regiment and we were leaving that sector of the front. Standing beside three big Russian officers, she looked astonishingly small, even in her coffee-gray army overcoat. She waved and smiled and waved again. Thinking about it, as Ivan the Terrible steered us over the badlands' ruts and bumps, it occurred to me that only one kind of people have the right to use the word humanity. Capt. Emma would always be one of these.

## Colliers, November 7, 1942 **Fearless Women of Russia**

By Irina Skaryatina

### **The Man Who Almost Lost Love**

"And there is the case of the man who had been severely maimed and did not want his wife to see him or even know where he was. 'She would stop loving me and I could not stand that,' he explained. 'Nothing is half so important to me as losing her love; so I'd rather she never saw me again, but remembered me as I used to be.' "Meanwhile, his wife was frantically looking for him everywhere. And then one day when she had almost given up hope, she found him sitting in front of a hospital, bundled up in a wheel chair. With a cry of joy she rushed to him and began kissing and hugging him. She told me she could not understand at first why he did not put out his arms and hug her too. Then suddenly she realized that there was something the matter and pulled off his blanket. Both his arms and legs were gone. "She said she will never forget the look on his face. It was that of a frightened little boy, ashamed and hurt. He burst into tears shouting, "Go away, go away".

But she instantly understood what he was thinking and feeling and, throwing herself down on her knees beside him, swore that it made no difference to her. On the contrary, she would love him ten million times more. She took him home and carefully nursed his pride and his wounds. Now, with his mechanical legs and arms, he looks like a human being once more and is gradually coming back to life. Eventually, he will even be able to teach, for that was his profession before the war. These are but a handful of the stories I heard from some of the women I talked to at random; all of them played down the roles that were thrust upon them by the war. Every woman has a story to tell, whether she is a president of a soviet, typist, housewife, streetcar driver, hotel maid or worker. For they are of the people, and their lives taken collectively are the life of Russia today. The women of Russia know no fear. They are fighting shoulder to shoulder with their men for their homes in towns and villages. They have pledged all their strength to the destruction of the enemy. Millions of Russia's women have proved their strength, their power of endurance, their contempt of death, and their will to help bring about the final decisive victory.

### **(Endnotes)**

1 **Valenki** are traditional Russian winter footwear, essentially felt boots: the name *valenok* literally means «made by felting». They are not water-resistant, and are often worn with galoshes to protect the soles from wear and moisture.

2 **Stove**

3 **Stowe Leland** (1899 -1994) — American journalist, winner of several Pulitzer Prizes. After

graduating in 1921, he worked as a European columnist for the New York Tribune, and as a war correspondent for the Chicago Daily News and the New York Post. In 1930 he was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for his coverage of the reparations conference in The Hague. In 1933 he visited Berlin, after which he wrote a series of anti-fascist articles that no American periodical at the time agreed to publish. In 1940 he was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for his work as a frontline correspondent during the first months of World War II and his coverage of the Soviet-Finnish War. In 1942 he visited the USSR and travelled to the front together with I. Ehrenburg. These reports became one of the best examples of war journalism. In the post-war period L. Stowe's diary notes from 1939-1945 were published.

4 **Isidora Dolores Ibárruri Gómez** (9

December 1895 – 12 November 1989), also known as *Pasionaria*, “the passionate one” or Passion flower”, was a Spanish Republican politician of the Spanish Civil War of 1936–1939 and a communist known for her slogan *¡No Pasarán!* (“They shall not pass!”) issued during the Battle for Madrid in November 1936.

## Chapter XV Heroism and Tragedies of Leningrad

Time Magazine, September 29,  
1941

### World War: Peter Mikhailov's Love

Little Peter hated water: every time he passed over a bridge he trembled with fear. But when little Peter grew up to be Peter the Great he fell madly in love with water. Last week that love bore ironic fruit.

A few years after he became Tsar, Peter began to woo the sea. He learned on a Russian lake how to trim a sheet and ease a tiller. Later he went to Holland disguised as Peter Mikhailov, able-bodied seaman, there took a job in shipyards and learned how to warp gnarled oak into clean ship shape with his own hands. He learned navigation, piloting, naval tactics.

He went back to Russia and pushed his country's borders to the Baltic Sea. Then, by the Baltic Peter built the beginnings of his favorite city, St. Petersburg. The town grew, and Peter gave it a fortress touching the water — great Kronstadt. Peter called the place his "paradise" eventually moved his capital there, by the water.

Last week, the third of Leningrad's siege, Kronstadt's huge guns were silenced by Nazi artillery and dive-bombers.

The sea approaches to Leningrad were threatened as German naval and Luftwaffe parties battered their way onto the stubbornly defended Estonian Islands, Oesel, Vormsi and Moon. The Finns put new pressure on the sea fort of Hanko. German warships were reported steaming into the Baltic to smoke the Red Fleet and its stinging artillery out of the Gulf of Finland.

The city Peter had built to be near the sea was now threatened from the sea.

The Washington Post, July 27,  
1941

### Leningrad Is Difficult to Defend

WHEN Peter the Great transformed an insignificant Russian frontier village into the great fortress city of Leningrad two and a half centuries ago, he called it Russia's "window on the west."

As reconstructed, the "window" had the strongest of iron bars. It became known as virtually impregnable. So secure were the czars behind its walls that they made it capital of all Russia and gave it a glittering, brilliant court. Napoleon reckoned it too strong and invaded Russia from Poland. Even in 1914, Germany avoided it, attacked from a different direction.

The Leningrad of 1941, second city of Russia, is a far cry from the Leningrad of earlier years — so different, in fact,

that most military men consider it more vulnerable to attack than any other large city in the world. Almost on the frontier, it stands out like a sore thumb inviting: bomber attacks from the west. Natural defenses against a land army are little better than a series of swamps and lakes and marshes, many of which have been drained. High ground exists nowhere.

FOR some strange reason Leningrad is cursed with more galvanized iron roofing than any other city in Europe. Such material is duck soup for bombers. The big wharves along the crowded, winding waterfront always are crowded with lumber barges headed for the Baltic on along the Neva River canal and the Volga for Moscow. These are more duck soup for bombers.

Any enemy force, especially with the aid of Finland, has simple strategy cut out for it. It must concentrate on encirclement of the city from the southwest, then gradual envelopment until the great capital of the czars has been cut off from its precious rail and water communications with the rest of Russia. An army successful in this operation has Leningrad at its mercy for Leningrad cannot live long without food and ammunition produced elsewhere.

RUSSIA'S air-sea bases on both sides of the Gulf of Finland, newly acquired, give the city partial protection against a modern war machine, but even they serve as much to draw attack as to prevent it.

Josef Stalin also had hoped the newly acquired buffer states of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia would offer additional defenses for the vulnerable metropolis — but the blitz pace of the German army was not a matter of common understanding at the time of their acquisition. Another link

in the city's defense, rendered useless in the case of a land attack is the fortress of Kronstadt, built by Peter in 1704 on an island 20 miles west of the city.

A force of close to a million men is required to defend Leningrad — a city worth defending for many reasons besides its numerous concentrated industries, railroad terminals, armament factories and trade facilities. Its greatest value to the Soviet lies however, in its position — it is a stumbling block on what otherwise might be an easy road to Moscow.

LENINGRAD, as a great city, dates back to 1702. In that year, Peter the Great marched on the village at the head of the Finnish Gulf, took it away from the Swedes and built himself a comfortable log house. Then he brought thousands of serfs from all parts of the empire and set them to work driving myriad log piles into the swampy land for the foundation of the modern Leningrad. From his cabin he directed the building of the great fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul — a stone bastion conceived as a keystone of defense against any preying enemy. Palaces, parks and broad boulevards were constructed, but disease and hardship claimed the lives of so many workers that the city was said to be built on bones.

NUMEROUS rail lines serve the twentieth century city, particularly important to a Russia-at-war because of its munitions, machinery, precision tool and instrument plants. In its ware-houses, blockaded by battle are great stores of timber, grain, flax, hemp, vegetable oils, leather, furs and copper.

An estimated 3,200,000 inhabitants give Leningrad rank as Russia's second city, although its population dropped to less than a million during the 1916-1920



period when revolutionary strife and political confusion led to a mass exodus.

For two centuries the city was known as St. Petersburg, named after its founder. In 1914, with Russia at odds with Germany, the name was changed to Petrograd, because Peter the Great was descended from a German family. The Bolsheviks renamed it in honor of Lenin in 1924. It thus becomes significant that present German communiques refer to the city at St. Petersburg.

Time Magazine, September 22,  
1941

## World War: Two Sieges

Last week at opposite ends of the Russian Front, the German Army besieged two Russian cities:

**Lionhearted Leningrad.** Rain and the first snow, driving Field Marshal Ritter von Leeb's northern forces like Hitler's fury, impeded German and Finnish efforts to close the ring around Leningrad (see map).

Admitting that "hunger and internal confusion as aids in breaking the Russian resistance" were unpredictable elements, the Germans undertook a heavy and lengthy bombardment of the city. All day long-range Nazi cannon, skulking in ash-colored Karelian soil, cracked high explosives into Leningrad's defenses. All night the Eighth Air Corps and the ugly "black beetles" of the Luftwaffe's smart Richthofen Squadron dealt out destruction, until the night glowed red with fire and death.

Besieged in Leningrad, Marshal Klimenti Voroshilov, establishing active defense positions far forward of the main

line, made good use of a low semicircle of heights 15 miles to the south of the city. "Still shooting from all barrels," as Nazi correspondents admitted, Marshall Voroshilov's defenders repeatedly counterattacked. He announced that his forces had beaten off a minor German sea raid on the Kronstadt naval base, and claimed the capture of three villages, destruction of over 200 German tanks, 10,000 soldiers, on the outskirts of the defense line.

Within Leningrad the population became, according to Izvestia, "a wall of steel and concrete barring the enemy at the entrance." Listening to the radio, the defenders heard a broadcast from London's conservative BBC:

"Lionhearted Leningrad, city of the Revolution. London is with you. . . . London salutes the heroes of Leningrad. . . . Victory is yours. Long live Leningrad!"

**Bloody Odessa.** For five weeks the Rumanians under General Ion Antonescu have laid siege to the Black Sea port of Odessa. Locked within the city, whose present population is 605,000, is part of bogey-mustachioed Marshal Semion Budenny's Southern Army which retreated there after being chased out of Bessarabia last month. They claim to have killed thousands of Antonescu's Rumanians. Every now & then, they say, a placard reading "Cease Fire and Take Away Your Dead" has to be hoisted.

Bloodletting is nothing new to Odessa. During the Crimean War it was unsuccessfully attacked by the Franco-British Allies in 1854; later it was muffed by the Turks in the Russo-Turkish troubles of 1876-77. In an unforgettable silent film, Director Sergei Eisenstein recorded the Cossack slaughter and pogroms

which followed the mutinied battleship's landing (1905) at Odessa's port. After the Bolshevik Revolution the city was in turn occupied by Austrian, German and French forces, and the monstrous General Simon Petlure (whose murderer a French jury in 1926 acquitted and fined one franc) also had his whacks. Finally in 1920 the Reds took it from the Whites.

This time Odessa has dug in for another bloody event. For trench digging, 100,000 spades have been manufactured in the caviar and sturgeon canning factories within, the past six weeks. Its defenders have been busy manufacturing "Molotov cocktails" (impromptu bombs) out of jam and fish cans; hatchets; crowbars; homemade armored cars. A sign in the telegraph office reads: "We do not guarantee time of arrival."

Time Magazine, October 13,  
1941

### **World War: Leningrad the Labyrinth**

Bursting into this gigantic city the [enemy] will come into a stone labyrinth, where every house will be for them either a riddle, or a threat, or a mortal danger. Whence can they expect a blow? From the window? From the attic? From the cellar? From around the corner? Everywhere. At our disposition are rifles, machine guns, hand grenades. We can cover some streets with barbed-wire entanglements, leave others open and turn them into traps. It is only necessary that some thousands of men should firmly decide not to give tip. . . .

Leon Trotsky wrote these words about the defense of Leningrad in October

1919, when the Whites were pressing the Seventh Red Army northward into the city. But the words echoed like a great roar in the labyrinth last week.

After five weeks of siege, the defenders were still firm in their decision. Wherever the German wave seemed to lick too close, the Russians scooped it back a little. They used a new armored train as a battering ram for their attacks, and inside the city workers labored day and night toward the completion of two more such trains. One Russian lunge drove back the German right wing, restoring the line to its position in early September. The Reds sneaked across Lake Ladoga and the Gulf of Finland in small boats to harass the German flanks. The Germans seemed to be digging in almost defensively—with half-buried tanks as pillboxes.

It looked as if the Germans, unless they waited for the city to be starved out, would be unable to crack Leningrad without a major offensive. At this stage of the Battle of Russia they seem unable to mount more than one offensive at a time. This week's was not aimed at Leningrad.

Time Magazine September 28,  
1942

### **A Million Have Died**

Sorrow for Stalingrad tempered Russia's somber pride in Leningrad. The tsar-made city on the Baltic, entering its second year of siege, presented to Russia and the world an epic of agony and heroism which in its duration and sustained intensity exceeded even the siege of Sevastopol.

One year ago, Field Marshal Wilhelm Ritter von Leeb threw three armies around the city. He failed to take it by

storm. He then settled down to reduce it by attrition. Early in the siege, warehouses chocked with food enough for three years were destroyed by German bombers. The air was acrid with burning wheat. Gutters ran with melted chocolate.

A terrible decision had to be made— who should eat? From limited food stocks, soldiers and defense workers were fed enough to keep them going. The rest of the city's 3,000,000 men, women & children were given only 125 grams of bread a day — about a slice and a half. From starvation, cold, disease and German bombs more than 1,000,000 died. The rest fought on.

The major part of its vast machine-tool, precision-instrument and other industries had been moved beyond the Urals. So Leningrad, to produce its own guns and shells, had to depend on the remaining fraction of its industries.

The sacrifice helped prevent the German from shattering Russia's Murmansk supply route and enabled Russia to keep Kronstadt, its last base in the Baltic. From Kronstadt Russian submarines and other survivors of the Red Fleet last week were still harassing Axis ships in the Gulf of Finland. On the Karelian Isthmus Russian soldiers were still holding off Finnish assaults. Leeb's armies, which once had plunged 125 miles east, now had been pushed back 100 miles and were holding a corridor only eight miles wide stretching north to Lake Ladoga . Against both sides of the corridor the Russians were pressing hard.

A talisman in time of Russia's distress, Leningrad stood firm.

Time Magazine, January 31, 1944

## End of Siege

At 9:20 on a misty morning the signal came. As the men moved out, they saw silhouetted the massive St. Isaac's Cathedral, the battered Admiralty, the grey ships on the Neva. On the broad, cold Nevski Prospect the passers-by guessed: the hour was near.

Then all of Leningrad listened breathlessly to the music of battle. Like moles the Germans had burrowed deep into the alien earth; now thousands of tons of explosives dug them out.

Victory's Pattern. The Russians struck from two points at once. One column drove south from the city. Another pushed out from the tiny beachhead at Oranienbaum, 25 miles from Leningrad. Before both columns a broom of TNT swept a clear path.

By the fourth day, the enemy's defenses had been breached, his men put to flight. Then the two wedges became iron jaws, crushing the thin German salient still left between them. By the eighth day, Red units had taken a railroad to Moscow, were headed for the second.

In the Pulkovo Hills and south Oranienbaum, the Germans fought their hardest: their trenches were deep, mine fields vast, artillery plentiful. Now little was left of these defenses, and the snowy road across the hills was blotched with dark, ragged craters. Over the rear German positions, pounded by Russian bombers, black ack-ack puffs spotted the milky sky.

This pitted, tortured soil was Russia's proudest. At Ropsha Peter the Great built a magnificent palace. At Krasnoye Selo Alexander Suvorov, the 18th century hero,

trained his men and shouted: "Battles are not won in offices." At Peterhof the Czars kept their priceless works of art. Now the palaces and treasures had been wrecked, looted. But Russian soil was back in Russian hands.

Victory's Rewards. Black columns of weary, stunned prisoners straggled into Leningrad. The passers-by laughed and shouted. For this was a great victory: an 880-day siege had been lifted, 25,000 Germans (according to Moscow) had been killed in six days, 85 huge siege guns had been captured. The Baltic Fleet was free again to sail into the Gulf of Finland. Red columns were pressing toward Estonia 56 miles away.

Credit for victory went to the planner: General Leonid Govorov, plump, short, middleaged, with unruly hair and a Hitlerian mustache. In 1940 this artillery expert helped to open a corridor into Leningrad, broke the Germans' partial blockade but did not — as accounts at the time wrongly indicated — actually free the city. Until this month, German shells tore daily into Leningrad's brick-and-mortar flesh, and its defenders rode to the front in streetcars. More than a million had died of cold and hunger since Field Marshal Wilhelm Ritter von Leeb's army first besieged the city in 1941. Last week, after their long torture, the survivors of Leningrad could hardly believe that the siege had ended. Already there was talk of making the city beautiful again. But on many a wall a sign still warned: "Citizens, this side of the street is dangerous during shelling."

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## The Evening Star, June 21, 1944 **Leningrad Is Normal, But War at Its Worst Is Not Far Distant**

**By David M. Nichols**  
**War Correspondent of The Star and  
Chicago Daily News.**

LENINGRAD, June 20 (Delayed). -A trip to the Leningrad front is a fantastic combination of an intourist tour. A summer picnic and war at its most horrible.

Your base is the famous Hotel Astoria across the square from the Immense bulk of St. Isaac's Cathedral which outwardly, at least, is undamaged, and the rambling brown- stone building of the former German consulate, which is now serving a much more humane purpose.

You taste excellent food and sleep in clean white beds in rooms where there is running water several hours daily—no mean achievement in itself. In the evenings, you go to the opera or to ballet concerts by distinguished Leningrad companies, or poke through bookstores, which are overflowing compared to those in Moscow.

### **Winter Palace Windowless.**

In the morning, you set out in a column of jeeps, past the Winter Palace, which has hardly a single pane of glass in all its multitudinous windows, past the damaged hermitage across the Neva River, past the Fortress of Peter and Paul and out along a suburban road which has every appearance of normalcy.

The villages have been inhabited all along. Streetcars now serve them regularly. Summer homes for youngsters are operating. Fields are cultivated to the last square inch.

The procession travels along through sandy rolling country in the warm summer air, freshened by the recent rain and the proximity of the Finnish Gulf.

Then suddenly you are at war again. Torn wire lines, blasted forests and trenches mark the initial Finnish positions. The Astoria Hotel has thoughtfully provided a basket of cheese, ham and caviar sandwiches and vodka, which you enjoy on the green hillside, actually within the invisible line of fortifications. After lunch you go on to more pillboxes.

The crowning touch is supplied by the feminine contingent. When it was proposed that the trip should be extended two or three more days, one of two women correspondents walled despondently: "How can it? I haven't any more lingerie." In justice it should be said that that same woman once rode all night across the Stalingrad steppes in an unheated ambulance at 40 below zero.

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## Chapter XVI

### Russia's Invisible army.

Newsweek, August 11, 1941

### Partisan Warfare: Reds Improve an Old Weapon

Maj. Gm. STEPHEN O. FUQUA, USA.  
Retired

**Partisan warfare such as the Russians are carrying on has played a part in many fierce struggles for national existence to supplement or extend the more usual combat, or to prolong resistance when the army has been destroyed. It embodies raids, arson, ambushes, sniping, and sabotage in all of its varied forms.**

This type of warfare, generally labeled guerrilla but more properly known as partisan, is carried on by small independent or semi-independent forces, operating against a greatly superior enemy and employing hit-and-run tactics. The object is not only to harass the enemy but to delay his advance, causing losses through attrition and gnawing at or destroying his lines of communication and supply. Mobility, enterprise, courage, versatility, and reliability of the individual members of the group at what really count. Success is usually attained by employment of numerous small detachments under versatile subordinates controlled from above by an experienced high command.

All armies have experienced this type

of warfare in their invasions of sparsely inhabited countries or regions occupied by civilized peoples or barbaric tribes. In our own country were developed special types of guerrilla warfare in our Indian, Revolutionary, and Civil Wars. And, in the Philippines, guerrilla warfare, in which this observer had much experience, was praised by both sides in the Americas pacification of these islands.

But in Russia there is developing both in pattern and technique, a type of partisan warfare which is interwoven into the strategical defense system of the country. Unlike their counterparts in China, where the military stalemate has encouraged guerrilla warfare, the Russians are fighting great defensive battles as delaying actions calculated to halt the German advance. When these means are successful and the enemy is stopped, harassing tactics follow. If the invader weakens, a counterattack is delivered; should he retreat, all effort is directed toward a pursuit.

Although guerrilla warfare is an integral part of the Soviet defense plan, it is at this time a secondary measure only as an aid to the defenders in resisting the invader. It is being carried on by hands of peasants, organized and armed by the government for that purpose, and also by hands of regular soldiers when the larger units become isolated and broken up.

Strange to say, modern warfare as

conducted by the Germans encourages guerrilla fighting due to the opportunities presented by the Nazi tactics of penetration and infiltration, particularly because of their employment of large panzer forms that separate into small combat units. The isolated maneuvers of the small German tank units operating behind the Russian main lines in spearhead drives and the presence of large bodies of Russian troops in the back areas which have been cut off from their commands, afford opportunities for both the "irregulars and regulars to engage in their own type of partisan warfare.

These situations have permitted the Russians to resort to guerrilla-type warfare in all its varied forms and on a scale perhaps never before contemplated as an element of a defense system. But these guerrilla tactics are used only as an expedient in regions not wholly subjugated by the Nazis. The "scorched earth" policy comes into action later and is applicable only to territory about to fall into the hands of the invader. That the activities of the Russian partisan hands are beginning to tell up on the Germans is evidenced in reports from Berlin which characterize these groups as "bandits" and "wild men," accuse them of using "illegal stratagems and not "fighting fairly," and label their acts "murderous, inhuman cruelties. But it is natural that guerrilla tactics should offend the leaders of the highly organized German war machine, and particularly so became one of the great aims of the Russian partisans is to halt the German advance and force the invader to change from of movement to position warfare. Then, if this should come to pass, Hitler, with his long lines of communication and supply, harassed by

Soviet partisans bands as well as by the Red Army would find himself in a perilous situation to meet a Russian winter.

This Week, April 5, 1942

## **RUSSIA'S INVISIBLE ARMY**

**If they're caught — death! But Red Army guerrillas don't stop fighting. Men, women, youngsters — they harass German lines and rip up Hitler's timetables**

OUR forces have retaken the town of K." Whenever you read that in a Soviet communique, don't be too sure it is a mere statement of fact. Very likely "Town K" prime is a code expression conveying a secret order to the Russian guerrillas behind the German lines. For these valiant fighters are far from scattered, unorganized bands: they are a huge, integrated fighting force, and their orders come straight from Moscow.

Never in history have guerrillas played such an important part as they do in Russia today. They form an underground front behind the front, and are everywhere and nowhere. They are more dangerous than flame throwers and dive bombers because no sound betrays their lightning approach. They cover every inch of the hinterland, and as quick as they come, they disappear in the forest mist. They are at least as much responsible for German reverses this winter as the stinging cold of the steppes and the death-defying gallantry of the Soviet soldiers. They are known as the "partisans," and Russia is full of their praise. There may be millions of them, operating in large formations as well as in small units.

What kind of people are these partisans? Gray-haired mujiks rub

shoulders with boys and girls in their teens. Fathers and sons, mothers and daughters are fighting side by side. Some of the old-timers are veterans of World War I. To many of the others that war is scarcely a memory. There was, for instance, Alexander Tchekalin, aged 16, whose name has become a byword throughout the Soviet Union. He operated near his native village, and fear was unknown to him. He threw sticks of dynamite at German tanks, sniped at Nazi patrols from behind hayricks. But one day he was cornered in a peasant's hut; he decided to smash his way to freedom or to sell his life dearly. With a grenade in his hand, he met the Nazis halfway.

The hand grenade turned out to be a dud; the Germans hanged the boy. The Soviet government decorated him posthumously with the highly-coveted Order of Lenin, and the title of "Hero of the Soviet Union," the nation's greatest honors.

Some of the partisan commanders are regular-army officers, while others are just plain village folk. "Division X of the Red Army has been destroyed," the German high command would announce. But Division X was destroyed only as a visible unit; it would turn up behind the lines as a sector of the great invisible army, commanded by its own officers. Beggar's rags may be a general's uniform among the partisans, and a colonel may be a flashing-eyed woman. Common peasant commanders sometimes reveal remarkable gifts of ingenuity and organization.

The partisans have their nameless Napoleons. The Soviets have long been preparing for just this type of warfare. Not fewer than 40,000,000 of their citizens

have been trained as partisans, we are told. "Proletarian Rifle Divisions" are regular features of Moscow Red Square parades. Thousands of their civilian members march in company formations, armed with rifles. The technique of guerrilla warfare, how to read maps, how to find one's way by compass, are being taught by the organization known as "Osoaviachim" with millions of members. For years young Russia has been learning parachute jumping, has been toughened up by all kinds of mass sports. Even women and children have been taught to handle rifles.

**"Every bush, every peasant house shoots at you," German soldiers complain. "The entire civilian population of the occupied territories has risen," a German-controlled Belgian newspaper wailed the other day. "The remarkable gifts of ingenuity and organization.**

Front-line Red soldiers often notice that the enemy's fire is suddenly reversed, scouring the rear. Then they know that partisan fighters are at work behind the Nazi lines. The guerrillas seek to shear off German supply lines, cut tank units from their fuel base. Isolated from the rear, the Germans must turn their tanks into forts and shoot it out until their ammunition is exhausted or reinforcements arrive.

The partisans dig traps for the enemy's mechanized forces, destroy bridges, tunnels, viaducts, railway tracks, set fire to oil and food stores, ammunition dumps, flour mills. They snipe at occupation garrisons, at reserves moving up to the front, at retreating formations. They decoy entire regiments into swampy wasteland, and then destroy vital military objectives in their absence.

Small groups of partisans sneak up







to German field headquarters, slaughter their staffs. A typical case of partisan work was that of "Commander" a prime chairman of a local Soviet, who captured the railway station "G." In less than half an hour his men destroyed miles of telephone and telegraph wires, railroad tracks, the water pump, then set the station on fire.

When the Russian army was retreating last year, it was the partisans who completed its scorched-earth policy. They saw to it, too, that their countrymen's morale in the occupied land should not sag. They are largely responsible for the fact that no Quislings have been found by the Germans, for they maintain an underground government, punish treason and execute the Soviet law while the regular government is absent.

Recently the partisans have devised new ways to render the enemy's life unbearable. They are flooding the Nazis' line of retreat, turning it into a sheet of ice, paralyzing the machines of war. They are littering the highways with multi-pointed iron barnacles that pierce the tires. They construct fake artillery positions in the rear to keep the retreating Nazis worrying and guessing.

The partisans have their own special war machines, which they call the "tatchanka". They may be tractors or combines (harvesters and threshers), the number of which is legion in the Soviet Union. The weapons mounted on them are of a wide range. Rifles of Crimean War vintage are no rarity, but they also have flame throwers and planes.

Many of the partisan forces are in constant touch with one another, as well as with units of the regular army. This is rendered possible because the Russian

line is not continuous. Messengers are sometimes disguised as peasant women, carrying water from the well. Radio transmission is also employed on a large scale. The Russian high command had a large section of the western country wired for underground telephone before the war, preparing for such a contingency.

Noncombatant peasants are also serving the partisans. The vast behind-the-lines operations could not be successful without their active help. They transmit prearranged signals to the fighters; their women cook and do the laundry of the partisans. The guerrillas also have their secret newspapers in the occupied country, such as the celebrated "Stalinist Post," which not merely spreads news but also builds up morale and passes on orders.

### Honored

CITATIONS for partisan work are very frequent in Russian military bulletins. The Order of Lenin and the title Hero of the Soviet Union have been conferred on many of them.

Not fewer than a million Germans are fighting the partisans behind the lines, the Russians say. The punishment of the guerrillas is hanging. "You are hereby ordered," the commander of the 123rd German Infantry Division, Major General Rauch, instructed subordinates recently, "to leave the executed guerrillas hanging for a certain time in public squares."

It is only seldom that a partisan captured by the Germans lives to tell the story of his exploits. But this is what happened to a young partisan whom newspapermen recently found in the zone reoccupied by the Red Army. "When the Nazis captured him, they told him to

walk away from them. Five steps away they shot at him, and the bullet passed through his neck and out of the mouth. He fell down, wounded, and pretended to be dead. The Germans piled snow on him, shot a bullet into the mound to be sure that he was dead. This bullet only grazed his right hand. After a while he got up, took refuge in a friendly village, until Red soldiers drove the Nazis back.

The Germans scour the guerrilla countryside in reconnaissance planes, followed by bombers. They set fire to woods sheltering partisan forces. They burn villages and execute hostages. Even so, wise commanders have found it safer to take long detours around forests and to patronize well-protected highways.

Partisan warfare is fully in line with Russian traditions. It was the partisans who turned Napoleon's retreat from Moscow into a rout. As long as half a century ago, Lenin himself advocated the formation of such units in the Czarist army to spread confusion in its ranks. Partisans did some very effective work behind the lines in the Russian Revolution of 1905, which followed the disastrous Russo-Japanese War. When the Communists became a strong force they formed their own militia, a secret military organization. The collapse of the Czar's armies during the First World War was in no small measure caused by deserters who turned guerrilla against their own forces.

### **Early Red Partisans**

THE partisans' great day came with the end of World War I. Enemies closed in on all sides. The Bolshevik government was fighting for its very life. Several armies converged upon Leningrad and Moscow, led by counterrevolutionary leaders,

the "Whites." In an effort to combat bolshevism, foreign countries dispatched expeditionary forces to Russia. Time was short and it would have taken long to set up a regular army. The Soviet leaders appealed to the peasants to prevent the return of the old order, and they organized guerrillas. Some of the partisan leaders have become legendary figures.

The Soviet leaders have never forgotten the lesson of the Civil War. They have put the theory of partisan warfare to practical tests on different occasions. They trained Spanish loyalists in the art of partisan warfare. Even greater success attended their work in China, where they helped to train the famous Eighth Route Army in partisan methods. Chinese partisans have been working for years behind the Japanese lines.

As soon as the Germans launched their attack on the Soviet Union last June, the partisans got down to work. Less than a fortnight later the Nazis were well on the way to Leningrad and Moscow, and nothing seemed to be able to halt the formidable juggernaut. It was on July 3 that Joseph Stalin appealed to the partisans to launch an all-out counterattack and help save the Soviet Union. At that time this was thought by many outside observers an admission of weakness and perhaps even of impending doom. In reality, Stalin was merely calling upon the vast reserves of civilian strength the Soviets had been accumulating for just such an emergency. The response of the people surpassed the most optimistic expectations. Instead of turning against their government, as the Germans had expected, the inhabitants of the occupied regions rose as one man against the invaders.

"You cannot hang us all," young

partisan Alexander Tchekalin<sup>1</sup>, whose name has already been mentioned, told his hangmen under the gallows. "There are too many of us; we will win." The words may be apocryphal. Just the same, they have been inscribed in the history books of partisan warfare. The Germans failed to reach Leningrad, Moscow and Sevastopol, and for their failure the partisans deserve much of the credit. The part they have played, living in the shadow of the gallows, is a great epic of the Russo-German War.

Time Magazine, November 29, 1943

### **World: Armies of the Forest**

In peacetime Russia, Peter and Elena Ignatov led a quiet, homey life. But the war altered all that. Killing has become their trade; they pursue it with the matter-of-factness with which Peter once tinkered with engines and Elena mended her sons' torn garments. Today, Peter's is one of Russia's busiest guerrilla "armies"; Elena is one of his killers.

Their exploits have made them national figures. Pravda honored the Ignatovs in an editorial. The same issue announced that seven partisans had been made Heroes of the Soviet Union. Two of the seven were Peter's sons: they had died blowing up a Nazi ammunition train.

*War of Stealth.* No gun salvos in Moscow record the guerrilla's exploits: they are small victories, pinpricks in a war of titans. But enough pinpricks can bleed, exhaust, inflict painful wounds. Last week, a Soviet communiqué recorded these pinpricks:

"In the Cherkassy direction our troops

. . . together with guerrillas . . . struck an unexpected blow. . . In October several guerrilla detachments in the Tarnopol region blew up 33 enemy troop trains, two armored trains and a railway bridge. . . . At the beginning of November the Germans sent out a large punitive expedition against one of the guerrilla detachments. In a two-day engagement the Soviet patriots wiped out more than 100 enemy officers and men and forced the enemy to retreat."

When the Wehrmacht retreats, the partisans retreat with it—harassing, dynamiting, killing, raiding villages and towns, ambushing supply columns, cutting telegraph lines. This war of stealth is not entirely haphazard; a thoroughly organized Central Staff of the Partisan Movement coordinates attack, and keeps in touch with the many "armies," partly by courier and partly by radio. But of necessity the control is loose, and the guerrilla leaders usually choose their own tactics, make their own decisions.

No one but the Central Staff knows the total guerrilla strength, but it must run into hundreds of thousands. In the Army of the Bryansk Forest alone, 3,200 men and women won guerrilla and Red Army decorations. Other "Armies of the Forest" — between Kiev and Zhitomir in the Pripet Marshes, in White Russia and the Crimean Peninsula — are as big, or bigger.

*Complex Foe.* Most of the Partisans today fight with captured rifles, hand grenades, machine guns. The larger units employ German-made artillery and tanks. Scarce items — medicines, winter clothes, shoes — are supplied by Red Army planes and parachutes. An air shuttle service flies doctors and Army officers

into guerrilla territory, flies the wounded out. The bigger “armies” operate their own bakeries, hospitals, community bathhouses. Many mimeograph and distribute their own newspapers.

The Wehrmacht has burned down forests where guerrillas lurked. It has razed villages, killed or imprisoned thousands of suspects, created special antiguerrilla forces (in one case 60,000 strong), offered big rewards (for the head of Guerrilla Chief Mikhail Romashkin: 15,000 rubles, a house, 32 acres of land, two cows, a horse). But the hour came when the Wehrmacht’s mouthpiece, Lieut. General Kurt Diettmar, had to make an admission: “The struggle with the partisans has become a complex problem, which cannot be solved by small means.”

### **(Endnotes)**

1 **Alexander (Shura) Pavlovich**

**Chekalin** (1925 –1941) was a Russian teenager, Soviet partisan, and Hero of the Soviet Union. Chekalin was captured, tortured, and hanged for partisan activities in Tula Oblast near Moscow during the German-Soviet War.

## Chapter XVII Liberation of Europe.

The Evening Star, April 20, 1944  
**Swift Russian Advance Blocked  
 Nazi Destruction Near Odessa**

By HENRY C. CASSIDY.

### WITH THE RED ARMY ON THE THIRD UKRAINIAN FRONT

Most of the Southern Ukraine has been saved from German destruction, I learned during a week's trip through country recently recaptured by the Red Army.

The retreating Germans, who laid waste Central and Northern Russia, were prevented from carrying out wholesale destruction in the Lower Ukraine by the swift Red Army offensive.

Rich farmlands already are being tilled and important industries are being put back in commission to make a major contribution to further production in the war.

I traveled by plane and truck over and through the region from Kharkov to Odessa.

### Little Time for Burning

"It is characteristic of this offensive that there is little destruction," said Alexander S. Rogov<sup>1</sup>, deputy chief of staff for this front. "The Red Army is going

so fast the Germans have little time for systematic burning."

Gen. Rogov said the Germans intended to hold a line along the Dnepr River and had devastated the entire region to the east to create a no-man's land and deprive the advancing Russians of local support. That is no longer so. Here the Germans ran for their lives. Odessa, seventh Russian city, is by far the most important in the newly liberated area. Odessa is typical. It suffered cruelly under Romanian and finally German occupation. About 80,000 of its residents were killed. They were mostly Jews.

### Like Prewar Paris

But today, Odessa has an atmosphere like prewar Paris on the 14th of July, with crowds strolling along peaceful, sunlight avenues in holiday mood,

Mayor Boris Davidenko, chairman of the Odessa Soviet, told Allied correspondents that the city's plans to celebrate its 150th anniversary this year had been interrupted by the war. The city had grown rapidly from 604,000 population in 1939 to 737,000 in 1941 and heavy industry was developed highly, he said. Evacuation was started in July, 1941, and most industrial equipment and more than half the population were moved through the Caucasus into Central Asia, Odessa's land communications were cut July of that year, but evacuation continued by sea while the city fought

back stubbornly for 70 days until mid-October. It was subjected to 24-hour daily shelling and aerial bombardment, Mayor Davidenko said. Industry remaining in Odessa supplied besieged troops defending the city.

### **Boundary Set Up**

One of the first Romanian acts was to set up a boundary on the Southern Bug River establishing frontier posts separating territory they considered their own from that controlled by the Germans.

“The rule of the Romanians was often worse than that of the Germans,” Mayor Davidenko said. “They subjected the population to torture and death.”

Late in 1941 and early in 1942 Mayor Davidenko said about 15,000 persons were burned to death or shot at Strelbische rifle range near Odessa. He said Jews were herded there behind barbed wire, wet with gasoline and burned in the Sabanska barracks. He said others were killed at numerous nearby places.

The Romanians converted Odessa into a “trading center.” There were few Germans in evidence and the Romanians were mostly merchants who took charge of all trade and few Germans in evidence and the Romanians were mostly merchants who took charge of all trade and production by artisans. Schools and government correspondence were conducted in Romanian.

The horrors were relieved somewhat by comic aspects of the Romanian administration as related by Father Vassily, priest of the Uspensky Cathedral. He said the Romanian Patriarch Nikodim<sup>2</sup> sent the Metropolitan Visarion of Bessarabia and Chernovitsy as head of a clerical mission. The priest said the Metropolitan started

terrible quarrels with Gov. Alexeanu and left very quietly with one small suitcase on a droshky.

### **Removed for Embezzlement**

Father Vassily said Alexeanu was finally removed in February, 1944, for “terrible embezzlement of the governorship.” “Our money was spent not for public welfare but for pretty legs,” he added.

The designation Trans-Dnestria then was abolished and the region between the Dnestr and the Southern Bug rivers was placed under Romanian military command. The Germans started taking control in February and openly assumed authority in March. During the final hours of occupation German radio cars raced through the streets broadcasting that the Nazis were leaving for only three months and would never forgive anyone who worked for the Russians. Notices were posted April 8 ordering every one off the streets at 3 p.m. and telling the people to stay in their houses with doors open and windows closed.

At 6 a.m. on April 10 the Red Army entered the city, breaking through quickly from the east after smashing the main German line north of Odessa. Ten thousand partisans who rose from the catacombs prevented much destruction in the city.

When city authorities entered with troops at dawn on April 10, Mayor Davidenko said they found the port facilities the hardest hit. A grain elevator, a meat packing plant and an agricultural machinery factory were burning and flour mills, bakeries, factories and the railroad station were blown up. The central pier was flattened by mines. Reconstruction started immediately.



Maj. Davidenko said running water would be supplied within a few days and that electricity and streetcar service would start May 1.

Many famous monuments, including the opera house, the Vorontsov Palace and the Potemkin staircase leading to the port, were unharmed. Partisans were credited with saving the opera house by neutralizing a mine the Germans planted under it. Some stores, in which private trade is permitted, are open. Municipal offices, including marriage bureaus, are open. You can get a shoe shine from a man on the corner.

The most striking impression is that so many buildings are not burned and so many still have windows. Contrasted to Leningrad, Smolensk, Kharkov and other cities I have seen, Odessa got off easily.

The New York Herald Tribune,  
July 4, 1944

## **Victory of Minsk**

**By Maj. George Fielding Eliot**

The fall of Minsk was the inevitable consequence of the masterly Russian strategy which hurled so great a weight of men and material against the center of the German line in White Russia, and of the admirable tactical skill with which that strategy has been carried out by the subordinate commanders to whom its execution was entrusted. The Russians hit hard, exploited rapidly, and followed through with ample reserves. Their success has been well earned.

The astonishing speed of the Russian advances on both flanks of their major break-through seems to have been due to lack of opposition. This is the direct

fruit of the destruction of the German divisions which were holding the Vitebsk and Zhlobin sectors, respectively, of the former Fatherland. It will be recalled that five German divisions were wiped out southwest of Vitebsk, and a similar number falling back from Zhlobin, were surrounded and destroyed at Bobruisk.

Thereafter, the troops of Gen. Chernyakovsky's<sup>3</sup> third White Russian army group on the north, and those of Marshal Rokossovsky's first White Russian army group on the south, pushed ahead at a speed which is astonishing by comparison with the usual progress of troops advancing into enemy-held country. The fact is, that they have been proceeding almost at normal march rates, instead of having to stop to fight German rear guards every two or three miles as the Allied troops are doing in Italy.

Gen. Chernyakovsky's cavalry, for example, is reported in Sunday's Russian communique to have covered 37 miles in the preceding 24 hours; but good cavalry, properly trained, should be able to march at least 35 miles a day for several days without injury to the horses. A single forced march of 50 miles is quite possible, though it should not be repeated the following day. The meaning of the rapid advance, therefore, is simply that there are no Germans in front of the advancing Russia.

The bulk of the Germans appears to be in between the two long outreaching arms of the twin Russian flank advances. Here Gen. Zakharov's second White Russian army group has advanced more slowly, obviously because there was at least some opposition. The same was true of the right flank of Marshal Rokossovsky's forces, northwest of Bobruisk.

The remains of some 30 German divisions (perhaps, 300,000 or more men) have been pressed back toward Minsk on converging routes. They were bypassed to north and south by fast moving Russian troops cavalry followed by motorized and armored units which cut all the main highways and railways leading out of Minsk to the northwest and the southwest. There are no routes of escape directly west from Minsk. The Germans were therefore for all practical purposes, completely surrounded. They were squeezed ever more tightly into a small area around Minsk, where the confusion and congestion must have assumed frightful proportions. The German army group of the center may well have become a disorganized mob which became impossible to control at all.

It is also interesting to note how carefully the Russian high command provided against possible German interference on their exposed northern flank. The first Baltic army group of Gen. Bagramian pushed rapidly westward, north of the main battle area. It will be noted that the great Russian advance from Vitetbsk had hardly started when Gen. Bagramian was discovered southwest of Polotsk, cutting off any German counterthrust by way of the Polotak-Molodechno line. Then, as the main Russian thrusts went farther west, so did Gen. Bagramian's flank guard, threatening both Dvinsk and Vilna and making any German attempt to move southward across his front a most perilous enterprise. Thus the Russians have exploited to the full both their possession of the initiative and their superior numbers. Their strategy is of the classic order; they adhere to the old and tried principles of concentration,

offensive action, mobility, surprise and security. And they have once more proved that adherence to these principles is the key to victory in modern warfare as well as in the days of Alexander and Hannibal. What the fruits of that victory will be we do not know as this column goes to press. It may take some time to achieve the total destruction which has been wrought upon the broken German forces of the central front. It is not, of course, Minsk itself that is really important; the German Army is, now as always, the objective of all Russian offensive operations. It is altogether possible that when the results are fully known the victory of Minsk will assume greater proportions than even that of Stalingrad. It offers the brightest prospects for the future and it has certainly brought nearer the end of the long and bloody struggle against German despotism.

Time Magazine, July 10, 1944

### **Mincemeat at Minsk**

*The crushing power of the Soviet offensive amazed and delighted the Allied world. It amazed and staggered the Germans.*

In the first week of the great push, five major Nazi strongholds fell: after Vitebsk (which had withstood two fierce Red assaults in the past year), Orsha, Mogilev, Bobruisk, Zhlobin. Nothing like this, in so short a time, had ever happened to the Wehrmacht before.

In that week, the Russians said, they killed or captured at least 183,000 German troops, and the enemy was losing 30,000 more every day. Some Red thrusts had maintained a pace of 20 to 24

miles a day —faster than the Wehrmacht in its blitziest days, against pushover opposition, had moved in Poland, France, Greece, Yugoslavia.

### **Barrel's Bottom.**

The Red forces encountered surprisingly sparse deployments of German tanks and other armor. Probably half of the Reich's armor was pinned down in Italy and France; the remainder was not enough for Russia.

But the Germans could not transfer units from France without paving the way for Montgomery, making defeat in the west more certain. The 20-odd divisions committed to rear-guard action in Italy might have made the difference if they had been shifted to Russia, but it was too late for that now. And the Nazis could not borrow from other sectors of the Russian front itself without openly inviting the Reds to walk through.

Joseph Stalin's armies had no such troubles. They were strong in men and weapons and they held the offensive. Their own choice of a place for the first impact, and their management of it, raised no questions at all.

### **The View Is Long.**

Aside from their natural desire to "cleanse" the last Russian soil of the enemy, their White Russia drive seemed calculated to bring that front into line with the more advanced southern sector, which would then have its right flank secured for a sweep across south Poland to Germany. Last week's push might also be the start of a flank envelopment which might reach for Koenigsberg and cut off all the Nazi hordes to the north.

Under Rokossovsky, Bagramian, the

young Chernyakhovsky and Colonel General Georg Zakharov, a central-front newcomer who won his spurs in the Crimea, the Russians had 80 to 100 divisions, by German count, concentrated on a front of 200 miles.

As the Germans in 1940 did in France, the Russians hacked and slashed into the defense zones, cutting them to mincemeat, swallowing the pieces separately. Last week, after Polotsk, Borisov and Slutsk fell, giant jaws closed on Minsk, the last great Nazi stronghold in White Russia.

The upper jaw of the Soviet crunch reached far behind Minsk and cut the railroad to Vilna; the lower jaw snapped the trunk line to Warsaw near Baranowicze. Minsk fell, trapping an estimated 150,000 more Germans. Swarms of Red bombers blasted the roads to Vilna and Koenigsberg, to Bialystok and Brest-Litovsk.

*The View Is Short.* The lone little German success of the week was the political maneuvering by which they kept beleaguered Finland in the war against Russia. Finland was another front where time meant something to the Germans. They wanted to keep the Soviets' 20 divisions (plus reserves) in Finland tied up there as long as possible, to stave them off their own necks at Narva. They were desperately anxious to keep the Russians away from Petsamo and its nickel mines, away from the Petsamo air base from which German planes sniped at Allied shipping in the Arctic.

The Germans signaled their coup in Finland by parading third-rate troops around Helsinki, actually sent one armored division and a few planes to the wavering front between fallen Viipuri and

Helsinki. The Russians, having retaken a 150-mile enemy-held stretch of the Murmansk-Leningrad railroad between Lakes Ladoga and Onega, were now shipping seaborne supplies direct from Murmansk to Leningrad on this line. On the Karelian front the Red armies were patently able to do their will.

In Finland, too, Germans' time was growing short.

Time Magazine, October 2,  
1944

### **World Battlefronts: Victory on the Baltic**

Another Russian campaign pushed through to victory. Last week on the shores of the Baltic it partially destroyed two German Armies (the 16th and 18th), and even better to the Russians — it secured the Baltic States for Russia.

Marshal Leonid A. Govorov's Leningrad army, fresh from its triumph over the Finns in Karelia, swept across Estonia. Its left flank drove through from the southern end of Lake Peipus. Its right flank drove through the lake-studded swamps bordering the Gulf of Finland. At a mile-an-hour clip, this force rolled into Tallinn, last but one of the occupied capitals (according to Soviet reckoning) of the Soviet republics.\*

Down Go the Ships. With Govorov's southern flank cutting toward the coast south of Tallinn, the Nazis took to the sea to escape. Many of the scratch fleet of evacuation ships were sunk by Red Fleet aircraft before they got to sea. The seizure of Tallinn (directly opposite Helsinki) was a great naval victory, for it gave the Red Fleet control of the Gulf of Finland and,

after three years' virtual blockade, a chance to operate in the Baltic. The Red Fleet seized the opportunity at once, and landed marines who captured Paldiski, west of Tallinn.

While Govorov's army was wringing the last of the Nazis out of the northernmost of the Baltic States, the Second and Third Baltic Armies, directly to the south, drove through Latvia to squeeze the Germans against the Gulf of Riga. To close the trap, the First Baltic Army swung north to take Riga at the bottom of the Gulf.

But there was still fight left in the Nazis. They concentrated their strength to hold a hedgehog near Jelgava (Mitau) and thus kept open a small exit for their troops from the northeast. Even after the capture of Jelgava by tankers of Lieut. General Viktor Obukov, the Germans stood their ground, backed up against the Gulf of Riga. Until the first of this week, an escape corridor was still open, with Nazis streaming through it to fight another day.

But they had only a few more days left to fight outside the borders of the Reich. With Estonia and Latvia going and the larger part of Lithuania already gone, the Red Army would soon ring East Prussia around two-thirds of its perimeter.

\*Capitals formerly occupied, now freed by the Red Army are: Kiev, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, liberated Nov. 6, 1943; Petrozavodsk, Karelo-Finnish S.S.R., June 19, 1944; Vilna, Lithuanian S.S.R., July 13; Minsk, Belorussian S.S.R., July 14; Kishinev, Moldavian S.S.R., Aug. 24; Tallinn, Estonian S.S.R., Sept. 22. There remained only Riga, Latvian S.S.R.

The Times, October 25, 1944

## **LIBERATION OF THE BALTIC**

The liberation of Estonia by the Soviet armies is virtually complete. Tallinn was captured by a very rapid thrust from the isthmus of Narva, between Lake Peipus and the sea, and now Parnu, on the north side of the Gulf of Riga, and Baltiski have shared its fate. The Germans have admitted that evacuation is in progress, and a number of their ships, with troops embarked at Tallinn before that port fell into Russian hands, have been sunk by aircraft of the Baltic fleet. No ports of any size or significance remain at the disposal of the Germans in Estonia, and their shipping in the Baltic is now believed to be limited in quantity. The enemy has maintained his forces in Estonia and Latvia in defiance of their perilous situation as a measure of protection for East Prussia: and he has shrunk from no risk and no sacrifice to achieve this end. A month ago, when a Russian drive to the Baltic coast west of Riga threatened to cut off the German armies, a supreme counter-offensive effort attained a measure of success, and has enabled them ever since to maintain a precarious corridor of communication past Riga. That too is now menaced by GENERAL BAGRAMYAN'S<sup>4</sup> fresh offensive towards Riga, and the liberation of Estonia may shortly pave the way for that of the still occupied portions of Latvia and Lithuania. The first stage of evacuation is not difficult for the Germans while the large island of Ösel remains in their hands. But they can retain it indefinitely if they lose the whole of the mainland in its neighborhood.

The recovery of the Baltic republics will when it has been completed,

undoubtedly exercise an important effect upon the campaign farther to the south. These territories have not only served as buffers against a Russian approach to the lower Niemen on the northern flank of East Prussia: they have at the same time occupied very large Russian forces — in all probability more numerous than the German garrison, considerable though that has been.

Their recovery will permit the Russian high command to shift southwards several armies which have been engaged south of the Gulf of Finland, and these may be joined by other forces which have been withdrawn from the Finnish front. It can be confidently assumed that during the relatively long pause on the East Prussian frontier and the Vistula the Russians have fully restored their communications across the battlefields of the summer. A few days ago our Special Correspondent in Moscow reported that though their effect on the fate of the two German armies is obviously great, the Baltic operations have probably less "direct bearing on the strategic situation" "on this front than moves in progress or "impending elsewhere." Just as the Germans exhausted themselves by their prolonged resistance and frequent counterattacks on the Baltic front, so it may prove that they have left themselves without sufficient resources to withstand much longer the flood which appears to be banking up towards East Prussia, western Poland, and Silesia. The Baltic victories important though they are may be only the prelude to greater events.

The Times, December 13, 1944

## VIENNA

A vigorous and expanding campaign has developed from the Russian capture ten days ago of Pecs, a main centre of communications for southern Hungary. Throwing his cavalry and mechanized forces boldly forward along many lines radiating from the captured city, MARSHAL TOLBUKHIN<sup>5</sup> has reduced the German and Hungarian forces before him to bewilderment and disorder. His troops pushed rapidly to a point near the northern end of Lake Balaton, in peace the favoured holiday resort of the urban population of Budapest, in war the one natural feature of importance that breaks in the middle the great quadrilateral of the Hungarian plain south and west of the Danube. They then extended their grip along the whole of its nearer shore, which is fifty miles long and runs from south-west to north-east, so that they are now in a position to thrust beyond it at either extremity; while a third column is pushing northwards up the west bank of the Danube.

The further unfolding of MARSHAL TOLBUKHIN'S plan will show along which of these lines he will seek the decision of the Hungarian campaign: possibly all three, since German spokesmen in Berlin and Stockholm seem to be preparing public opinion for a general crumbling of the defences in Hungary. The column passing south of Lake Balaton has before it some of the easiest country in Europe, leading towards the south-eastern frontier of Austria, which at the nearest point is only forty miles from the extremity of the lake. Its advance has to be conducted with an eye to a possible

threat to the left flank from the German forces falling back from the Balkan peninsula; and accordingly, MARSHAL TOLBUKHIN struck out with special vigour on that side and secured a strong salient enjoying the natural protection given by the river Drava, which is also the frontier of Yugoslavia. Nor can it be overlooked that the southern column will be travelling away from the broad stream of the Danube, which in the course of this remarkable advance of hundreds of miles into hostile territory has been an invaluable reinforcement of Russian communications. The success gained by MARSHAL TOLBUKHIN has been rapidly followed by a very powerful blow from the arm of MARSHAL MALINOVSKY'S Third Ukrainian army group. In a great new offensive on a seventy-mile front north of Budapest he has advanced forty miles. He has reached the town of Balassa-Gyarmat on the Ipel, a tributary of the Danube, thirty-nine miles north of the capital and simultaneously captured the town of Vacs on the Danube, roughly midway between it and Balassa-Gyarmat. Again immediately received considerable aid from the river flotilla which has accompanied the advance from Rumania, but it has to be remembered that the Danube will before long be frozen and that new and formidable difficulties of communication will men have to be overcome. Moreover, if MARSHAL TOLBUKHIN should feel compelled to keep a flank guard on the Drava she moves the two army groups will be advancing on a frontage not far short of hundred and fifty miles, in winter and, in the left wing, in country where roads are few and poor in quality.

Yet making all allowances for the











increasing difficulties of the season, the omens are good for a total overthrow of the hostile positions in Hungary; and of this one shows himself more aware than the enemy. His dispositions are being made for defence not of Budapest but of Vienna, where the press gangs have been at work to concentrate all available civilian labour upon the fortifications. The arrival of Russian forces at the ramparts of that great city, considered even as a probable contingency of the New

Year, must already begin to exercise its strategic influence upon the whole plan of allied and German war. For Vienna is the key, not only to the Danube valley, but to the approaches from Germany to the central and easterly Mediterranean peninsulas. The present Russian movements, with every mile that they progress, cut more of the direct lines between Germany and her remaining forces in the Balkans, and facilitate the efforts of the Yugoslav partisans to destroy them; the conquest of the Hungarian plain will bring chances of striking against the lines of communication by which the German army of Italy is maintained. The mighty barrier of the Alps may for a long time forbid GENERAL MARK CLARK<sup>6</sup> to join hands with the Russian Marshals. But a blow at Vienna will be a visible contribution to the strategy of the Italian campaign; it will bring the Anglo-American and the Russian efforts into a more immediate coordination than the geographical remoteness of their starting points has yet permitted; and it holds the possibility that from this southern side the coming year may see forces of all the United Nations marching down the same roads to Berlin.

Jackson Advocate<sup>7</sup>, January 6, 1945

## **Uncover Bones of 700,000 Victims Of German Murder**

**“Master Race” Shows High Art Of Inhumanity**

**Babies Shot ‘On The Fly’ By High Official And Wife**

**By CHATWOOD HALL<sup>8</sup> our Negro Correspondent in Russia**

*MOSCOW - (ANP) - The Nordic Nazis are indisputably the “superior master race” when it comes to inventing and committing the most monstrous forms of sadism, murder and torture.*

Lately the radio and press have spotlighted the Nazis mass murder of 200,000 persons in the neighborhood of Lvov in the Ukraine. Beside Russians, the victims were Ukrainians, Poles, Jews, North Africans, Americans. Englishmen, Frenchmen and Italians. The Italian victims included five Italian generals and 45 Italian army officers. Some had served in Mussolini’s Abyssinian invasion.

## **MOUNTAINS OF CORPSES**

As I write these lines, I have before me a picture that was taken by the Germans. It shows mountains of bloodstained corpses of men, women and children, most of them completely naked. Another picture shows a big gallows from which the corpses of many lynched persons still dangle, while a third picture shows a big band of prisoners playing “tango of death” and a bone crushing machine with which the Germans crushed the bones of thousands of created victims.

The mass murders of Lvov deserve to rank second to the Majdanek crime.

In the segregated Jewish concentration Lvov, called "Judenlag" 136,000 Jews of all ages and sexes were murdered to the last person. "Hitler Jugden" organization members stationed in Lvov used Jews as human bulls eyes for target practice. At a mass slaughter house named "Yanevski camp" the commandant, Obersturmfuehrer Wilhauss, had children thrown into the air for him and his wife to shoot "on the fly" in his balcony office. This murderous sport thrilled his nine-year-old daughter and she would cry: "again papa, once more papa." Fifty-four lives were snuffed out in this manner in celebration of Hitler's birthday.

### **FREEZE VICTIMS**

Favorite forms of Nazi "winter methods" were to bind prisoners naked to posts or place them standing in barrels of water until they froze to death. The far below zero weather soon encased the water victims in solid cakes of ice. Mental torture was also resorted to. When prisoners begged for information about their relatives and families, the Germans would cynically answer "your relatives undoubtedly have been killed and German soldiers sleeping with your wives."

Change the color of these victims to black or brown and you will have any idea of what Africa or the American black belt would resemble under fascist rule and "new order in addition of getting an idea of what you are working and fighting against.

The Evening Star, January 23, 1945

### **This Changing World** **By Constantine Brown**

The Russian steamroller continues to move ahead unchecked as the Germans retreat as fast as available means permit. The bulk of Western Poland has been liberated while the Red armies have made important penetrations in Southern East Prussia and Silesia.

Military observers who, however, are not judging the military situation by the thousands of localities which have been occupied, point out that it would be premature to talk about the defeat of the Germans in the east or about the disintegration of the German forces.

For the time being it appears to them that the enemy is retreating in an orderly fashion. This is particularly obvious from the small number of prisoners reported to have been captured in the Russian communiques only 25,000. Germans have been taken in 12 days of fighting on a 700-mile front extending from the Carpathians to the Baltic Sea. Considering the size of forces involved and the speed of the Red army's advance, this is a very low figure, and shows that the Germans have not been routed.

When the American and British forces broke through the Atlantic Wall last June about 10,000 prisoners were captured in the first 11 days, while on July 7. a month after D-day. Field Marshal Montgomery announced that no fewer than 54,000 Germans had fallen in the hands of the Allies.

The Germans offered a very stubborn resistance to the American-British forces and during the first few weeks of the

Normandy invasion they intended to dispute every inch of French territory.

The deductions made in military quarters from the fact that on a front much larger than the size of that on the Atlantic coast only 25,000 men have been taken after 12 days of fighting is that the German high command has ordered the bulk of the forces to withdraw and create as much of a vacuum as possible between them and the Russians.

The Russian penetration of the "sacred soil" of the Reich which Hitler has told his fellow citizens would never be invaded by the "Russian hordes" has undoubtedly caused a deep impression throughout the Reich. But for the time being the German home front is still holding and is not likely to break unless the Wehrmacht suffers an overwhelming defeat in the near future.

And this cannot happen unless the German high command is compelled to engage the bulk of its forces in a series of major battles. The strategy of the German propaganda machine of telling the whole truth to its people and painting the blackest possible picture of the situation in the east is aimed at toughening the resistance of the population which is directly menaced by the steam roller of our ally.

In the meantime, according to report from the front, the Germans are rushing further reinforcements to the east since the middle of November the Germans have been withdrawing troops from Norway. While the exact figure is not known, it is believed that at least six and possibly eight divisions including Elite Corps, have been moved to Eastern Germany. According to other reports some troops who had been identified

few weeks ago in the west are now to be found on the eastern front.

The stalemate in Italy also may enable the German high command to withdraw a substantial number of troops from that sector. If the need for man power in the other main theaters operation becomes very great, it is no unlikely that Field Marshal Alber Kesselring<sup>9</sup> will be ordered to guard the approaches to the Reich from the south with only a few divisions placed in the Alps and bring the bulk of his forces either to the Siegfried or the Todt lines<sup>10</sup>. Weather conditions in Italy are now favorable for such a maneuver and the Allied high command would not be surprised to hear that the Germans are pulling out of Northern Italy under protection of strong rear guards formed by Italian troops trained in the Reich.

The Evening Star, January 23, 1945

### **Hungarian Armistice**

*Thus the last Axis satellite disappears from the scene.*

The armistice signed at Moscow last Saturday by representatives of the Hungarian provisional government in Debrecen and Marshal Klementy Voroshiloff, representing Britain and the United States as well as the Soviet Union, defines and regularizes a situation which began three months ago when Hungary's united will to fight broke down before the Russian invasion.

Last October the legal government of Hungary headed by the regent Nicholas Horthy<sup>11</sup>, tried to come to terms with Moscow, but that attempt was instantly frustrated by the quick action of the German occupation forces, which

arrested and deported Horthy and his colleagues. Installing in their place a puppet regime composed of die-hards and stooges pledged to fight to the end beside their German masters. While most of the Hungarian Army continued to resist the Russians, certain units together with many officials escaped the German dragnet and set up a provisional regime at the city of Debrecen in Eastern Hungary, already occupied by the Russian invaders. This Moscow-supported regime is now recognized by Soviet Russia, in concurrence with its western Allies, as competent to negotiate an armistice settlement fixing Hungary's interim status and responsibilities until the close of the war. After the impending fall of Budapest, the Debrecen regime will be installed in the Hungarian capital with added prestige, much as the Badoglio provisional government of Italy was in Rome after it had fallen to Allied arms.

There is, indeed, a rather close analogy between the course of events in Italy and Hungary. Neither country is as yet fully liberated from German control, and in both countries puppet regimes continue to support Germany with a certain amount of native backing. The chief difference is that the Hungarian armistice terms have been published while those imposed on the Italian provisional government have never been disclosed.

Hungary's capitulation is complete. It declares war on Germany, places all its resources unconditionally at the service of the victors, which in practice means Soviet Russia, and formally renounces all territorial gains made at the expense of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania through its former Axis partnership. It likewise agrees to pay reparations to the

value of \$300,000,000 American dollars—two-thirds due Russia and the balance split between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. Until the peace settlement the provisional government agrees to function under the direction of an Allied Control Commission whereon Britain and the United States will be represented, though Russia will have the chairmanship and general initiative. Thus the last Axis satellite disappears from the scene.

The Evening Star, February 2, 1945

### **On the Record** **By Dorothy Thompson**

In the moment when this is written (Wednesday) the Russians are 50 miles from Berlin, and nobody can say exactly when they will stand at the gates of the German capital or how long the fight for Berlin will last.

But in his speech, Tuesday evening I had the impression that Hitler without, of course mentioning it had already given up the German capital.

And it was not the speech of a defeated spirit. This is significant. For militarily the situation of Germany is hopeless and Hitler knows it. He knows that the military war is already lost. Of course, he did not say so.

The speech was primarily political and a careful study reveals that he believes that if the organized German military resistance is broken, there will be no armistice, no surrender, and no peace. And in that dubious twilight of a war which is lost, and yet not ended of a victory which is won but not translated into real peace, of a Europe which is liberated but

not pacified, the Nazi revolution — or counter-revolution — will not be lost, but will eventually, in the inherent nature of things, win allies from some of those who are now its enemies.

This view is presented with some logic. Hitler is clearly convinced that in the long run it will be impossible for Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union to agree on a European peace. It is amazing how closely his mental processes follow those of Lenin and Trotsky after the last war. Then they signed with Germany a Carthaginian peace which partitioned Russia. Russia lost the Baltic states, Finland and the entire Ukraine at Brest Litovsk. But the Bolshevik leaders argued that this was entirely temporary: the social forces consolidating in the world for a revolutionary showdown would end in civil wars, and in the chaos and weakness caused by these the Soviet Union would recover and expand.

At the end of the last war the Soviets had only one interest to prevent consolidation of any non-Communist social order in Europe. Had that happened the treaty of Brest Litovsk would have been final. So they tried, by revolutionary means, to keep all social orders in a state of flux. Far from assisting social democratic parties, which represented the solidest progressive forces in all European countries, and supporting a solid labor movement, they directed their attacks precisely at these, knowing that these and not the reactionary parties held the best promise for bringing about a new political order satisfactory to the masses of the people.

Now, Hitler, who is a revolutionary tactician and an able one, sees in the situation following this war exactly

the same opportunity. He himself has destroyed the Europe that existed previous to 1939. Europe will be devastated, hungry and desperate. It will divide, inexorably, into right and left wing factions. To prevent any compromise of the middle from ever occurring will be his aim. To do that he is prepared to fight now on this side, now on that

He intends to prevent any orderly demobilization of Germany. Soldiers must keep their arms, and the more chaos the better, and the more civil war the better.

For he speculates that ultimately Russian troops and Anglo-American troops will become involved in these Nazi-promoted conflicts, and on opposite sides. In this situation the Nazis will have bargaining power. Hitler does not believe in the capacity of the democracies to fight the Russians — nor, for that matter, without the Russians, to fight the Germans successfully and he makes clear his confidence that in this situation the Germans will be called out of the grave of their military defeat to save the West against the East

That this is Hitler's concept cannot be proved by word quotations, but it is implicit in his whole argument, and is the only explanation of his unbroken confidence in such a moment.

(Released by the Bell Syndicate, Inc.)

The Evening Star, February 10,  
1945

### **In His Lair**

There was a time when Hitler's legions strutted like supermen along the shores of the Black Sea. But now in that same region, where they strut no more, the mightiest coalition in history has

fashioned plans for the final destruction of Nazidom. "The Oder line," says the Moscow radio, "has been pierced and Berlin in panic is witnessing the crumbling of the last obstacles in its forefield." And in the west General Eisenhower's Allied armies are moving into a grand offensive against the vitals of the Reich. And in the air giant fleets of British and American bombers keep hammering away remorselessly, giving the enemy no rest, pounding him by day and night, and strewing flame and wreckage across the length and breadth of his land.

North, south, east and west, wherever they look even in Italy — the Nazis find themselves caught in a room whose walls of fire and steel keep closing in until the room itself becomes smaller and smaller and threatens to crush all life within. How changed the picture is! These are the same people who only five years or so ago said they wanted "Lebensraum," and then gobbled up Austria and Czechoslovakia, and brought agony to Poland, and struck down the Danes, the Norwegians, the Belgians, the Dutch and the French with such brutal and efficient might that they made nearly all the world tremble and stand in fear of them. These are the same people who came close to destroying Britain and who shattered Yugoslavia and Greece and who then thundered across the steppes of Russia. These are the people who 'most won the Battle of the Atlantic, who marched as far as Stalingrad, who hammered at the gates of Alexandria and Suez and who once seemed so invincible that they themselves believed they would one day be the master race of all races everywhere. It is not so long ago, actually, that these things happened. As recently as last May the Nazis were still in

the Crimea in the Black Sea, perhaps very near the meeting place where American, British and Russian plans have just been coordinated to put an end forever to the whole evil structure of Hitlerism. How the mighty have fallen! Where once they stood astride half a world, whipping and terrorizing it, the supermen now whirl in a frenzy in their own lair, their spectacular forward marches of yesteryear having been totally reversed and all their monumental victories being turned to ashes. And with the Russians less than 40 miles from Berlin and with Eisenhower's armies moving deeper and deeper into Germany from the west, the lair itself grows ever smaller and the walls, like doom, keep closing in desperation and with the wild and dangerous strength of a trapped animal, this enemy may yet fight on for many a long and bloody week, but the mark of death is already upon him: he has lost everything, and there is no escaping the kill.

The Evening Star, April 2, 1945

### **The Fall of Danzig**

The Russian capture of Danzig is an event of great importance, not only strategically but also in the politico-diplomatic sphere. On the military side, the termination of a long and bitter siege entailed the destruction of the large German garrison, totaling 50,000, the taking of 45 U-boats and 151 other craft in the spacious harbor area, and the destruction by Russian air and naval units of many German transports aggregating 200,000 tons attempting last-minute evacuation. The wiping out of the main German pocket of resistance on the eastern Baltic coast is estimated to have



freed some 50 Russian divisions for the impending drive against Berlin and other remaining centers of German resistance in Eastern Germany.

The politico-diplomatic aspect of the matter is emphasized by the raising of the Polish flag over the captured city, thus emphasizing Moscow's advocacy and support of Polish claims to its incorporation into the reconstituted Polish state. That would definitively solve in Poland's favor one of the thorniest problems bequeathed by the Versailles settlement of World War One — a problem which, more than any other single issue, contributed to the outbreak of the present conflict.

The reconstitution of a Polish nation was the most ambitious achievement of Versailles. This new creation could hardly have been viable without access to the sea, and the logical access was through the Vistula, the great river which drains most of Poland. However, at the Vistula's mouth lay the port-metropolis of Danzig, a thoroughly German city. In deference to the principle of "self-determination" which dominated the Versailles Conference, a compromise was evolved along nationalist lines. Danzig was declared a Free City under protection of the League of Nations, though Poland was given commercial access and Danzig was legally within the Polish customs territory.

This compromise did not work well. Germany never reconciled itself to the loss of Danzig and the amputation of the adjacent Province of East Prussia, sundered from the rest of the Reich by a narrow "corridor" of Polish territory reaching to the Baltic just west of Danzig. German opposition led the Poles to build

the new port of Gdynia at the Baltic tip of the corridor, which diverted much of Danzig's trade and further embittered German-Polish relations. The fateful climax came when Hitler attempted to cut the Gordian knot with the sword by attacking Poland and incorporating Danzig with the Reich. Hitler thus tried to undo the Versailles creation by force. The result of this rash gamble will probably be the loss to Germany of East Prussia and most of its territory east of the River Oder. The price of aggression will thus be a staggering one.

The Evening Star, April 2, 1945  
**Russian Drive towards Vienna**  
**This Changing World**  
 By Constantine Brown

*The Russian drive toward Vienna is causing some concern among diplomats conversant with those features of the Teheran and Yalta agreements which have not yet been made public. But it does not worry the military men, who regard the drive as strategically sound.*

The diplomats' concern springs from the fear that Russia might again consider unilateral action by occupying Austria alone while the Americans and British forces are forging ahead in Germany.

The question of Austria is of paramount importance to the future of Europe, since its capital, Vienna is the most important communications center between Western, Eastern and Southern Europe. Railways, highways and waterways fan out of Vienna toward all the other European countries.

The future of Austria was discussed for the first time at the Moscow conference of foreign secretaries in 1943 and taken up again at Teheran by President

Roosevelt, Premier Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill. According to available information, the Big Three decided in December, 1943, that Austria would become the ward of the major Allies until such time as she could stand on her feet politically and economically after the expulsion of the Germans.

This agreement is said to have been further confirmed at Yalta, where it is reported that details of the occupation of the various sections of that country were discussed. According to the reported agreement Vienna and its suburb was to fall in the American zone, the northern and eastern portions of Austria were to be occupied by the Red Armies, while the western and south-western portions were to be placed under the temporary military control of the British.

The fact that neither the Red armies nor the Moscow puppet, Marshal Tito, made any attempt to move toward Trieste, which has been earmarked to become a main Yugoslav port on the Adriatic, was regarded as an indication that Moscow would not attempt to break the Big Three's Yalta agreement in any way. Trieste is the only harbor which the British and American forces occupying Austria could use effectively for supplies.

The sudden and somewhat unexpected Russian offensive toward Vienna causes the diplomats to fear that the Russians have decided to act before, the Americans and British can reach Austria.

Should the Red armies enter Vienna and occupy it while their associates in the west and in Italy have not yet completed their mission, it is probable that the entire control over Austria will be assumed by the invading force and the other. Allies may have to be satisfied with

a nominal representation, as has been the case in Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary and Yugoslavia. In those four nations the Red Armies are in complete control, while the American and British military and diplomatic missions are mere figureheads without authority or power to decide on any matter.

Should Austria come under Russian occupation before April 25 and there is a good chance that it may there will be an additional problem to be ironed out at San Francisco<sup>12</sup>.

To the military men, who are not concerned with the diplomatic side of the war and aim only at the destruction of the enemy forces, the Russian offensive is considered as a well-planned and useful move. Around Lake Balaton, where the Germans and Russians have been fighting for several months, there are the remaining oil wells from which the Germans can draw a small supply of crude oil.

Moreover, the defeat of the Nazi forces in Austria will be another body blow at the Germans and also will deprive the enemy leaders of an important area where they might hope to fight a guerrilla war.

To destroy this last prospective stronghold of the Nazis probably would entail heavy losses for the Allies. It is from this point of view that the military men are judging the Russian drive on Austria. They admit that while it may create some additional headaches for the diplomats and the politicians who drafted the various agreements and compromises at Moscow, Teheran and Yalta, there is no question that the Russian offensive will save many American and British lives.

## The Evening Star, April 28, 1945 **Junction on the Elbe**

After more than a half decade of the most terrible war in history, the Allied armies of the east and west are at last joined in Germany. Thus, as Berlin battles suicidally to ghastly finish, the whole of Hitler's "thousand-year" Reich is cut completely in two and the remnants of his once-mighty legions — the legions that were to conquer Europe and the world — now are broken into hopelessly isolated fragments.

In itself, as a military event, this junction has none of the spectacular qualities of a great battle, but it is tremendously significant in the sense that it marks the end of effective Nazi resistance. In President Truman's words, it signifies that "the last faint desperate hope of Hitler and his gangster government has been extinguished" and that the hour of final victory in Europe, though not yet here, draws near.

The junction is of immense significance, too, because it means that now, since our British and American forces are directly merged with the Red Army, complicated new problems of coordination must be met to smooth the joint task of liquidating the last pockets of resistance and of putting into effect unified occupation policies. This momentous development is the culmination of long years of Allied travail and of a vast and heartbreaking expenditure of Allied blood. It is the end-product of an awesome march of power westward some 1,400 miles from Stalingrad and eastward more than 4,000 miles from America — the end-product of Britain's lone stand in the dark days after Dunkerque; of Russia's magnificent

comeback from the banks of the Volga: of Montgomery's victory at El Alamein; of the projection of the might of the United States across the Atlantic to North Africa: of the "miracle" of American production; of our hard-won Allied triumph over the U-boats; of the invasion of Sicily and Italy, and the Volga: of Montgomery's victory at El Alamein; of the projection of the might of the United States across the Atlantic to North Africa; of the "miracle" of American production; of our hard-won Allied triumph over the U-boats; of the invasion of Sicily and Italy, and finally of the landings in Normandy..

These are the things that have made possible the colossal and historically unprecedented victory we are seeing. But "things" is not the proper word for them. They are better described in human terms in terms of the courage and steadfastness of the millions of Allied troops who have achieved them, in terms of the endless lists of casualties, in terms of the armies of brave men who have laid down their lives to bring this day about. It is because of them, because of their heroism and sacrifice, that one of the blackest tyrannies ever to afflict mankind has been shattered. It is because of them that Nazi Germany lies prostrate and that Britain, Russia, the United States and all the United Nations now have the opportunity to demonstrate, as President Truman says, that they can collaborate "in the cause of peace and freedom" as effectively as they have collaborated in waging war.

In hailing this historic moment, the President wisely reminds us that the mopping-up operations against the Nazis may yet take considerable time, that Japan still remains to be defeated

and that there must therefore be no relaxation on the home front. We are only halfway to global victory, and even after we have gone the whole way, we and our Allies will face the task of making the peace. And this, as the President says, we must do together, just as we are winning the war together. Otherwise we shall be breaking faith with all who have died to make possible such triumphs as the junction on the Elbe.

The Evening Star, May 7, 1945

## **Complete Victory**

**By Maj. George Fielding Eliot**

*The Wehrmacht has been destroyed, and the German war is finished.*

We have seen so many German surrenders by individual armies and local commanders that we do not yet quite grasp what the Allied forces, Anglo-American and Russian, have accomplished. The truth is that Gen. Eisenhower and the Russian marshals, in magnificently coordinated efforts, have succeeded in bringing about a complete victory over Germany far sooner than a prudent observer would have imagined possible at the beginning of this year.

In terms of the task remaining before us in the Pacific, the swift cleanup of the German war is of immense benefit.

It will be possible for the Allied powers to bring their full strength to bear against the Japanese much earlier, and in much more concentrated force, than would have been the case had the fighting in Europe dragged on through the summer, even though its scale might have been considerably reduced.

The very size of the announced American Army of Occupation — 400,000

men — is an index of the reduced scale of our military effort in Europe. The benefit will be particularly felt in the matter of shipping, which is and always has been the bottleneck of the Pacific war. Again and again we have seen demonstrated in the past six years how very small is the actual amount of fighting power which can be produced at the farther end of a long overseas line of communication, in comparison to the total effort which is exerted at the originating end of line.

There will of course, be an immediate period of major strain as we begin the tremendous shift from Europe to the Far East. For some months conditions, from the civilian point of view, may seem even worse than at the height of the European fighting. This shift is probably the biggest single military task that we and our Allies have ever undertaken, and it will not be easily or quickly accomplished. But we have the inspiration of victory over Germany, the spur of the knowledge that victory over Japan will mean the final end of all the bloodshed and the horror, to uplift us and urge us on. And the Japanese may gloomily examine what happened to the Germans as some indication of what their own fate may be if they continue to pursue their present policy of resistance to the bitter end.

Why did the Germans collapse so suddenly and so completely? Almost every competent observer expected them to put up a long hard fight in an interior position. That was the view expressed by most of our military leaders, including Gen. Eisenhower himself. Yet there can be no doubt that this strategy, and the Russian strategy, was directed toward making such withdrawal to interior lines of defense as difficult as possible, and

the working out of this strategy was successful beyond all hopes.

The truth is that the German armies were destroyed before they could withdraw, in very large part; they were destroyed because the German High Command did not withdraw in time, because the Germans would not give up the attempt to hold extended frontier lines, while there was opportunity to do so — whether at Hitler's order or otherwise, we shall have to find out. They would not fall back until they were driven back, and when they were driven back they were so closely and fiercely pursued that they were cut to pieces in the open back into the interior stronghold, and they were not enough to make any protracted defense of it.

Moreover the cumulative effect of these, tremendous and concentric blows shattered more than the German armies themselves. It shattered the German will to continue the battle.

*The Third Reich is dead. The desolation that is Germany remains as Adolph Hitler's request to the German people whom he led downward into the pit of hell.*

## (Endnotes)

1 *Rogov, Aleksandr Semenovich* (1901–1992) Colonel-General of Soviet Staff

2 *The Romanian Orthodox Church* (*Biserica Ortodoxă Română, BOR*), or *Patriarchate of Romania*, is an autocephalous Eastern Orthodox church in full communion with other Eastern Orthodox Christian churches, and one of the nine patriarchates in the Eastern Orthodox Church. Since 1925, the church's Primate has borne the title of Patriarch. Its jurisdiction covers the territories of Romania and Moldova, with additional dioceses for Romanians living

in nearby Serbia and Hungary, as well as for diaspora communities in Central and Western Europe, North America and Oceania. It is the only autocephalous church within Eastern Orthodoxy to have a Romance language for liturgical use.

3 *Ivan Danilovich Chernyakhovsky* (1907–1945) was the youngest-ever Soviet General of the army. For his leadership during World War II he was awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union twice. He died from wounds received outside Königsberg at age 37 while in command of the 3rd Belorussian Front.

4 *Ivan Khristoforovich Bagramyan*, also known as *Hovhannes Khachaturi Baghranyan* (1897–1982) I and twice Hero of the Soviet Union. He began his service as a private in the Russian Imperial Army, and after the Civil War he graduated from the Frunze Military Academy. After the Civil War he graduated from the Frunze Military Academy, and in 1938 graduated with honors from the General Staff Academy. By the beginning of the Great Patriotic War he was Chief of Staff of the South-Western Front. In 1942 he was appointed commander of the 28th Army, but in June he was removed from his post after several major defeats. However, already in 1943 he showed himself well, commanding the 11th Guards Army. At the end of the war, Bagramyan successfully led the Baltic Front, inflicting a number of serious defeats on Army Group North.

5 *Fyodor Ivanovich Tolbukhin* (1894–1949) was a Soviet military commander and Marshal of the Soviet Union. He is regarded as one of the finest Soviet generals of World War/ On September 12, 1944, two days after Malinovsky was promoted to Marshal of the Soviet Union, Tolbukhin was promoted to the same rank. While Malinovsky moved northwest, towards Hungary and Yugoslavia, Tolbukhin occupied Bulgaria. Starting in the Winter Campaign, Tolbukhin shifted his army to the northwest axis, thereby liberating much of Yugoslavia and invading southern Hungary

In late April 1945, at the end of the Battle of Vienna, Tolbukhin acted on Stalin's order to entrust Karl Renner with foundation of a new provisional Austrian government in order to prepare democratic elections. On 27 April, Renner was appointed provisional government leader, at

Tolbukhin's authority, which renders the latter an important role in the foundation of a new Austrian republic that had been integrated into the Third Reich (1938–1945). Tolbukhin gave the go-ahead at the location, for this important step towards an independent Austria in the formation of the Second Republic (1945–present).

6 *Mark Wayne Clark* (1896–1984) was a United States Army officer who saw service during World War I, World War II, and the Korean War. He was the youngest four-star general in the US Army during World War II. During World War II, he commanded the United States Fifth Army, and later the 15th Army Group, in the Italian campaign. He is known for leading the Fifth Army when it captured Rome in June 1944, around the same time as the Normandy landings. He was also the head of planning for Operation Torch, the largest seaborne invasion at the time.

7 *The Jacksonville Advocate* was a weekly newspaper for African Americans in Jacksonville, Florida established in 1891. It was succeeded by *The Jacksonville Advocate-Free Press* from 1987 to 1990 and the *Jacksonville Free Press*.

8 *Smith Homer (Chatwood Hall)* (1909–1972) Born in Mississippi, Homer Smith studied journalism at the University of Minnesota, graduating in 1928, while at the same time having to work as a night mail clerk to pay for his education. After graduation, Smith had great difficulty finding work and only occasionally wrote for the specialized Negro periodicals that existed at that time in the United States. In June 1932, he was in Moscow as part of the cast for the Soviet feature film 'Black and White' racial segregation and other hardships of black life in the United States. In 1933, after the establishment of diplomatic relations between Moscow and Washington, it was decided not to make the film, which too much 'cast a shadow' on the American administration. Arrived in Moscow black troupe was no longer needed and abandoned to their fate. At that moment G. Smith, taking into account his experience of work at the US post office, unexpectedly received an offer to stay in Moscow to serve in the People's Commissariat of Posts and Telegraphs of the USSR, where he soon received the post of inspector and was

engaged in questions for the reorganization of the Soviet postal service on the basis of American experience. While working in the Soviet Union, G. Smith continued to write articles for several American periodicals for blacks.

9 *Albert Kesselring* (30 November 1885– 16 July 1960) was a German military officer and convicted war criminal who served in the *Luftwaffe* during World War II. In a career which spanned both world wars, Kesselring reached the rank of the *Generalfeldmarschall* (Field marshal) and became one of Nazi Germany's most highly decorated commanders.

10 The *Siegfried Line*, known in German as the *Westwall* (= *western bulwark*), was a German defensive line built during the late 1930s. Started in 1936, opposite the French Maginot Line, it stretched more than 630 km (390 mi) from Kleve on the border with the Netherlands, along the western border of Nazi Germany, to the town of Weil am Rhein on the border with Switzerland. The line featured more than 18,000 bunkers, tunnels and tank traps. The *Winter Line* was a series of German and Italian military fortifications in Italy, constructed during World War II by Organization Todt and commanded by Albert Kesselring.

11 *Miklós Horthy de Nagybánya* (1868–1957) was a Hungarian admiral and statesman who served as the regent of the Kingdom of Hungary during the interwar period and most of World War II, from 1 March 1920 to 15 October 1944.

12 Planned United Nations Conference in San-Francisco

## BBC Edward Ward Reports from Link-Up Lunch At Elbe

Audiofile



## Chapter XVIII Comrades in Epaulets.

Newsweek, February 15, 1943  
**Comrades in Epaulets**

**This dispatch from Russia was wirelessly by NEWSWEEK's Moscow correspondent.**

Tough Red Army men are walking around Moscow these days with the embarrassed air of a high-school kid wearing his first tuxedo.

The reason is the introduction of epaulets. The decree by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet ordering epaulets to designate officers went into effect Feb. 1. Officers of the entire Russian Army have until Feb.14 to get the colorful shoulder appendages. At first, some soldiers and civilians were not sure they liked the innovation. One reason was that the new epaulets, which are stiff bits of board covered with colored cloth and gold braid, as well as stars, according to rank, looked so new that they showed up the rest of the uniform. Remember that the Red Army has been fighting for almost two years and their uniforms show it.

The introduction of epaulets has created a problem for the civilian. He has to learn just what the stripes and stars on the officers shoulders mean. Otherwise he might call an officer "Tovatisch

Lieutenant" when in reality this particular comrade was "Tovarisch General."

The ordinary private also comes in for some touching up. He wears shoulder straps in place of epaulets, and by their color he will be known. Privates wearing straps colored dark red are members of the artillery; bright red designates armored troops; air force, light blue; cavalry, dark blue; engineering troops, black. These colors also form the basis of the officers' epaulets over which gold braid and stars are attached.

However, epaulets have a deeper significance than mere designation. They mean that the Red Army has transformed itself into a completely professional outfit with all the refinements and discipline of more traditional fighting forces. It was only a generation ago that epaulets on the shoulder of an officer would have branded him a soldier of the Czar.

Now the army newspaper, Red Star, can put it this way:

**"Epaulets are the exterior expression of the deep interior processes which have taken place in the army in the course of the inst fighting. The men are entitled to be proud of their uniforms."**

The Times, February 22, 1943  
**The Man Who Fights In the Red Army**

**ACHIEVEMENTS IN RETREAT AND  
 ADVANCE  
 OUTLOOK OF THE MODERN RUSSIAN  
 SOLDIER**

**From Our Special Correspondent  
 MOSCOW,**

Anniversaries are always dear to the Russians, but this year the coincidence of the date of the Red Army's twenty-fifth birthday with a period when such resounding successes are attending its efforts decks the day with particular solemnity. Birthdays are usually an occasion for looking back through the years, but to-day it is towards the months immediately ahead that imagination of the Soviet Union's people is straining. Yet for most the day commemorates personal tragedy, for there is scarcely a family that has not suffered some loss. Millions who have served the Red Army during 20 months of struggle lie buried under Russian soil in «brotherly graves» as they are movingly called here, or are perishing in German prison camps.

Those 20 months have been divided almost equally into periods of retreat and advance. In which the Red Army has most distinguished itself would be difficult to say. In the battles of Brest-Litovsk, Smolensk, Leningrad, and Moscow, in defence of Odessa, Sebastopol, Voronezh, and Stalingrad, such qualities have been drawn from the Red Army's fighters that the world has sometimes forgotten that these are men like other men, and now that the fierce perils and scarcely imagined hardships of the Russian winter

are being overcome with greater tenacity even than a year ago, and the Red Army is advancing faster over the snow than did the Wehrmacht over the brazen steppes last summer, it is no less difficult to see the Red Army man in his true, natural, human proportions.

**A PATIENT SOLDIER**

Yet the fighting men of Britain and America would not feel strangers beside him. Differences of temperament, of course, there are, and many would perhaps find it strange that members of non-Russian nationalities — Mongols, Uzbeks, Turkmens, and Kazakhs - fought with equal rank and prestige beside Russians and Ukrainians. Over one-third of those awarded decorations during the war were non-Russians.

In company they would find the Russian soldier quieter, more reserved, more formal in his attitude towards his fellows than they are used to; and in intimacy more impulsive, articulate, and emotional. In moments of grief, anger, and triumph he is mort's exalted but in the humdrum everyday experiences of life perhaps laughs, but sighs more; cynicism is far from his nature and his favourite songs, like the popular "Dug-out" and "Let's have a smoke," are wistful and tender, his thirst for education is unquenched by his experiences and many go into battle with text-books in their pockets; his taste is extraordinarily high. That is no new feature of the Red Army. The favourite play of the Chapayev Division in the civil war is said to have been the Spanish "Fuenteovejuna," by Lopez de Vega. It is a moving experience to sit beside simple Red Army men on short leave watching the fairylike beauty



of Tchaikovsky's "The Swan Lake" at the Moscow ballet theatre.

### HOME AND FAMILY

Their feeling for home and family is intense, and the exchange of letters is felt to be vitally important. The young Russian poet, Eugene Dolmatovsky<sup>1</sup>, told me that on a sector of the Stalingrad front which he visited there was a craze for writing verse extending from the General to the Red Army men. Russian novelists and playwrights can always count on a host of critical letters from the front after their works have been published in the newspapers. The power of the word is strong, and the meetings before battle, at which commanders and their political assistants address the men, have a profound effect. Ilya Ehrenburg<sup>2</sup>, by far the most popular writer in the Army, tells how in a region controlled by partisans there was a rule that people using a newspaper to roll cigarettes should avoid using the column containing his articles, and that the Ehrenburg article has in some places become a kind of currency, with a high value in kind.

The growth of patriotism has been striking; today patriotic motives are probably more outspokenly expressed in the songs and literature of the Red Army than anywhere else in the world. Some of the rousing marching songs you hear on the lips of Russian soldiers and sailors have the sturdy quality of "Hearts of Oak" and "John Brown's Body." It is significant that of all British poets Rudyard Kipling is the one most read at present in the Red Army. In a dug-out under the banks of the Volga at Stalingrad where I lodged, and where till a few days previously a group of young officers of Rodimtsev's 13th Guards

Division were quartered, there was also a number of political pamphlets and a one-volume edition of the freedom-loving spokesman of the nineteenth-century Russian peasant, Asov.

### A LAND TO FIGHT FOR

There has been no revival of "flagwagging" patriotism. Rather has it been a discovery of all that is valuable and significant for the present time in Russia's heroic past, and the men who are fighting for the federation of Socialist republics have been made conscious that behind them, as they take their places in the trenches and gun emplacements, lie not only the great factories or the slopes of the Urals and wide cultivated plains in Siberia, Moscow with its still incomplete planning a host of new cities beside the rivers, and on the forest edge of buoyant, aspiring dogged workers and farmers of contemporary Russia, but also the cathedrals and the Kremlin and ancient tulip-domed churches; poets, musicians, and novelists, and those who fought for a land ordered by justice and reason, knowing no slavery – a Russia ever renewing herself by the fruitful talent of her much-enduring people. It was in the period of retreat that the Red Army man learned to know how dear his land was to him. "It is a fact, Comrade Commissar," says the hero of that remarkable interpretation of the Red Army's mood during the 1941 retreat, Vassili Grossman's<sup>3</sup> "The People Immortal"; "It is as if I have become a different person in this war; only now have I seen Russia honestly. You walk along and you become so sorry for every river, every bit of woodland that your heart aches. Life was not always easy for the people, but then

the difficulty was their own and ours. To-day I was walking along a glade and there a tree was rustling and trembling. It suddenly hurt me as if something was tearing at me. Can it really be that this little tree will go to the Germans? I thought."

This is no idealization of the Red Army man. It happened that that long desperate withdrawal thro through the Ukraine and Byelorussia took place during a summer of unwonted beauty and abundance, and as the heavy boots trampled down the ungathered harvest and rain pattered steadily down, as the shells shattered the trunks of the maple trees in the primeval forests, and the Germans rode roughshod through the orchards of black cherry, tearing down the white Ukrainian cottages where flowers ran riot and sunflowers stared and nodded, the Red Army man learned to feel that this was his Russia and his blood ran cold to think that the intruder could remain here. The vision came to him in different ways — perhaps as he lay with his face pressed to the earth waiting for the red flare that would beckon him into counter- attack, lying there drawing in the fragrance of the soil and discovering all Russia in a patch of woodland; or perhaps when he drove a tank through an abandoned village, overtaking carts full of stern, upright old women and querulous, bewildered children, with sacks of hastily gathered effects, leaving homes where since times forgotten there had breathed an atmosphere of quiet routine labour; or when, standing amid the hemp on a reconnoitering patrol, he watched Germans making themselves at home before a Byelorussian cottage, carelessly beckoning to little girls to bring

them water from the well and tearing down boughs in the cherry orchard.

### **HATRED OF INTRUDER**

He discovered his love for his country and hatred of the intruder, so that when he saw cities with gleaming white churches and broad rivers down which rafts used to swing lazily, crooked streets where ancient crafts were preserved, cities where tens of thousands of women and children slept; when he saw these things thoroughly and meticulously destroyed by German aeroplanes, and when he saw the whole peaceful economy of the land poignarded by a sudden German attack which spared neither woman nor child, he swore never to forget how he hated the enemy. The hatred which has grown perfectly naturally out of the Red Army soldier's love of his own country has continued to possess him ever since, but it would be a misjudgment of the Russian character to imagine that it has turned him into a demoniac, bloodthirsty soldier. That is how Goebbels, in his guilt, is trying to paint him to the world, and indeed the guilty can expect no mercy at his hands. But to those of us who see them in Russia these earnest, frowning soldiers, disciplined but not cowed, absorbed in the art of fighting but remaining the impulsive, generous-hearted Russians of history, are men as we know men in Britain and America. The order in which they place the things they value in life is a little different from ours, but to the eternal values of love of one's fellow man and love of country and family they are no less loyal.

### **TECHNICAL DEVELOPMENTS**

Alongside with the development in the Red Army man's character during the

war important technical developments have occurred, partly because of the changeover from active defence to the offensive, and partly because of the effect of battle experience on the Army. No fewer than 70 rifle divisions have been converted into divisions of guards, and a correspondingly high number of tank brigades, cavalry corps, artillery regiments, and aviation formations. These units are trained for attack, and whereas, since the first onslaught on Russia, the Wehrmacht has produced no new tactics of any note, these crack Russian troops have devised much that is new and bewildering to the German command, who are trying to determine the character of the commander opposing them and find something diffused and hazy. It may be in the development of independent mixed columns, or in the use of regimental artillery hauled by men into the front lines and using anti-personnel shells at close and unexpected range, or in the mobility of sledge-mounted equipment, or in some other recent development in the Red Army that success lies. The Red Army has learned much during the war; not only how to defend itself against the intricacies of modern German warfare, the three-dimensional warfare of aircraft, tanks, and parachute landings, and combined thrusts of dynamic manoeuvre, but how to master the enemy in attack.

The learning period was one of stern, strict self-criticism. The Supreme Command has unhesitatingly carried out far-reaching reorganizations, and the men have been called on to undergo the most intensive and most realistic training that any army ever had. But the same absorption in the task of seeking knowledge, which is a feature of Soviet civil

life, has pervaded the Army. Though there are probably fewer unanswered questions in the Red Army man's mind than in that of his British or American comrades, questions about their countries' future, the welfare of their dependents, and their Government's policy, his concentration on self-improvement as a fighting man is no less. The Red Army is a thinking army, in whose minds you find the unquenchable curiosity of Russian people as you find their richness of talent and their great-heartedness. Proud indeed may the Soviet Union be to-day of its sons who fight so nobly, simply, and thoughtfully on the vast battlefields.

Time Magazine, January 11,  
1943

### **New Army**

Joseph Stalin sent a new Red Army into battle this winter. Moscow communiqués and dispatches, making this fact plain last week, also told more about the Red Army's command and methods than the outer world had ever known before.

*Zhukov for Timoshenko.* The vast reserves of men and weapons available for the Red Army's winter offensives showed that the retreats of last summer and fall had been triumphs of military thrift. Stalin and the Red Army Command had sacrificed Russian cities, resources and territory rather than risk the Soviet reserves. But there was evidence that not all of the retreats were planned that way.

Commanders who failed have been relieved or shot. The Army's own Red Star has repeatedly complained that the Germans still outgeneraled the Russians. Last week Moscow announced that one of its famous generals — Marshal Semion

Timoshenko commander on the southern front when the Germans broke through and drove to Stalingrad — had been replaced.

In his stead, directing the Red Army's counteroffensives to relieve Stalingrad, was aggressive, 48-year-old Army General Gregory Zhukov, who also had much to do with planning the offensive on the central front. London reported that Marshal Timoshenko was still in high favor, helping Stalin prepare a final blow against the Germans. But, in a unique communiqué, Moscow announced a long list of generals who had distinguished themselves this winter and the name of Timoshenko did not appear among them. This unprecedented list personalized the Red Army with new names, new faces like those of the Don commander, Lieut. General K. Rokossovsky, and Lieut. General M. M. Popov, one of ten officers whose troops "particularly distinguished themselves."

*The Big Shots.* The Supreme Command of the Red Army not only plans Soviet campaigns, but directs their execution. Its representatives have responsibility for "general leadership" of the field commanders. Listed first among these representatives was General Zhukov (with Colonel Generals Alexander Vassilevsky and N. N. Voronov). Soviet airmen also have full representation on the Supreme

Command: Lieut. Generals of Aviation Novikov and Talaleyev directed the Red Air Force in the southern offensives.

*Motomechanizirovanniya.* Last week the full extent of a tank revolution in the Red Army could be seen.

Stalin's honors list included no less than ten tank leaders with ranks indicating that they commanded armored corps and armored armies. Previously the biggest

tank organizations in the Red Army were brigades, and these usually were broken up for auxiliary service with infantry.

The new army's *motomechanizirovanniya chasti* (motorized, tank and mechanized units) also include light, self-propelled 45-mm. guns, slightly larger than those on U.S. light tanks, and bigger (76-mm.) mobile field guns to blast heavily defended enemy points before the tanks attack.

Three of the new corps received the highest honor the Red Army can give its units. They were designated "Guards Corps," entitled to the extra pay of Russia's elite troops.

Saturday Evening Post, April 17, 1943

## WHAT KIND OF MAN IS A RUSSIAN GENERAL?

By Edgar Snow<sup>4</sup>  
Moscow, via Wireless.

**What kind of men have been leading the Red Army to its victories, and what kind of men must Hitler's new generals outwit if they are to begin a summer drive eastward? Where do Russia's generals come from, and how did they learn their trade? How do they compare as people with our own generals? Who is tallest among them in the minds of the Russians themselves? And what kind of world are they fighting for?**

Obviously it is possible for an outsider to generalize only to a limited extent in answering such searching questions about anything as big and variegated as the army of the Soviet Union. It is the world's largest military organization. It consists of more different nationalities than can be found in the armies of all the

other Allies plus the Axis forces combined. It is unique, too, because it is the first army in the history of the world that has been organized through a proletarian dictatorship represented through the Communist Party. Its commanders are thus bound to hold ideas contradictory to those found in other armies and to present quite different stories of individual development though in my own case months spent with the Red Army in China suggest certain interesting parallels.

Under Supreme Commander Joseph Stalin there are seven marshals of the Soviet Union, besides a marshal each for aviation, tanks and artillery. Note that the latter are not "marshals of the Soviet Union," however.

After them come army generals, colonel generals, lieutenant generals, major generals and, as there is no rank of brigadier in Russia, colonels.

There are over one thousand generals in the Red Army. More than four hundred new appointments were gazetted in the first four months which I spent in this country. It is reasonably doubtful whether the supreme commander, proverbially good though his memory is, knows all their patronymics. Most Russians could not mention offhand the names of more than a handful of them.

Yet they are not mass goods conforming to a standard in looks, speech and manners-though in political ideas certainly more so than is the case with American generals.

Not one of a dozen commanding generals that I have met at the front who reluctantly told details of their personal histories failed to create around himself a climate distinctly individual. Just the

same, they all possess what might be called "official personalities" which are strikingly alike. There is common source material here. They come out of the same quarry, so to speak. They are cut out of the same piece of granite and shaped by the same strokes of the hammer and chisel. Up to the point where they begin to come to life as a spark which pulsates between their own supreme command and the men they lead in battle, they all approximate a basic norm.

From that norm and through a kind of matching of backgrounds I shall try to suggest crudely a typology — and if it is true of generals, it probably goes for the lower officers as well.

First, what appears unquestionably unique about the Red Army leadership? Napoleon once said, "I made all my generals out of mud." Stalin made all his out of peasants and workers. The ancestors of nearly all of them were actually serfs hardly a hundred years ago. Voroshilov, Budyenny. Kulik and Timoshenko are all of former peasant families. And the newest talent to wear the marshal's star, Zhukov and Vasilevsky, are likewise of peasant origin.

The thought of a poor farmer boy becoming the head of an army strikes Americans as the correct order of things, but for Russians it is a wonderful change from the still recent past. In the Czarist army officers were drawn from the nobility and conscripts were illiterates excluded from "polite" society. They were not even permitted the use of seats in trams. Now there is no permanent officer class here and any citizen can aspire to generalship. The Russians would probably say their method of selection is even more democratic than ours.

### **79 Races, Excluding the Scandinavian**

It must be admitted that the Red Army general I certainly does seem less handicapped by race and color prejudice. That is natural because he himself may come from any one of scores of nationalities and shades of color and shapes of eyes in the Soviet Union. It seems he is most likely to be a Russian, however, or a Ukrainian, a Cossack, a Georgian, a Jew or Siberian.

The best testament to both the polyglot character of the army and the impartiality of its recognition of merit is the official list of orders awarded to Red Army men. Up to last October they totaled 185,000 and included seventy-nine different "nationalities"- among them Kalmycks, Yakuta, Mongolians, Gypsies, Ostyaks, Uigurs, Kurds, Poles, Spaniards and Greeks. Incidentally, Jews stood third on the list with over five thousand battle decorations which may interest quarters ready to swallow the Himmler tale that Jews are all applauding the war from the best seats on the side lines.

General Krueger, who commanded the Third Army in the Louisiana maneuvers, told me when I was there that he had risen from the ranks of enlisted men. He came to America as an immigrant boy, if I remember correctly. But his isn't exactly a common case. There are other American generals today who didn't start their careers at West Point, but they must be fewer than those-literally hundreds who came up from the ranks of the Red Army. However, the Reds wouldn't necessarily stress that as, on the contrary, they are forever trying to overcome the handicap of late schooling where it exists.

The Russian general received virtually his entire civil as well as military

education in army and party schools since the October Revolution. He fought as a conscript in World War I or he is a veteran of one or more of the wars which preceded the Nazi invasion; the civil war and the war against intervention; undeclared war or hostilities with Japan; or the Finnish war.

In a few cases he also fought with the Republican Army in Spain. Because of his humbler beginnings, perhaps, he was able to learn in even obscure places and in the hardest of all schools the experience of other people and in that attitude to find no doubt that he has an advantage over some generals better grounded in textbooks.

For example, Marshal Grigory Constantinovitch Zhukov won the first great battle of tanks when he encircled and destroyed Japanese forces at Kharkingol, in Outer Mongolia, in 1939. Not even Germans, much less ourselves or the British, profited from its profound lesson. But Russians incorporated it into their training and all their subsequent tank successes probably trace to it.

General Rodimstev, whose colorful Guardists taught Germans something new about the art of fighting at Stalingrad, brought to his task a living background of experience acquired in Spain, where, as a minor commander, he first met and smashed with infantry Italian tank attacks; and so on. The Red Army general of 1943 is probably younger in years than the average general in other armies. Thousands of officers were lost in the first months of the war and promotions since then have been rapid and apparently made solely with regard to competence and reliability. Contrast the ages of prewar marshals with those

of the striplings running the army today. Civil war heroes Voroshilov and Budyenny are in their early sixties, but First Vice Commissar of Defense Zhukov, who stands at Stalin's right hand, is but forty- eight, while Chief of Staff Alexander Michaelovitch Vasilevsky is only forty-two and Timoshenko is forty- eight.

Experience here tends to show that the audacity, energy, drive and technical knowledge of modern war- fare and the habit of thinking in terms of battles of our time rather than those of World War 1 days — all qualities necessary to organize successful counteroffensives against an armored mammoth like the Wehrmacht- exist in the richest mixture in younger men. In effect, that is the chief message of Moscow's currently popular drama, *The Front*. It shows that senile generals, however successful they may have been under other circumstances, however covered with glory and recognition, must be prepared to step aside when defeats demonstrate their inability to cope with problems in dimensions unfamiliar to them. And we may assume that *The Front* is not presenting a viewpoint contrary to Kremlin policy.

Another obvious reason why youth is a characteristic of today's generals is that older men cannot long bear up under the severe physical strains imposed by mechanized warfare and the terrible Russian weather. The army leader, therefore, is a man of sound physique, solidly and powerfully built, and capable of withstanding the cruelest exposure somewhat better than the rather more aged generals of the Wehrmacht. But he is not the giant that people in the west tend to picture him in their mind's eye. He is of medium height, somewhat shorter than

the German general; actually, perhaps, a fellow about your own size. He is clean-shaven-often right to the top of his head. I have yet to see a Russian general with a beard, and even a mustache seems out of fashion in 1943.

### **An Example as Well as a Leader**

This synthetic general is a member of the Communist Party. He probably speaks fair German or French and perhaps a little English. He likes to sing and may have a good voice. He is fond of ballet and opera. Tchaikovsky is his favorite composer. In peacetime he liked to spend an evening with Tolstoy, Pushkin, Turgenev or Gorky, or perhaps with Byron or Shakespeare.

No Russian general can consort with floozies and hold his job. There are no prostitutes or camp followers with the Red Army. A general usually is an example for his men in every respect. He does not go to church and does not believe in God, but he is clean- minded, he doesn't particularly like risqué stories, and he seems unusually uninhibited and free from Freudian complexes. Though in some ways he reminds you of a good Y.M.C.A. secretary, nobody could call him a prude. He is often a heavy smoker and, like all Russians, loves his fiery vodka and can carry his quota at any banquet and he likes banquets. But he isn't a drunkard and he isn't a fat man, though usually he has plenty of weight around his waist, to insulate himself against frost. He is a good poker player when he knows the game. I once played poker all night with Red officers and we used captured German 32 cartridges for chips with fifty-caliber bullets, representing fifty rubles, as the limit. He likes chess but chess but in dominoes you may find his real passion.

All his training and experience have made. This man is democratic, but no more so than most American generals. You could search all Russia, for ample, to find a simpler, humbler, more honest and more plainspoken man than "Vinegar Joe" Stilwell, Commander of the U. S. Army Headquarters in China, India and Burma under whom any American ought to be plenty proud to serve. Incidentally you wouldn't see a term like "Vinegar Joe" or any kind of nickname used to describe a general in Soviet Journalism. For Red Army democracy is dignified and isn't expressed in the exaggerated forms sometimes suggested abroad. A general receives better food, clothing and quarters, many times better pay than his men. In this respect, as others, the Socialist law, not the Communist, applies: "From each according to his ability; to each according to his work."

Stalin is a strong advocate of discipline. In recent public statements he repeatedly stresses its importance and exhorts the army strictly to enforce it. Even in minor matters, deportment and appearance—return of epaulets, for instance, and the ban on unpressed uniforms and wearing felt boots in theaters the tendency is to adopt whatever forms help to raise the prestige and dignity of the uniform.

In Moscow I was impressed by the formal discipline enforced at the Supreme Soviet Military School, the oldest command school in the country. Cadets we encountered in dormitories and class rooms came to attention and snapped out reports with the same sharpness, promptness and exactitude you would find at West Point or Sandhurst

"The commander's word is everything now," I was told by the school

commandant, Col. Semyon Mladentsev<sup>5</sup>, "We teach our students to give instant obedience to orders and demand instant obedience from, subordinates."

With the recent abolition of the post of political commissar, the average general has more responsibility and authority in his hands than ever before. Formerly he was only half a general in effect. His political commissar could overrule him. Conflicts of will and opinion often hindered operations. The system traced back to the early days when it was necessary to make use of former Czarist officers who were considered politically doubtful. But with all higher commanders now Communists and many commissars themselves trained through generalship, it seemed desirable to combine both military and political authority in one man. Col. Gen. Radion Yakovitch Malinovsky<sup>6</sup> told me that "the main factor in recent successes was "the great reorganization of the army by the Supreme Command."

Stalin abolished the dual-command system only a month before the great offensive began. Though few on lookers then realized the far-reaching significance of his move, there is no doubt about its popularity with the field command. The latter to have been working doubly hard since, to prove that it was exactly what it needed.

All strengthening discipline notwithstanding the Russian general still regards the men under him—"fighters" he calls them, not "soldats," which has Czarist connotations as his social equals. There are no longer any illiterates among them and about 35 per cent have had secondary or higher education. In the rank and file one out of four is a member of the Comsomol or of the Communist



Party. An officer knows his men can freely enter all Red Army clubs and Red Army houses in the country there are more than two thousands of them and enjoy the same rights he has. He knows, too, that the private soldier under him today may, before the end of his career, be his equal or superior in rank.

Except in the topmost ranks, a Red general is about as anonymous to most of his countrymen as the private. Far more information of personal nature about Soviet commanders is published in the Anglo-American press than ever appears in Russia. Correspondents tried frantically to get information about generals at Stalingrad, but could never scrape together more than a few skeletal facts. Only when some of us actually reached the spot and put these men to the usual third degree did they come alive as personalities. Marshals themselves are mentioned only on special occasions. A general's name gets into the big papers when his troops occupy an important new town or position. If he receives a high decoration, or is promoted to the rank of colonel general or marshal or wins a victory of first-rate significance, maybe his picture actually appears in Pravda or Red Star or Izvestia with two or three lines of description. You may not see him mentioned for weeks afterward, however, though his troops and he himself may continue in the thick of fighting.

If a story of the type carried by some American weekly news magazines were to appear in a Soviet paper concerning Russian general, he would probably look for the nearest hole into which to crawl. While our papers may headline news of MacArthur's troops" or "Patton's boys, nobody ever saw a streamer in Russia

about Zhukov's men" or "Timoshenko's army beating the Nazis. The emphasis is never on the individual commander.

For this reason it is hardly conceivable that a general during war could be popular in mind by built up in the popular sectarian interests if anyone could find such here at the moment as a great figure worthy of political power. The idea that he could in purely personal views differ with the administration on questions of internal policy and freely express those differences, as American and British generals sometimes do, and at the same time be a loyal official, wouldn't be acceptable here.

On the other hand, a Red officer has a legal voice in politics even during war. According to the law, he may vote and run for office, though, in practice, nobody would think of interrupting front-line fighters to tally votes. A red general has more responsibility for policy too. As a member of the Communist Party, he may presumably criticize inside its ranks the administration's management of the war.

There is little frivolity in this man. His character seems drawn in heavier planes, with deeper, more somber shadows than ours. Before strangers he is graver, more gets thoughtful and reserved. He does not easily smile and laugh. He has seen his closest comrade officers killed and very likely, as with everyone in Russia, he has lost a son or a brother or someone close to him. Possibly his home has been burned nod to the ground and some of his neighbors or his folk robbed, beaten, starved, raped or tortured by the Nazi sadists. The weight of tragedy lies on this man and hatred for those who have designed it.

In this deep, abiding, restless hatred, which possesses him like a disease and

the only cure for which is complete extermination of the pest which causes it, in hatred which it is hard for Americans — as yet, at least — fully to understand, the general and fighter have a strong common band.

### **Officers Who Aren't Officious**

Sometimes you see this leap to life as I saw it one night at dinner with young General Rodimstev<sup>7</sup> at Stalingrad. Some of his men who had been through all the terrible battles with his division came in to sing to us. Rodimstev never took his eyes off their faces and all the smile of a faint grin hung on his lips. At the end they sang a composition of their own, satirizing Fritz and glorifying Rodimstev, and there you could almost feel the warm current of fellowship flowing between men and commander.

Recently a friend told me this story of an experience of an acquaintance of his. Hearing that the man who commanded her husband's division was in Moscow briefly from the front, the woman sought an interview with him. He received her at once and, brushing important papers to one side, he sat down beside her and began to talk.

"Tomorrow," he said, "I am going to the front and may never return. The price of our freedom, the right of our children to lead happier lives than ours, is very heavy. But if I don't return, what then? I don't wish my wife to wear mourning for me. Not for a single day. With so many fine people dying for what we hold dear, the duty of those who remain is to face forward, to think of living and thus honor the dead. Now in my division there was a man, a great Russian, the kind of man who wins wars for us. By coincidence he

had the same patronymic as my own, so you see it was easy for me to imagine "But you are speaking of my husband," said the woman, suddenly comprehending.

"It is true that Ivanovich was your husband. Listen to the story of a hero. And so for many minutes the general, for whom death was as commonplace as the showering of leaves in autumn is for all of us, slowly and with infinite tact and delicacy broke to this woman the news of the death of his fellow officer and friend. Once, as he speaking, a colonel burst into the room, protesting against the long wait of his own general, who also was leaving for the front the next day.

"Never mind," the general insisted. "Ask him to stay a little longer. For once the living must wait for the dead." And in the end the woman rose from the interview, dry-eyed and exalted, ready to return to her work, strong in the pride of her grief. So here men still find time, even generals, for the human kindness which makes life bearable for the survivors of the beloved dead.

Hut that is perhaps as much of a composite picture as can be outlined. He yond such generalities the individual personality intrudes, real people emerge and it is necessary to particularize. And in such particularization the variations are as wide as anywhere.

Take for instance Marshal Zhukov. He is a short stocky man, partly bald, with bushy eyebrows and long ears in which the Chinese would see a sign of sagacity. He has a wide mouth and wide intelligent eyes. When at his desk, usually swept clean of everything but a map or report he is studying at the moment, he wears glasses and makes careful notes in pencil while his whole appearance suggests

that of a scientific man, a distinguished professor of academician rather than that of a military man.

Which is just a point, for war is to Zhukov a science, a series of mathematical problems to be solved through proper integration and co-ordination of men and weapons in time and space. He has never been a specialist in one branch of arms to the exclusion of others. His fame rests on skill in the use of combined arms. And in those operations no one has performed so successfully in so many crises: In the war with Finland, in the Battle for Moscow in 1941, at Rzhev in 1941 and again in 1941 and the whole string of triumphs of the great offensive Stalingrad, Velikiye Luki, the breaking of the Leningrad blockade.

Zhukov was called by a former German military attaché, "the greatest general in Russia," though he failed to convince his own staff of that fact. Today he stands out as the greatest general World War II has yet produced. Marshal Vasilevsky seems to be just about as good as Zhukov in minute planning and scientific co-ordination of combined arms. In Finland, and before Moscow and throughout the counter-offensive, these two worked side by side. There's little outward resemblance, Vasilevsky is a tall, blond, powerfully built Cossack with thick hair and a forelock hanging down in the Cossack manner. He has a round face with greenish-gray eyes and speaks quietly and authoritatively. "A really modest man," all Russians agree and a great general.

By way of contrast with such professorial types, I think of Chuikov<sup>8</sup>, now famous abroad, in whose company I spent some hours at Stalingrad. Of medium height and burly figure, he is a homely man with a rugged face and a

mouthful of golden teeth, who looks and is a son of peasants. His mind quickly picks up your whole meaning with extraordinary speed and in his laconic speech he always hits directly at the heart of any subject he discusses. Chuikov has been wounded four times and twice has had a concussion of the brain. During the battle of Stalingrad he used to fly in a slow plane personally to observe the enemy gun positions. Once he was shot down. At times his headquarters were only few score meters from the front. On a single day he lost sixty one men from his own staff. Once an officer delivering a report to him was killed by a flying bomb fragment as they stood talking. All those narrow escapes seem to have left Chuikov with unruffled nerves. He is a tireless worker, and when I saw him only four days after the end of a five months ordeal on the banks of the Volga he betrayed no signs of fatigue. A very brave man who has looked death in the face hundreds of times, a man loved by his followers, good-humored, kindly, humble with a modesty equal to Vasilevsky's. I had not been with Chuikov long before I thought to myself, "Here's another general whose orders I could obey with confidence in their wisdom and justice."

### **A General Who Looks the Part**

Quite different case from any of these is Col. Gen. Malinovsky, whom I met on the Don. Black-haired, blue-eyed, and only forty-four, this Ukrainian hero, handsome in a uniform which glorifies the tailor who made it, would set any woman's heart aflutter. He too rose from the ranks, but I had the feeling he would have been a general in any army Russia ever had.

Malinovsky is probably the only red general who ever fought side by side with American troops against the Germans — which he did as part of a Russian detachment sent to France by the Czar in World War I. To get there he and the others had to travel from Vladivostok by way of Singapore to Europe. He returned by the same route and joined the Bolsheviks in Siberia.

Quite a man, Malinovsky. I saw him toss down two full tumblers of vodka in the middle of the day, and then proceed, apparently as little bothered as if he'd been drinking milk, to carry on with the little job of taking Rostov back from the Germans in which he was, of course, successful in one of the neatest maneuvers on the southwestern front. Like all Russians, Malinovsky makes good toast at the drop of a hat. And a pertinent one. Consider this sample peroration: "We've fought successfully without a second front and will go on fighting till the enemy is destroyed. But our faith is constant that there will be a second front. It is inevitable because our triumph is inevitable the triumph of all those who want to organize life on a basis of liberty. And beside the grandeur of our common cause, the various shades of opinion and differences of ideas behind our striving are insignificant."

More than that no Russian general would say or perhaps could be expected to say. The job at hand is to crash Hitler and here men grow impatient with too much talk of dividing a victory not yet won. In all his thinking along such lines the general's mental apparatus undoubtedly works very much, if not exactly, the same as the brain in the Kremlin where he likewise places the main credit for

whatever military achievements either he as an individual or the Red Army as a whole could claim today.

## (Endnotes)

1 **Yevgeny Aronovich Dolmatovskiy** (1915–1994) was a Soviet-Russian poet and lyricist.

2 **Ilya Grigorievich Ehrenburg** (1891–1967) was a Russian writer, poet, essayist, journalist, war correspondent, translator from French and Spanish, public figure, photographer. In 1908–1917 and 1921–1940 he was in exile, from 1940 he lived in the USSR.

3 **Vasily Semyonovich Grossman** (1905–1964) was a Soviet writer and journalist. Born to a Jewish family in Ukraine, then part of the Russian Empire. At the outbreak of the Second World War, Grossman was engaged as a war correspondent by the Red Army newspaper *Krasnaya Zvezda*; he wrote first-hand accounts of the battles of Moscow, Stalingrad, Kursk, and Berlin. Grossman's eyewitness reports of a Nazi extermination camp, following the discovery of Treblinka, were among the earliest accounts of a Nazi death camp by a reporter.

4 **Snow Edgar** (1905–1972) American publicist. During the Second World War he visited the USSR and China. He travelled twice to Stalingrad (December 1942 and February 1943), communicated with Soviet soldiers and military leaders, as well as with captured German soldiers, officers and generals. He described the dramatic events of those months in a series of articles for the weekly newspaper 'Saturday Evening Post' and in the book 'People on Our Side' published in 1944.

5 **Semyon Ivanovich Mladentsev** (1900–1969) was a Soviet military commander. Participant of the Russian Civil War, the Soviet-Finnish and Great Patriotic Wars. Hero of the Soviet Union (7.04.1940). Major-General (1942).

6 **Rodion Yakovlevich Malinovsky** (1898–1967) was a Soviet military commander and statesman, Marshal of the Soviet Union (1944),

twice Hero of the Soviet Union (1945, 1958), Knight of the Order of Victory (1945). Minister of Defence of the USSR (1957–1967). People's Hero of Yugoslavia (1964) He was a member of the Russian Expeditionary Corps in France, from where he managed to return to Russia in 1919 and joined the Red Army. After the end of the Civil War in 1930 he graduated from the Frunze Military Academy, where he later taught. After the end of the Civil War in 1930 he graduated from the Frunze Military Academy, where he later taught. By the beginning of the Second World War he served in the Odessa Military District and in August 1941 became commander of the Southern Reserve Front. Later he showed himself in the battles of Stalingrad and from 1944 he was appointed commander of the 2nd Ukrainian Front, leading the troops of which achieved the liberation of Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary.

**7 Aleksandr Ilyich Rodimtsev**

(1905–1977) was a Soviet military commander, twice Hero of the Soviet Union (22.10.1937, 02.06.1945). Colonel General (09.05.1961). Commander of the 13th Guards Rifle Division (17.07.1942–02.02.1943), especially distinguished in the Battle of Stalingrad.

**8 Vasily Ivanovich Chuikov (1900–1982)**

was a Soviet military commander. Marshal of the Soviet Union (1955). Twice Hero of the Soviet Union (1944, 1945). Commander-in-Chief of the Group of Soviet Occupation Forces in Germany (1949–1953), Commander of the Kiev Military District (1953–1960), Commander-in-Chief of the USSR Ground Forces – Deputy Minister of Defense of the USSR (1960–1964), Head of the USSR Civil Defense Forces (1961–1972). From 1942 to 1946–Commander of the 62nd Army (8th Guards Army), which was especially distinguished in the Battle of Stalingrad.

## Chapter XIX

### Yalta Conference

Newsweek, February 19, 1945

#### **Big Three Agree on Final Attacks and How to Rule Reich in Peace**

The ancient Greeks called the Black Sea Euxeinos (friendly to strangers). This week many strangers departed from its shores. From the summer palace of Czar Nicholas II near Yalta in the Crimea, President Roosevelt, Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius Jr., Fleet Admiral King, General of the Army Marshall, and a host of other American diplomatic and military key figures left by ship and plane. So did Prime Minister Churchill, Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, and rank after rank of British soldiers and diplomats. The Big Three meeting was over. That was proclaimed in a communiqué issued Feb. 12.

For eight days, the President, the Prime Minister, and Premier Stalin had sat over the conference tables. For eight days they had been warmed by the Black Sea breezes that make a stretch of the Crimea into a Russian Riviera. For eight days they had ranged over problems of a complexity and scope as have probably never before been covered by statesmen in a similar period of time. Even the Teheran meeting was overshadowed. It had given shape to

a war. The new conference aimed at the formation of a new world.

The conferees had come to Stalin as they had at Teheran. President Roosevelt was supposed to have wanted the meeting held at Khartoum in the Sudan. Churchill had suggested that his colleagues visit him in London. But Stalin refused to leave Russia. Therefore the President and the Prime Minister went to Yalta. On the way they met at Malta, from where they flew by night to the Crimea.

Despite the fact that the conference was held at a place of Stalin's choice, the decisions reached did not reflect any domination of the meeting by the Soviet Premier. Instead, on the whole, they showed compromise on almost all issues from Poland to the principle of unconditional surrender. And if any one of the Big Three might be said to have made more impression on the results than the other two, that man was the President.

The length of the text of the communiqué at the end of the conference gave some idea of the meeting's scope. It ran to six pages. In the box below the main points of the communiqué are reprinted. They give a complete outline of what was actually decided.

#### **What Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill Decided in the Crimea**

*Defeat of Germany:* We have considered and determined the military

plans of the three Allied powers for the final defeat of the common enemy.

The timing, scope, and coordination of new and even more powerful blows to be launched by our armies and air forces into the heart of Germany from the east, west, north, and south have been fully agreed and planned in detail. Meetings of the three staffs will be continued in the future whenever the need arises.

*Occupation and control of Germany:* We have agreed on common policies and plans for enforcing the unconditional surrender terms which we shall impose together on Nazi Germany after German armed resistance has been finally crushed. These terms will not be made known until the final defeat of Germany has been accomplished. Under the agreed plan, the forces of the three powers will each occupy a separate zone of Germany. Coordinated administration and control has been provided for under the plan through a central control commission consisting of the supreme commanders of the three powers with headquarters in Berlin. It has been agreed that France should be invited by the three powers, if she should so desire, to take over a zone of occupation, and to participate as a fourth member of the control commission.

*Postwar Germany:* We are determined to disarm and disband all German forces; break up for all time the German General Staff ... remove or destroy all German military equipment; eliminate or control all German industry that can be used for military production; bring all war criminals to just and swift punishment and exact reparation in kind of the destruction wrought by the Germans; wipe out the Nazi party, Nazi laws, organizations, and institutions.

*Reparation by Germany:* We have considered the question of the damage caused by Germany to the Allied nations in this war and recognized it as just that Germany be obliged to make compensation for this damage in kind to the greatest extent possible. A commission for the compensation of damage will be established. The commission will work in Moscow.

*United Nations Conference:* We are resolved upon the earliest possible establishment with our Allies of a general international organization to maintain peace and security. The foundations were laid at Dumbarton Oaks. On the important question of voting procedure, however, agreement was not reached there. The present conference has been able to resolve this difficulty. We have agreed that a conference of United Nations should be called to meet at San Francisco in the United States on April 25, 1945, to prepare the charter of such an organization, along the lines proposed in the informal conversations at Dumbarton Oaks. Poland: A new situation has been created in Poland as a result of her complete liberation by the Red Army. This calls for the establishment of a Polish provisional government which can be more broadly based than was possible before the recent liberation of Western Poland. The provisional government which is now functioning in Poland should therefore be reorganized on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad. This new government should then be called the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity.

The three heads of government

consider that the eastern frontier of Poland should follow the Curzon Line with digressions from it in some regions of 5 to 8 kilometers in favor of Poland. They recognized that Poland must receive substantial accessions of territory in the north and west.

*Yugoslavia:* We have agreed to recommend to Marshal Tito and Dr. Subacic<sup>1</sup> the agreement between them should be put into effect immediately and that a new government should be formed on the basis of that agreement

*Meetings of Foreign Secretaries:* The conference agreed that permanent machinery should be set up for regular consultation between the three Foreign Secretaries. They will, therefore, meet as often as may be necessary, probably about every three or four months. These meetings will be held in rotation in the three capitals ...

### **Palace With a Past**

Two rulers of Russia have left their marks on the site of the actual conference. One was Nicholas II, the dim witted, feeble-willed last Czar of Russia. He loved to visit the big Italian renaissance palace at Livadia, about 2 miles from Yalta, with its paneled rooms and lovely view of the Black Sea. The Czar begged to be taken there after his arrest by the Bolsheviks in 1917. He never arrived.

The other ruler who has left a mark on Livadia is Joseph Stalin. Under the Soviets, like other Crimean estates of the pre-1917 aristocracy and wealthy classes, Livadia was made into a rest home. It was called the Joseph Stalin Sanatorium and workers instead of nobles strolled through the gardens of myrtle and mimosa, the hot houses and the evergreen groves.

The actual conferences of the Big Three were held at Livadia but the delegates had the run of one of the most delightful regions of Russia, the so-called Crimean Riviera that centers around the little seaside town of Yalta. The climate made it the winter resort of the Russian aristocracy before the revolution. There are occasional cold snaps but the surrounding cypress-covered hills shield Yalta itself from the bitter northwest winds. The Black Sea is warm enough for swimming.

Yalta itself is a town of clean, white houses, many trees and magnolia gardens, and a seaside promenade called the Naberezhnaya. And between Yalta and Sevastopol the country is dotted with relics of the Crimean War—where they haven't been destroyed by Germany.

### **Charles d'Artagnan**

The fourth Musketeer sulked at home last week. There was nothing Gen. Charles de Gaulle — whose impulsive and irascible temper actually gives him a good deal in common with Dumas's d'Artagnan — wanted to do more than cross swords with the three old masters at diplomatic dueling somewhere in the 'Black Sea area.'

The least he had expected was to be kept advised of the decisions taken at the conference. According to the information allowed to leak from official quarters in Paris, he was told nothing. There were only hints that Roosevelt and Churchill might be willing to stop off in France on their return. De Gaulle tried to make it clear he wouldn't welcome the visit and left to tour liberated Alsace.

For two days the general visited the front and the cities of Mulhouse, Colmar,



Molsheim, Strasbourg, and Saverne. In these speeches he referred grandly if ambiguously to the “renovation and expansion” of France.

In a radio address earlier in the week he stated in public what he wanted to tell the conferees in private and challenged the agreements they might make in his absence. France, he announced, would not be bound by private decisions. Allied control commission, de Gaulle demanded these goals for peace: “The definite presence of a French force from one end of the Rhine to the other; the separation of the territories of the left bank of the river and of the Ruhr Basin from what will be the German state or states; the independence of the Polish Czechoslovak, Austrian, and Balkan nations.”

### **The Little Ones Demur**

From the sidelines, before the conference spoke publicly, the small nation began to voice their doubts about the brave new world being planned by the Big Three. The Dutch and Polish governments in London discussing the Dumbarton Oaks<sup>2</sup> world security plan, had one specific complaint: The plan gives the big nations too much authority, the small ones too little protection. They objected to a big power’s right of veto in case affecting it and urged greater representation for small nations on the Security Council. Mexico backed them and suggested membership in the world organization for all, including present enemies.

Time Magazine, February. 26, 1945

### **The Yalta Conference’s Implications for the Future**

No doubt about it—the Russians were changing. At Yalta, as at earlier conferences, Stalin and other Soviet bigwigs shed a little more of their personal isolation.

Stalin mugged the cameras, patently loved to show off his fine grey uniforms. His stock of English phrases had grown: “So what?” and “You said it” had been added to “The toilet is over there!” and “What the hell goes on here?” Now one of his problems is the ingrained aloofness of Politburo men and others in the Soviet hierarchy who feel that Russia is having too much truck with foreigners.

But the international yeast was working. Perhaps it had something to do with Yalta’s implications for the future:

*Deed of Trust.* Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill bluntly said that the three powers who had “made victory possible and certain” proposed to administer the victory. Big Three unity for this purpose was “a sacred obligation which our Governments owe to our peoples and to all the peoples of the world.”

This assertion of high purpose had some very practical roots. It was a logical expression of Stalin’s cold certainty that only power counts (said he once of the Pope, “How many divisions has he got?”). It was an equally natural extension of President Roosevelt’s recent assertion that the U.S. intends not only to take a responsible part in world affairs but to shape the decisions for which it shares responsibility. For Winston Churchill, the doctrine of trusteeship was insurance

that a Britain exhausted by the war will have a position in keeping with Britain's needs.

But Big Three assertions alone cannot make trusteeship work. That will also require the conscious, wholehearted, fully informed support of the U.S. people. And it will require tacit acceptance by the hundreds of millions of people for whom the Big Three propose to be trustees.

*Whose Trust?* In Europe, where the first test must come, first reactions were not promising. At best, the Poles were uneasy; at worst, certain that they had been sold out. But the selling out of the Poles had actually occurred many months ago. In the first days after Yalta, the major test of the Yalta doctrine was France.

Despite its gestures toward the French, the Crimea declaration made it clear that the Big Three did not yet rate France as one of the trustees, even in western Europe. Even the cordial paragraph inviting "the Provisional Government of the French Republic" to join in the guardianship of liberated Europe implied that the Big Three could get along without France.

*The French rebelled.* Their press reflected some but by no means all the popular resentment. General de Gaulle had already made it plain that France intended to be not one of the trustee but one of the trustees. Now he pointedly announced that France would handle its own empire. Finally, he declined to leave Paris for an aftermath session with President Roosevelt, who had hoped to pause in North Africa on his way home and soothe the General. If Roosevelt wanted to see him, said De Gaulle, the President would have to come to Paris.

These initial irritations were probably not so serious as they seemed. In a

speech asserting the principle of French equality last fortnight De Gaulle himself reminded the French people that they still have to earn the right to actual equality. All concerned faced the same hard facts: France cannot recover without Big Three help; the Big Three cannot run liberated Europe and postwar Germany without a resurgent, reasonably satisfied France.

*Concert of Spheres.* In the first glow, some optimists had read more into the Big Three declaration on liberated Europe than the Big Three actually said. Even among the Big Three, contests for power and spheres of influence were not finally abolished at Yalta. Yalta could be taken as an incomplete check on a race for spheres of influence.

In principle, the Big Three agreed to "concert" their interests and policies in such troubled countries as Greece and Poland. But the statement of principle included some significant limitations: 1) it holds good only "during the temporary period of instability"; 2) the big powers are bound to act together only when all three agree that the specific circumstances of each case justify their joint intervention.

*Concert of Votes.* The sorest point settled at Yalta was the dispute over voting procedure in the postwar world Security Council.

Joseph Stalin did not budge an inch from his insistence that any one of the Big Powers must be able to veto world action against itself or against any other country accused of aggression. But the compromise engineered by President Roosevelt was neither so cynical nor so futile as it seemed to some commentators.

Under the compromise, the Security Council's Big Five (the Big Three plus France and China) must agree unanimously





before the world organization can take economic or military action against an aggressor. But any seven (nominally, two-thirds) of the Council's eleven members can cite an aggressor nation, bring its sins to world attention.

The provision requiring a two-thirds vote instead of a simple majority to do this is a marked concession to the smaller powers. It means that the Big Five, even when united, cannot commit the world organization to any action without approval of at least two of the Council's little-nation members. At least in theory, six smaller members could join forces with one of the Big Five to override the other four in preliminary decisions.

When the United Nations convene in April to revise the original Dumbarton Oaks proposals, these considerations may outweigh the right of veto retained by the Big Powers. Everyone in San Francisco will know that, anyhow, whatever the rules, no nation could be made to declare war on itself.

The Times, February 27, 1945

## **POLAND**

Several members of Parliament, not confined to one party, are likely to raise the Polish question in the debate on the Crimea conference which opens to-day. The decision regarding Poland was not the least significant item in the Crimea declaration; and it has given wide satisfaction as constituting tangible evidence of the recognition by the three Powers of the imperative importance, in the interests of world peace, of agreement between them on contentious issues. The decision has naturally been challenged. It has been represented in some quarters,

both here and in the United States, as a mere concession to power politics, unjustified by any considerations of equity; and emotion has tended to darken counsel. The arguments which support the decision will, however, withstand the closest scrutiny.

During the closing stages of the last war British and American experts undertook much detailed and impartial research into the drawing of future European frontiers on lines likely to correspond with the national allegiances of the greatest possible number. The frontier between Russia and Poland was the subject of one of the completest of these studies. When the Polish commission of the peace conference met in Paris it had before it by far the most exhaustive volume of population statistics ever compiled for these regions. Patient examination of a mass of data resulted in the unanimous recommendation by the commission of what afterwards came to be known as the Curzon line<sup>3</sup>. The line was provisional in the sense that the fate of the territories cast of it was left undetermined, the argument of the supposed instability of the Soviet régime in Russia being freely invoked. But the objection to the allocation was true in the sense that the fate of the territories cast of it was left undetermined, the argument of the supposed instability of the Soviet régime in Russia being freely invoked. But the objection to the allocation of these territories to Poland was certainly present to the minds of the commission. In the words of the "History of the Peace Conference" published by the Institute of International Affairs in 1924, A Polish occupation of these regions means the hostility of every Russian, Bolshevik or

monarchist, liberal or reactionary. In the end this must involve an alliance of Russia and Germany against Poland. It is impossible that Poland could hold her own against such an alliance.

It was widely held then, and it is equally true now, that an extension of the Polish frontier to the east of the Curzon line could only be a source of grave weakness to Poland.

Unhappily this wise caution was not maintained. In the summer of 1919 the Poles expelled the Ukrainian authorities by force of arms from East Galician action against which the Supreme Council helplessly protested. Even proposals from the Supreme Council for an autonomous régime in East Galicia were rejected by the Poles. Yet the archives of the League of Nations in the period between the wars contain much evidence of the discontent of the Ukrainian majority in East Galicia with Polish rule and of the repressive measures which the Polish authorities were driven to adopt in order to maintain it. In 1920 PILSUDSKI marched against Russia. After many changes of fortune the war ended in a sweeping Polish victory over an exhausted Russia and in the conclusion of the treaty of Riga, fixing the frontier which remained in being till 1939. That the Russian signatories at the time prudently made a virtue of necessity could not alter the nature of the concessions to which they had been compelled to subscribe. A subsidiary episode was the seizure of Vilna from the Lithuanians, which provoked strong protests and long but fruitless discussions at Geneva. By 1923 it was plain that there was no military force in eastern Europe strong enough to contest these Polish acquisitions, and the allied countries

accepted the *fait accompli* by recognizing the frontiers thus established.

Even therefore if it were true that the decision of the Crimea conference to endorse the Curzon line was simply the reflection of superior military force, protest against it on that ground would come with no great conviction from apologists for the frontiers recognized in 1923. But that is not in fact the basis of the decision. To speak of it as depriving Poland of so many square miles of "her" territory is to use the language of rhetoric and to beg the very question at issue. Estimates based on Polish census figures carefully analysed place the number of Poles in the area before 1939 at less than 2,500,000 out of a total population of 11,000,000. MR. EDEN recently gave the Poles more than the benefit of every doubt when he estimated the Polish population at from 3,200,000 to 3,900,000. The only solid and substantial blocks of Polish population were found in the cities of Vilna and Lvov, where they formed islets separated from Polish territory, properly so called, by hundreds of thousands of White Russians and Ukrainians respectively. No one doubts that friendly relations between Poland and the Soviet Union are indispensable to both countries. Yet what hope of such relations could there be for a Poland which retained in her possession vast regions where White Russians and Ukrainians are by far the largest elements in the population? The apprehensions which Polish annexations after 1919 inspired at that time in many sincere friends of Poland were justified up to the hilt, and are no whit less valid today. Such policies have as little foundation in justice as in political wisdom. Both equity and common sense are on the side of the Crimea decision.

The second decision that “the provisional Government which is now “functioning in Poland should be reorganized on a broader democratic “basis with the inclusion of democratic “leaders from Poland itself and from “Poles abroad” raises different issues. But these too chariot usefully be discussed in question-begging catchwords which mean, if they mean anything at all, that the Polish Government in exile has not only an exclusive title to speak for the people of Poland, but a liberum veto on any move towards a settlement of Polish affairs. The legal credentials of this Government are certainly not beyond challenge if it were relevant to examine them: the obscure and tenuous thread of continuity leads back at best to a constitution deriving from a quasi-Fascist coup d’Etat. But legal argument can be no more decisive in Poland than in other countries of liberated Europe where experience has shown that new Governments and new leaders thrown up after liberation are the necessary bulwark of stable future administration. The representative quality of the provisional Government now functioning in Warsaw is admittedly defective. But what can be said of the representative quality of M. ARCISZEWSKI<sup>4</sup> and his colleagues? Is it seriously suggested that the proceedings in Polish circles in London which led to the replacement of the Government of MIKOLAJCZYK<sup>5</sup> by the Government of M. ARCISZEWSKI reflected the will of the mass of the Polish people, or indeed had any relation to it whatever?

Clearly the present situation of the different Polish authorities had become wholly unreal; and since they had failed over a long period to make any progress at all towards the composition of their

divergences, it was essential for the Crimea conference to take a hand. Given these premises, it is difficult to see what decision was possible other than to reorganize the administration now working, however imperfectly, on the spot and to reconstitute it as an effectively representative body by the introduction of now elements from within Poland and from abroad. All the evidence suggests that what MARSHAL STALIN desires to see in Warsaw is not a puppet Government acting under Russian orders, but a friendly Government which, fully conscious of the supreme importance of Russo-Polish concord, will frame its own independent policies in that context. Those who argue or imply that any own independent policies in that context, those who argue or imply that any Polish Government working in friendly harmony with Russia is a puppet Government are not offering an alternative solution, but denying the possibility of any solution at all. Things have not reached that pass and, wisely handled, will not reach it. To damn the present provisional Government unrepresentative or exclusively dependent on Russian support is barren criticism: the task is to put in its place something stronger and more broadly representative. Happily signs exist that M. ARCISZEWSKI’S possumus does not correspond to the attitude of all Polish leaders outside Poland, and that some of these may be ready to answer the call of their country. This prospect affords by far the best hope for the security, well-being, and independence of the Polish nation in the years to come. It would be tragic if any heated or unguarded words pronounced in the House of Commons in the forthcoming debate were to discourage this hope or to render its realization more difficult.

## (Endnotes)

1 **Dr. Subasich** the former Prime Minister of Yugoslavia was representing the monarchy in exile.

2 **Dumbarton Oaks Conference**, (August 21–October 7, 1944), meeting at **Dumbarton Oaks**, a mansion in Georgetown, Washington, D.C., where representatives of China, the Soviet Union, the United States, and the United Kingdom formulated proposals for a world organization that became the basis for the United Nations.

3 The **Curzon Line** was a proposed demarcation line between the Second Polish Republic and the Soviet Union, two new states emerging after World War I. Based on a suggestion by Herbert James Paton, it was first proposed in 1919 by Lord Curzon, the British Foreign Secretary, to the Supreme War Council as a diplomatic basis for a future border agreement.

The line became a major geopolitical factor during World War II, when the USSR invaded eastern Poland, resulting in the split of Poland's territory between the USSR and Nazi Germany roughly along the Curzon Line in accordance with final rounds of secret negotiations surrounding the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. After the German attack on the Soviet Union in 1941, Operation Barbarossa, the Allies did not agree that Poland's future eastern border should be changed from the pre-war status quo in 1939 until the Tehran Conference. Churchill's position changed after the Soviet victory at the Battle of Kursk.

4 **Tomasz Stefan Arciszewski** (1877–1955) was a Polish socialist politician, a member of the Polish Socialist Party and the 31st Prime Minister of Poland, 3rd Prime Minister of the Polish government-in-exile in London from 1944 to 1947 during which the government lost the recognition of the Western powers.

5 **Stanisław Mikołajczyk** (1901–1966) was a Polish politician. He was a Prime Minister of the Polish government-in-exile during World War II and later Deputy Prime Minister in post-war Poland until 1947.

## Franklin D. Roosevelt speaks about Allied Conference at Yalta

### Audiofile





## Chapter XX Marshall of the Great Victory

LIFE Magazine, February 12,  
1945

### **ZHUKOV — STALIN’S BEST GENERAL, DEFENDER OF STALINGRAD AND MOSCOW, COMMANDS THE GREAT RUSSIAN DRIVE TO BERLIN**

**BY RICHARD E. LAUTERBACH<sup>1</sup>**

Whatever happens in the next few weeks, Marshal Georgi Konstantinovitch Zhukov (pronounced Jzoo-kuf) will go down in history as one of the greatest generals of World War II. Currently field commander of the Red Army’s elite troops in the center of The Eastern Front, he is evidently Stalin’s choice as conqueror of Berlin and perhaps as the chief Russian in the future Allied government of Germany. His record of military achievement is without parallel in modern war.

No single counterpart for Zhukov can be found in either the Allied or Axis armies. His role can best be comprehended if one imagines an individual officer simultaneously holding the responsibility of General Marshall, General Eisenhower and General Bradley. For the last four years he has shuttled between the Kremlin and every battlefield of the

Russian front, alternately planning grand strategy and commanding individual armies and groups of armies in the front lines. In his capacity as deputy to the supreme commander in chief he is second only to Stalin as the Soviet Union’s guiding military star. As a staff officer he has proved himself cunning, imaginative and prophetic. As a field general he has been audacious, imperturbable and to date unconquerable.

Zhukov’s most dramatic performances heretofore have been in his recurrent role as Russia’s Horatius-at-The-Bridge<sup>2</sup>. Muscovites call him “Spasitel,” or savior. When German armies almost encircled Moscow in the bitter fall of 1941, Stalin sent him from his warm berth as chief of staff into the cold woods outside the capital. In a few weeks he not only lifted the siege of Moscow but threw the Germans into retreat under the impact of a great winter offensive. The next winter Zhukov was sent south to save Stalingrad. In the process he destroyed the Sixth German Army in a bloody battle which turned the whole tide of the war. Next he broke the blockade of Leningrad. And last year, again trouble-shooting in the field, he led forces which expelled the Germans from the Ukraine and the southern U. S. S. R.

At the moment Zhukov is enjoying the pleasure, seldom experienced by staff officers, of translating his own strategical concepts into tactical reality.

The climactic offensive which began Jan. 12 is the fruit of his planning last autumn. To invest Berlin, destroy Hitler's armies and end the war, Zhukov gathered his forces for the greatest effort undertaken by the Red Army in four years of conflict. He deployed an estimated 200 divisions—twice the reported total strength of the Anglo-American armies in the West—along a 400-mile front from East Prussia to the Carpathians. Characteristically he aimed the main weight of his attack straight down the Warsaw-Frankfurt highway to Berlin. And characteristically he gave command of that most critical, most difficult sector to himself.

The speed with which his forces have advanced (15 to 20 miles a day) attests not only to the efficiency of the Red Army's fluid supply system, which Zhukov helped evolve in years past, but also to his own tactical skill. As a field soldier, he has repeatedly outguessed and outmaneuvered the Germans' shrewdest commanders. Two winters ago, for example, he took Rzhev by ordering his engineers to throw an "invisible bridge across a river. It was built entirely by night, with its roadway submerged just 18 inches below the surface of the water. On Rzhev's D-day the Nazi garrison saw Zhukov's tanks miraculously breasting the stream like a fleet of old side-wheelers. Last month he again outfoxed the enemy by taking Warsaw from the rear. In the current fighting the Red Army has attacked from unexpected directions all up and down the front. Retreating Germans have found Russians already dug in behind them. By-passing strong points and leaving them for rear echelons to mop up, Zhukov has hurled his armored spearheads and motorized

infantry across more than 300 miles of swampland and woodland in the first 18 days of his campaign—the fastest advance of the war, far exceeding the record of the Germans against the Russians in 1941. Russians term their infantry not "queen of battles" but "queen of fields." Last week Soviet war correspondents were referring to Zhukov's infantry as "queen of forests and rivers." His rapid progress led facetious Londoners to remark that Zhukov was racing to liberate the British Channel islands.

### HE IS A GOOD BOLSHEVIK

The day Zhukov steps across the ultimate German trench to greet his allies in the West will not mark the first occasion on which he has found himself entrusted with diplomatic responsibilities. The Kremlin's esteem for him accrues not only from his martial abilities but from his reputation as a good Bolshevik, too. When he is in Moscow Stalin freely discusses political as well as military problems with him. He was Stalin's representative in Madrid during the Spanish War. He commanded the Red Army's far eastern units in Mongolia in the ticklish summer of 1939<sup>3</sup>. And during the uneasy days of the Russo-German pact it was Zhukov who more than any other commander warned against Nazi duplicity.

In appearance and manner Zhukov is a military man from his apperceptive eyes to his polished boots. When he gives orders or discusses strategy he speaks directly, sharply and precisely in a calm, low voice. He dislikes vacillation. His strong face is so expressive of willfulness that few men readily dispute his views. In upholding his judgments he can be extremely stubborn, but on occasions

when he is outvoted by other members of the supreme command he executes their plans as solicitously as he would his own.

Soviet newspapermen first glimpsed Zhukov's superlative self-assurance when the Red Army underwent its test by fire in the Mongolian steppes. A group of war correspondents were sitting around an iron stove in a blockhouse on the Manchurian frontier one day when Zhukov strode into their midst. He had just come from his early morning banya and his cheeks were pink. As he dressed he chatted cheerfully with his interviewers. Suddenly two Red Army scouts rushed into the room and reported that the Japanese were massing large units in preparation for a counterattack. The correspondents braced themselves, expecting a galvanized commander and a cascade of excited orders. But Zhukov, unperturbed, went on dressing and calmly informed his scouts that a counterattack was impossible since the Japs were in no position to deliver an offensive blow. His words changed the atmosphere instantaneously. A few days later the forces under his command wiped out the Japanese Sixth Army at Khalkin-Gol.

Although he is twice a Hero of the Soviet Union, victor over Japs and Germans and unquestionably the No. 1 professional soldier of the U. S. S. R., Zhukov's face and broad, balding brow are unfamiliar to the average Russian citizen. The Soviet press places little emphasis on the work of individual commanders except when they receive an official citation. Americans know a good deal about the public and even private lives of their leading generals, but the Russian public is completely ignorant of the fact

that Zhukov's home is the top floor of a two-story house in Arbat Square, one of Moscow's better residential areas some five minutes' walk from the Kremlin, or that he has a pretty, dark-haired wife who is taller than he, a 13-year-old daughter and two sons, 12 and 9. The older boy, who is called "Zhuk" by his classmates, resembles his father. (He dislikes his nickname, for in Russian zhuk means "beetle." The suffix or is an elision of "ovich" which signifies "the son of," hence the name Zhukov can be interpreted as "son of a beetle.") The Zhukov apartment, which is small but comfortable, is a monument to the Marshal's military career. In the living room Mrs. Zhukov displays swords, helmets, remnants of enemy tunics and other trophies he has accumulated in 30 years of soldiering. The bookshelves are filled with volumes by Clausewitz and other military analysts. Zhukov is considered an authority on the campaigns of Hannibal<sup>4</sup>. The books are in several languages, for Zhukov speaks some Spanish and German and is very fluent in French; before the war he subscribed to most of the leading French periodicals. When not studying or practicing military science, he liked to climb into rough worsteds and motor to the lake country north of Moscow for fishing. On quiet evenings at home or in camp he would entertain his friends by playing the piano or the accordion. His favorite composers are Tschaikovsky, Glinka and Moussorgsky, but most of his accordion selections are old folk songs he learned in his youth.

Zhukov's whereabouts are always a complete military secret and in the Soviet Union no exceptions are made for rank, so Mrs. Zhukov rarely hears

from her husband. She follows the Red Army's campaigns closely on a big, colored wall map and knows pretty well that whenever something pretty big is brewing, her Georgiy will be nearby. Like most army wives Mrs. Zhukov devotes her spare time to a war-relief committee. As wife of a leading Soviet citizen she receives certain privileges. She can buy clothing at a discount on a special floor of a department store reserved for the families of top military personnel. At a "gastronom"<sup>5</sup> similar to ones maintained for foreign diplomats, she may draw a good ration of caviar, wines, vodka, Soviet champagne and chocolate candies for her children. When Zhukov is home an army car and chauffeur are at the family's disposal, but usually they prefer to pay their 40 kopeks<sup>6</sup> and ride the subway like other Muscovites.

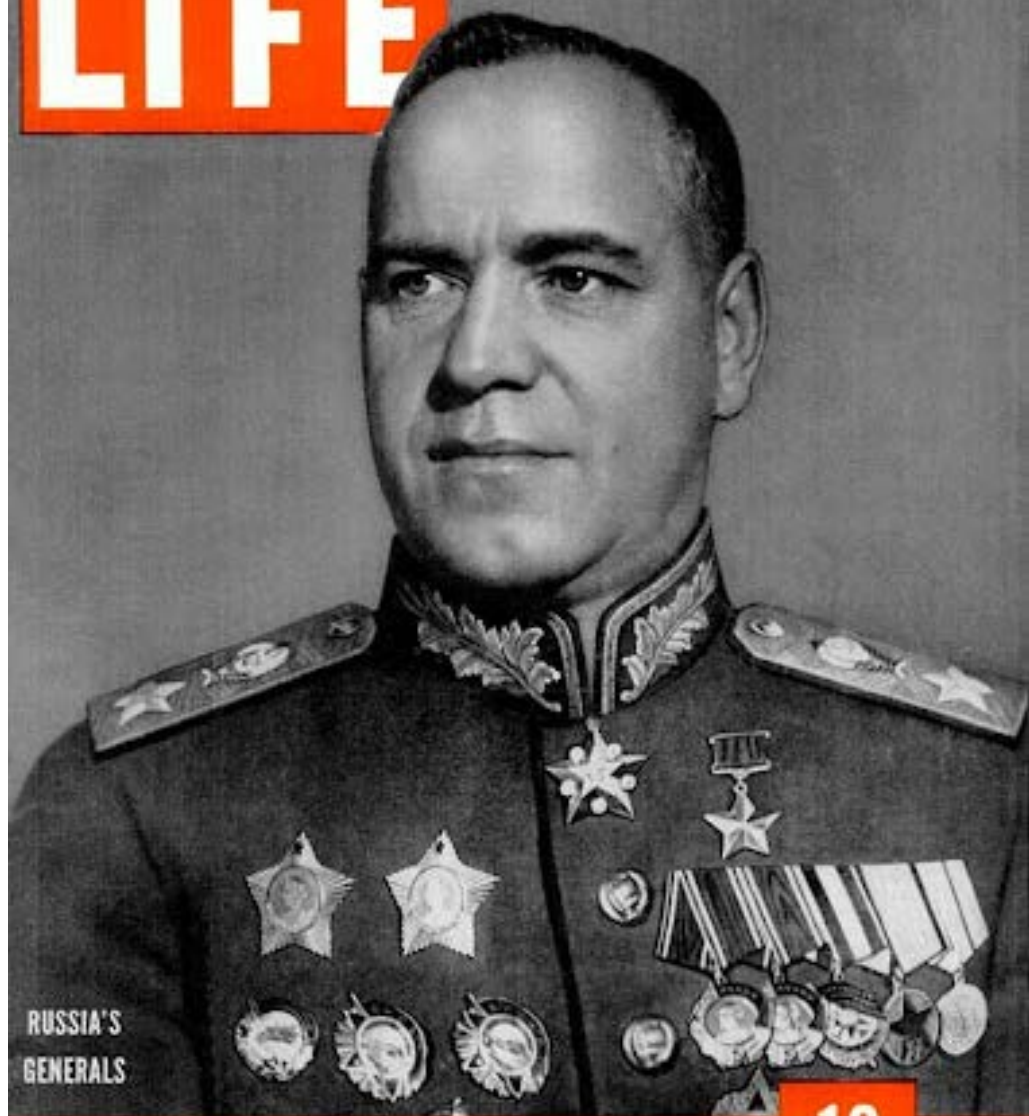
On his visits to Moscow Zhukov enjoys going to military and diplomatic parties where he holds forth as an intelligent if somewhat didactic conversationalist. At the front he leads a Spartan regime. When he was stationed in the Ukraine he habitually galloped his favorite black Caucasian charger before breakfast and worked a 12-hour day without lunch. Sometimes for additional exercise he would fence with his aides, usually wearing out several of them before he had had enough. Since he subjects himself to such rigors he does not shrink from demanding as much from his men.

Son of simple peasant folk, Zhukov was born in Strelkovka, a small village in central Russia, in 1895. He left school at an early age and became apprentice to a furrier. At the outbreak of World War I he was drafted into the army and saw two years of active service as a private. Then

he was sent home because of ill health. By the time he had recovered, Russia was out of the war and Lenin was in power. Army life had appealed to Zhukov, so he abandoned the fur trade and joined the Red Army cavalry. He also joined the Communist Party. During the civil war Zhukov fought on many fronts, was wounded, decorated and promoted to the rank of an officer. His ability attracted the notice of Red Army commanders and when the war was over he was picked to attend Frunze Academy-the Soviet's combination of West Point and General Staff School-to study military science and tactics. Upon his graduation he elected to re-enter the cavalry, incubator of many Russian generals. In the years that followed Zhukov obscurely but effectively prepared himself for his later responsibilities. He had few intimate friends and spent his off-duty hours studying Marxist literature, writing tactical disquisitions and learning foreign languages. For a while he lectured at Frunze Academy. During the pre-Hitler period he visited briefly in Germany, attending lectures given for Russian and Chinese officers by the German General Staff. In 1936 Stalin and Voroshilov dispatched him to Spain as the Soviet Union's chief military observer. There Zhukov had his first opportunity to test Red Army theories of tank warfare under actual combat conditions, for he brought along a shipment of Russian tanks to help counter the aid given Franco by Germany and Italy.



# LIFE



RUSSIA'S  
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## **HIS FIRST BATTLE WAS IN OUTER MONGOLIA**

When the Japanese attacked the Mongolian Republic in May 1939 the Soviet Union implemented its mutual-aid pact with the Mongols and rushed several tank divisions under Zhukov's command to their assistance. In battles that followed, Zhukov exhibited the daring and guile that established him in Stalin's eyes as a military genius, wiping out the Japanese Sixth Army with the unexcitable efficiency noted before. In the 22 months between this campaign and Hitler's invasion of Russia Zhukov shot upward through Red Army ranks, emerging as a political as well as a military personage. He helped with staff work under Timoshenko during the not very brilliant Finnish campaign and upon its conclusion was appointed Commander of the Kiev Military District with the rank of general of the army, next highest to marshal.

During his stay in Kiev Zhukov drew up plans for Red Army reform based on experience gained in the Japanese and Finnish campaigns. In a remarkable speech delivered before a Party conference of the Kiev Military District, Zhukov outspokenly attacked the Red Army's "political commissars" and charged the army's high command with failure properly to train young officers rising from the ranks. He closed his audacious speech with an oblique warning against the Nazis, the Russo-German peace pact notwithstanding. The Western horizon looked glowering in the winter of 1940-41 and Stalin brought Zhukov to Moscow as chief of staff to hasten reorganization and expansion of the Red Army. He weeded out incompetent officers, inveighed against bureaucracy and did his best to

canalize the functions of the political commissars so they could not interfere with the purely military command. He criticized the Finnish campaign and blamed its shortcomings upon adherence to obsolete techniques. The new army Zhukov hammered into shape was a far cry from the rapt dream of a Communist fighting force of happy comrades who held meetings and voted on every military decision. Racing against time and Hitler, Zhukov welded the Red Army into an orderly hierarchical organization, whose respect for discipline has been intensified in the last four years of war to a degree unknown in Czarist days. Officers and men cannot appear in public places in unpressed uniforms. Their boots must be polished, their faces shaven, their hair combed. Even on the coldest days no Red Army man can walk down Moscow's Gorky Street with the collar of his greatcoat turned up. No Red Army man can be seen hanging on the outside step of an overcrowded streetcar or bus. No officer or enlisted man is ever seen seated in a car or subway while a man of higher rank stands. These outward signs of discipline are symptomatic of intrinsic character changes within the Army.

## **HE IS STERN BUT KINDLY**

Stern disciplinarian though he is, Zhukov nevertheless respects a Russian military tradition, antedating the Red Army, of solicitude for the individual soldier. Instances of his personal relationship with the men under his command are few but illuminating. Some years before the war, when Zhukov was stationed in White Russia, he gave permission to a cavalry regiment to arrange a party for a junior officer who

was getting married. On the morning of the wedding day Zhukov learned that Marshal Budenny was arriving for an inspection tour. Zhukov ordered the prospective bridegroom to the station to head a welcoming guard of honor. Foreseeing an all-day job, the young man groaned but marched off like a good soldier. At the moment Budenny's train drew in, Zhukov appeared at the station and whispered in the junior officer's ear, "Sorry to be late, I just stopped by your wedding party and everyone was having a marvelous time." With a dig in the ribs he dismissed the impatient bridegroom and told him to have fun. Zhukov then strode forward in his place to welcome the visiting marshal.

In February 1941 Zhukov was elected alternate member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and appointed Vice-Commissar of Defense. Four months later the Nazis started the attack Zhukov had repeatedly prophesied. Week by week the huge German forces drew closer to Moscow, battering down Voroshilov's defenses in the north, Budenny's in the south, and Timoshenko's on the central front. By October the Nazi steam roller had battered its way to within so miles of the Kremlin. On the 21st of that month Stalin decreed a state of siege in Moscow. Transferring Timoshenko to the southwest, he relieved Zhukov of his desk duties as chief of staff and entrusted him with the defense of the capital. Zhukov issued an impassioned hold-or-die order: "Not a step back!" he commanded. "Halt the Fascists! Every man must fight like ten! Cowards and panic mongers must be destroyed ruthlessly as traitors to the fatherland." He ordered his tired armies, now reinforced with divisions of

poorly equipped, hastily trained Moscow volunteers, to cease avoiding Nazi tanks but "to hunt and destroy them."

The Russian retreat slowed and Zhukov won time to concentrate powerful reserves that had been brought from the east and stationed in woods north, south and west of the city. Hitler had proclaimed that his troops would parade in Red Square on Nov.7, the Soviet Union's Fourth of July. But on Nov.7 the marchers in Red Square were Red Army reserves on their way to join Zhukov's defenders. In the days that followed Zhukov deliberately sucked the Wehrmacht into his trap. On Nov.27 he sprang it, following up with an offensive which split the Nazi spearhead and sent so German divisions streaming westward in defeat. In a rare press interview on Jan. 25, 1942, Zhukov outlined a few reasons for the German shambles at Moscow. "They were used to easy victories," he said. "For them, war was merely maneuvers. They have neither cavalry nor skiers, their tanks cannot pass over the snow." As he talked he sparkled with sarcasm and occasional wit he was relaxing for the first time in months. "The stubborn resistance the Germans offer in towns and villages has a simple explanation. They are afraid to give up warm houses for frozen fields. Early in December it was clear that their offensive had petered out. We retreated, preserving our matériel. The day came and we launched a counterassault."

### **"HIGHLY TALENTED AND BRAVE LEADER"**

The year 1941 was one of cumulative successes for Zhukov and the Red Army. With the Germans stabilized on the central front, Zhukov was suddenly transferred to

Stalingrad, then menaced by the armies of von Paulus and von Manstein. Once again he replaced Timoshenko. Presiding as supreme theater commander (as Eisenhower presides in the West), Zhukov was assisted at Stalingrad by some of the Red Army's most brilliant tacticians, among them Chief Marshal of Artillery Nikolai Voronov and Marshals Rokossovsky and Malinovsky who are now flanking his thrusts toward Berlin. All of them owe something to their experience in the epic battle of the Stalingrad front. It went on for 21 weeks and exceeded in violence and bitterness any previous battle of the war. Under Zhukov's direction what had seemed to be a Russian disaster was dramatically turned into one of the greatest Russian victories of the war—a victory that probably will go down among the decisive ones in world history. By the end of the year the threat to Stalingrad had been dissipated and von Paulus' Sixth Army lay surrounded in a solid steel ring. At this point von Manstein, advancing with reinforcements from the southwest, attempted to drive a wedge into Zhukov's ring and join up with von Paulus' encircled divisions. Before the relieving force could swing into action Zhukov sent fresh troops under Malinovsky to intercept it. His maneuver was perfectly timed. Von Manstein's armored units were smashed and his infantry limped back to Rostov.

In the wake of this great victory the Russians sent an ultimatum to von Paulus. To the surprise of military observers the name signed to the document was not Zhukov's. Stalin, realizing that the Germans were knocked out in the south, had decided it was time to hit them elsewhere and he had accordingly hustled Zhukov by airplane to the Leningrad front.

While the country was still reverberating with cheers over his Caucasian triumph, Zhukov organized a new offensive at Leningrad which lifted the blockade of that long-beleaguered city. A few weeks later he was named Marshal of the Soviet Union, the first field commander of the war to be so recognized. In an *Izvestia* editorial entitled "Skill of Red Army Leaders," Zhukov was officially acclaimed for the first time as the "highly talented and brave leader" who had smashed the Germans at Moscow, Stalingrad and Leningrad. *Izvestia's* editorial was the most notable official tribute that had been accorded to any Russian other than Stalin since the beginning of the war. Only once again that year did Zhukov's name appear in the Soviet press and that was on July 28 when he was awarded the Order of Suvorov for coordinating successful campaigns along the entire Eastern Front. With Stalin and Voroshilov he had helped plan the 1943 summer offensives which swept the Germans out of Kursk, Orel, Belgorod, Kharkov, Smolensk and sent them back across the Dniepr. When the triumphant Red Army marched into twice-liberated Kharkov a great victory celebration was held in Dzershinsky Square. Appropriately, it was Zhukov who sat on the platform as a representative of the Supreme Command.

### **HE COMMANDED SOUTHERN FRONT IN 1944**

Early last year, when General Nikolai Vatutin of the First Ukrainian Army was killed at the height of operations in the Ukraine, Zhukov further adorned his reputation as the Red Army's best pinch hitter. He was already in the theater of operations, having been assigned to

coordinate the strategy of the First and Second Ukrainian Armies. Rather than entrust Vatutin's important sector to a less experienced commander, Stalin allowed Zhukov to remain in active command of the First Army. It was as though President Roosevelt had suddenly ordered General Eisenhower to take over command of the U. S. Third Army from Lieut. General Patton<sup>7</sup> or the Fifth Army from Lieut. General Clark<sup>8</sup>. In Moscow military observers raised their eyebrows and said, "Zhukov is taking a great chance. What a triumph for Manstein if he could stop Russia's greatest professional soldier! What a blow to Russian morale!" Everything was against Zhukov's success. One of the earliest spring thaws in memory set in. His troops sank to their knees in greasy mud. But time was all-important. On March 4 Zhukov gave the command and his artillery opened up. For 40 minutes the Ukrainian bogs quaked. Then the tanks slipped forward through the mud on a 150-mile front. However, inspired by Zhukov's presence, the First Ukrainian Army outdid itself. After two days of bitter fighting 12 German divisions were smashed. Pursuing his advantage, Zhukov drove the enemy to the frontier of the Soviet Union and across it onto Polish soil. For his achievement the Supreme Soviet awarded Zhukov the Order of Victory, a magnificent bauble of diamonds, rubies and platinum worth over \$100,000.

The Marshal's responsibilities continually increased last summer and fall. As the pressure of international affairs and postwar plans absorbed more of Stalin's energies the burden of military strategy fell ever more heavily on Zhukov's ox-like shoulders. With Air Marshal Novikov

and Artillery Chief Voronov he evolved plans for the Red Army's ultimate drive on Berlin. He held interstaff discussions with British and American envoys on the timing of coordinated offensive thrusts. Leaving problems of morale and politics to other members of the Supreme Command, Zhukov concerned himself with operational plans for annihilating the German armies and ending the war. On Jan. 11 of this year he rose once more from his desk and went forth into the field for his greatest battle.

### HE GETS UP CLOSE

It is Zhukov's philosophy that offensive strategy must be fluid and flexible and cannot be definitely envisaged at a table in the Kremlin. Hence while he studies and evaluates field reports carefully, he habitually insists on taking great personal risks in order to observe his troops in action and to compare backroom strategy with great frontline tactics. Ever since the battle of Moscow Zhukov has journeyed up and down the Red Army's offensive line from the Baltic to the Carpathians and to the Black Sea. He has traveled by plane and train and often by American command car. Despite his eminence as a desk general, he is primarily a man of action who craves the smell of battle smoke. Zhukov has defined war as "a science, a series of mathematical problems to be solved through proper integration and coordination of men and weapons in time and space." But he has also said, time and again, that it is the common denominator that counts in war: the simple soldier who shoots the bullet and stops the bullet. At Stalin's suggestion he sent a pamphlet to Rokossovsky, Malinovsky, Chernayakhovsky, Konev and

other commanders now fighting north and south of him on the blazing highroad to Berlin. To them he commended these words of Suvorov: "Regardless of what happens to me, the soldier is dearer than myself.... I neither sleep nor rest so that my army may have sleep and rest." Lord Beaverbrook once said that communism had produced the best generals of the war. Georgi Zhukov is a Communist. He does not believe in God. But he does believe in history, in progress, in decency. For these things, for his home, his wife, his children and for Russia, he has fought an unbeatable kind of war. Like most of the 15,000,000 front-line soldiers that he commands, Zhukov was the son of a humble peasant. "In the time of civilization's crisis," a Russian soldier said not long ago, "Zhukov rose up like David, to smite the German Goliath.

## (Endnotes)

### 1 **Lauterbach Richard**

(1914-1950)-American journalist. After graduating from college in 1935, he worked for the weekly Time. In 1941-1942 he was a correspondent of this publication in the Middle East. In 1943-1944 he wrote for Time and Life magazines from Moscow. His 1945 book, 'Such Are These Russians', went through eight editions. 'It is the best, most complete and fascinating book showing what Russians are like among the books on Russia that I have had occasion to read lately,' was John Hersey's review of it. In 1946, R. Lauterbach visited the USSR again, travelling from Vladivostok to Moscow and in his book 'On Russia from East to West' (1947), he repeatedly spoke in favor of deepening mutual understanding between the USSR and the USA

2 The story of Horatius is described in Plutarch's "Life of Publicola." In the early 6th century BCE, Lars Porsena was the most powerful king in Etruscan Italy, who Tarquinius Superbus asked to help him take back Rome. Porsena sent a message to Rome saying they should receive Tarquin as their king, and when

the Romans refused, he declared war on them. Publicola was the consul of Rome, and he and Lucretius defended Rome until they fell in battle.

3 The **Battles of Khalkhin Gol** were the decisive engagements of the undeclared Soviet-Japanese border conflicts involving the Soviet Union, Mongolia, Japan and Manchukuo in 1939. The conflict was named after the river Khalkhin Gol, which passes through the battlefield. In Japan, the decisive battle of the conflict is known as the **Nomonhan Incident** after Nomonhan, a nearby village on the border between Mongolia and Manchuria. The battles resulted in the defeat of the Japanese Sixth Army.

4 **Hannibal** (247 – between 183 and 181 BC) was a Carthaginian general and statesman who commanded the forces of Carthage in their battle against the Roman Republic during the Second Punic War.

5 Soviet Supermarket

6 Russian and Soviet coin 1:100 of Rouble

7 **George Patton** ( 1885-1945) was a U.S. Army officer who was an outstanding practitioner of mobile tank warfare in the European and Mediterranean theaters during World War II. His strict discipline, toughness, and self-sacrifice elicited exceptional pride within his ranks, and the general was colorfully referred to as "Old Blood-and-Guts" by his men. However, his brash actions and mercurial temper led to numerous controversies during his career.

8 **Mark Clark** (1896-1984) was a U.S. Army officer during World War II, who commanded Allied forces (1943-44) during the successful Italian campaign against the Axis powers. A graduate (1917) of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, N.Y., Clark served overseas in World War I. Early in 1942 he became chief of staff of army ground forces. Later that year, as deputy commander in chief to General Dwight D. Eisenhower, he executed delicate and demanding assignments in connection with the Allied invasion of North Africa, including a dramatic submarine trip to Algeria for a secret meeting with French officers.

## Chapter XXI

### Epilogue: The War is Over.

Time Magazine, May. 14, 1945

#### The Big Three's Victory In Europe

If Japan had never existed, the events of last week in Europe would have marked the end of the greatest war in human history. The fact that this war was only part of a still greater war could not diminish its epic size, its overwhelming agony, or its pervasive consequences.

This war was not only the greatest but probably the ugliest in human history. The war in the Pacific is, in some respects, more savage. But the war which swept over almost the whole of Europe, much of Africa and some of the Near East, over the Black Sea, the Mediterranean, the Arctic Ocean and the Atlantic, was fought by the peoples who cradled 20th-Century civilization. It was fought with a brutality which exceeded that of primitive times.

*Revolution Put Down.* This war was a revolution against the moral basis of civilization. It was conceived by the Nazis in conscious contempt for the life, dignity and freedom of individual man and deliberately prosecuted by means of slavery, starvation and the mass destruction of noncombatants' lives. It was a revolution against the human soul.

Not Churchill, nor Stalin, nor Roosevelt, nor any other Allied leader ever really articulated the nature of this war. It was more nearly named by Nazis in such outpourings as *Mein Kampf*. But the Allied peoples showed that they sensed it by the way they fought—not with great hate but implacably, as men fighting for the existence of their civilization.

And last week the Nazi revolution was put down. It ended, appropriately, with the Nazis fighting from the sewers of Berlin.

No battle ever ended more decisively. It was fought to the finish. The power of those who began it was utterly destroyed. Their armies were annihilated. Every inch of their land was occupied. Their cities, great & small, were largely reduced to rubble. As a people, those who survived were completely beaten and very nearly destitute.

The civilized world, in spite of its unpreparedness, mental, moral and physical, in spite of its lack of understanding and its self-deceptions, its false pride and petty contentions, had finally risen and destroyed its attackers. The price was the destruction of the greater part of Europe's material heritage, the cutting short of several million lives, the maiming of many millions more.

The Big Three, who chiefly accomplished the great task, were the soldiers and peoples of Britain, Russia and the U.S. Each of the three deserves its own particular credit.

It will be to the eternal credit of the British that for a whole year, from the fall of France to the invasion of Russia, they bore the burden of the struggle alone. After Dunkirk, with only one division of troops equipped to put up organized resistance to invasion of the British Isles, they fought on. They continued to fight on, bloody but unbowed, throughout the blitz. Hitler called them “military idiots.”

To the eternal credit of the Russians, they willingly paid more heavily in blood than any other nation. From a people who after centuries of oppression have still to taste the real benefits of that civilization or even understand it in the same light as the western world, this was a great contribution.

Americans also paid heavily in blood and sacrifice, but not on a scale comparable to the other two. Unlike the other peoples, Americans were not invaded or directly threatened by the Nazis, but—slowly, haltingly, after argument and contention—they overcame their old belief in isolation and acknowledged that the Nazi attack on civilization was as much their war as the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Having made this decision, difficult for them, Americans not only made their contribution in blood and military skill to the defeat of Naziism, they also provided the greatest part of the machinery which overmatched slavery as a tool of war.

*Coalition Set Up.* The effective coalition of these peoples brought modern civilization through—battered and partly destroyed, but in triumph. And last week, even while its enemies succumbed in Europe, in San Francisco a parliament of the victors was groping toward a stronger and better civilized world. How

crude were their efforts, how uncertain their vision was all too evident. Yet men everywhere were so painfully aware of the imperfections of the civilization which had triumphed that perhaps they underrated the triumph’s decisiveness.

After the fall of Napoleon, France and Austria were considered two of the greatest powers of the world, but the War of 1870 revealed that Germany, a greater power than either, had arrived upon the scene. And World War II revealed that the U.S. and modern Russia were both greater powers than Germany. The victorious coalition of these two with Britain promises to dominate the world until the next great war—or until mankind can find a better argument than war.

But even if the hopes vested in San Francisco are not fulfilled, World War II should not have been in vain. The Nazi attempt to derail the train of history caused a near-wreck but brought doom upon its perpetrators. After such an overwhelming defeat, the enemies of civilization should not find it so easy to emerge from the sewers. And the victors, having mustered the forces of civilization, will have a stake in preserving them.

The 68 months’ struggle is now over. One job is done, one battle won. Civilization is now free to pour its full strength into the other battle, the war against Japan.

The Evening Star, May 9, 1945

## **Fraternity of Arms**

**By Maj. George Fielding Eliot**

SAN FRANCISCO, May 9 — The German surrender brings about a condition of affairs in Europe which for the first time gives American and British forces the

opportunity for close contact with their Russian allies. On a very long front, from the Baltic to the Adriatic, the armies of the western powers will stand alongside the armies of Russia. The official Russian tendency may be somewhat standoffish; that this may be true is suggested by front dispatches saying that all trame between the two zones shall be forbidden. But if anyone thinks that this official state of mind will long prevail in practice, he does not know very much about soldiers. It may be freely and confidently predicted that within a week or two we shall have an Anglo-American-Russian fraternity of arms on the broadest sort of scale — a fraternity not of statesmen and commanders in chief, but of GI Joes and Ivans. Hitherto, contacts between the forces of the western powers and those of Russia have been limited indeed. In North Persia the service troops of the Persian Gulf Command have been working with the Russians; there has been some contact on the Arctic coast between British and American naval personnel and Russian forces; and some of our airmen have landed at Russian bases, or even operated from them for a short time. Now we have literally millions of Russian soldiers and millions of British and American soldiers right alongside each other all across the center of Europe. The results of this intimate contact cannot help being good. The reason for this is the fact that almost all our difficulties with the Russians arise from misunderstanding rather than from malice. The Russians do not know very much about our ways of doing things. They have had very little direct contact with our institutions. They are quite unable to weigh their acts in the light of the effect of those, acts on American and British

public opinion. There is an official Russian tendency to “protect” their nationals from direct and intimate contacts with non-Russians, especially those of the western world. This arises from suspicions born of the long period when Russia was a diplomatic outcast and when there was a tendency in the west to regard the coming Red revolution, centering in Moscow, as the great enemy of the future. But it has been almost the universal experience that when direct contacts have been established, increasingly friendly relations are the result, even after difficult beginning. It has been so in North Persia, it has been so on the Arctic coast, it has been so with our airmen who have used Russian bases. It is no, also, here in San Francisco, where it is obvious to all observers that Mr. Molotov and his associates are easier to work with today than they were when they arrived in San Francisco only a little over two weeks ago. That is why it is possible to express conviction that direct contacts on so broad a scale as now seems certain to be the case in Europe cannot fall to have a beneficial effect on the relations between Russia and her western allies. Very likely the Russian high command may issue orders of a “protective” nature; but such orders will not prevent GI Ivan, on patrol, outpost or traffic control duty, from making friends with his opposite numbers among this GI Joes. Soldiers are not like that in any army. They are gregarious, friendly, curious creatures just like the rest of us. All of which will inevitably be of the greatest help to the official relationship between the western allies and the Russians in the Central Control Commission at Berlin, in the various combined proceedings along



the front, and eventually in the highest council chambers where representatives of the powers meet to decide the future of the world and to plan in common the security of mankind from the scourge of renewed war. It is on the lie and the distortion of fact that our enemies twisted the souls of their people until they made of them the monsters of cruelty and hatred which they have become. It is on the truth, upon better knowledge of each other based on living and working and playing together that we must build our new structure of mutual confidence and mutual understanding which means so much to us all, whether we make our homes on the banks of the Mississippi, the Thames or the Volga.

Newsweek, May 21, 1945  
**Allies Test Strength of War  
 Unity in Ruling Conquered  
 Germans**  
**For the Occupation Forces Reich  
 Presents Many Problems in the  
 Transition Period**

The second battle of Europe began last week as the bugles blew the ceasefire order on the fighting fronts of the war-racked continent. The second battle may be harder than the first for it will be the struggle to continue in Europe the cooperation between the United States, Britain, and Russia that was forged under the compelling urgency of German aggression. And the threats to Allied unity are now coming thick and fast.

In Austria, the Russian-appointed government declared the nation's independence despite the fact that Britain and the United States have deliberately

withheld recognition from it. The zones of occupation of the three great powers in Austria are apparently in dispute as are the plans for joint occupation of Vienna. The State Department in Washington officially announced opposition to the acquisition of the Italian port of Trieste by the Communist Yugoslav regime of Marshal Tito.

But the greatest threat to Allied cooperation lay in the occupation and administration of the Reich itself. The exact lines defining the zones of occupation of the victorious powers have not yet been agreed upon. Nonetheless, the United States revealed the blueprint for administering its part of the Reich.

The administrator of the American zone is Lt. Gen. Lucius Clay, a 48-year old West Pointer who tightened screws on civilians of the United States as deputy director for war programs of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion. "He has been described as a tough minded soldier with thorough understanding and experience in the balance between military necessity and civilian requirements," Secretary Stimson said. "He was hand-picked by President Roosevelt for the direction of the occupation of Germany." Clay will also serve as General of the Army Eisenhower's deputy on the Allied Control Council, the overall governing body of the Reich.

"The American control machinery, corresponding to the Nazi central government ministries, is designed to keep a close grip on all phases of German life and economy. It is separated into twelve divisions — such as military, finance, transport, political — whose heads form the American group of the Allied Control Council.

**De-Nazifying Germany.** At the same time each division is charged with the task of purging Nazis from all public and important industries. In addition, an overall Intelligence Section, working directly under Clay, will general supervision of a Denazification program and also maintain general surveillance stamping out underground activities. Until the organization goes into action, however, the Germans are living under strict military government of the American occupation forces. Already they have received some indication of the severity with which will be dealt. The basic German food ration has been cut one-quarter and the schools closed until textbooks are rewritten by Allied professors. Foreign businesses have been denied entry into Germany and foreign loans for reconstruction have been banned (the Germans had been looking to the United States for financial aid). A series of Allied decrees dissolved the Nazi party, the Propaganda Ministry, the Hitler Youth, and the “pure blood” laws, instituted a curfew; restricted the jurisdiction of the Reich’s courts, and forbade Germans to cross the Reich’s boundaries.

By orders of Allied Headquarters all foreign newspapers and magazines will be barred from Germany. For an indefinite time the Germans in the American zone will be spoon-fed their news through about seven newspapers and magazines which will be controlled by 1,000 officials, 750 of whom will be military men and the rest members of the Office of War Information.

To Judgment: As the impact of defeat hit Germany, the Allies carried out the greatest search in history for war criminals. Although the present Allied list

has never been made public, it includes such obvious criminals as Hitler, Goring, Goebbels, and Himmler. According to an Associated Press dispatch from London, it contains the names of between 4,000,000 and 6,000,000 other Germans. Russia, which is not a member of the United Nations War Crimes Commission, has compiled a separate list and will conduct its own trials.

The policy for trying the criminals was outlined in the Moscow Declaration on German Atrocities, signed by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Marshal Stalin and issued on Nov. 1, 1943. This provided that the fate of major criminals, whose offenses have no particular geographical localization,” would be decided by the three governments. Individuals who committed crimes in a nation would be sent there for trial; those who committed them in more than one received classification as “major criminals.

**Surrender in Russian.** The escorting Russian Stormovik planes slowly dropped toward the ground. Inside the five transports the passengers peered out with tense faces. The noon sun streamed through a break in the clouds and shone with ghastly brilliance on a wasteland of wreckage, stretching silent and deserted for miles. That was what had been Berlin.

The aerial convoy slanted down on the bomb pocked runways of once-busy Tempelhoff airdrome. From one plane stepped haughty Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel, chief of Das Oberkommando der Wehrmacht—the German High Command, Col. Gen. Hans Jiirgen Stumpff, acting Luftwaffe head, and Gen. Admiral Hans Georg von Friedeburg, commander of the German Navy. From the other planes

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THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE



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VOLUME XLV

REG. U.S. PAT. OFF.

NUMBER 20

# LIFE



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FEBRUARY 12, 1945

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One of Russia's most potent resources, the muscled maidens of the land. Some are fighting, millions are farming, all are working without reservation for the homeland.



A good place to collect plant-breeding knowledge is on a collective farm. P. Yashin holds a handful of promise for the future in the shape of experimental stalks of wheat.

# THESE ARE THE PEOPLE OF RUSSIA

By EDGAR SNOW

MOSCOW. By Wireless.

**F**IRST there was a farming village known as Spark in the old days. When it merged with the adjoining village and its lands to form a kollekt, or collective farm, the peasants voted to call it The Flame. That was in 1930.

"Lenin said," the village chairman explained with pride and delight at the opportunity, "that in the political struggle, from the spark comes the flame. Our farm was one of the first collectives, and we thought two sparks would make an excellent flame."

But the third spark? Ah, she was Anastasia, young and fair and red-cheeked, who drank her vodka like a man.

Flying up from Kulyshyev to Moscow, I had seen hundreds of collective farms spread out around the top-towns villages. Each had its main street joining little peak-roofed cottages, silos and barns, which usually converged on a village green where a Russian church raised blue or gold onionlike domes, sometimes surmounted by a red flag instead of a cross. Rumor had said that the labor shortage would interfere with the year's harvest of bumper crops. But I saw no field that was not swept clean of grain.

Since then, while waiting to go to the front, I had wanted an opportunity to visit a kollekt and check that first impression from the air—that these farms apparently are operating normally despite the widespread absence of the male species. I had wanted also to see a collective that was or had been near enough to the front to know the feeling of war.

Who looked after the cattle, the horses, the tractor? If it was the women, then who did the housework and fed the children? How was the collective economy meeting the emergency? How much had production declined? The answers were important,

because if the system failed now, the Red army obviously would perish. For in 1933 more than 18,000,000 peasant families lived on collective farms, and before the war 99 per cent of all Soviet products from the land came from collectives and state farms.

The Flame was one place to get the answers. It lay south of Moscow, near Ryazan and east of Tula. Beyond the industrial suburbs we followed one of those fine paved roads down which the Germans crept to the gates of the capital, but no farther, and down which they were forced to make an inglorious retreat.

Earthworks and tank barriers were in evidence, and occasionally we passed places where bombs and shells had struck. Our car, a big Soviet limousine, stopped at several points and we presented our pass. The last and most impressive soldier of the lot, a handsome figure bundled to the ears in khaki, saluted my American correspondent's uniform. We had gone on a good way before Lydia asked if I had noticed that this sentry was a young girl.

I had not. In the same way, one looks at traffic cops in Moscow several times before realizing they are women. I suppose because somehow Russians are the only women in the world who manage to wear uniforms with an appearance of perfect naturalness. You see them everywhere now; they are tramcar conductors, subway attendants, motormen, truck drivers, mechanics, locomotive engineers and firemen, steamboat captains and sailors, road-repairing members, engineers and miners.

Not long after I arrived I asked permission to visit a factory "where mostly women were employed." The director of the information bureau agreed, but grinned broadly. I wondered why. Remembering the incident a few days later, I had

to grin too. I suppose there are very few factories in Russia at war where most workers are not women.

At last we came to a dirt road leading off to The Flame. The driver looked long and gloomily, shook his head and wanted to turn back. About the only Russian men one sees out of uniform are the physically disqualified or aged, and our driver was one of these. He was an obstinate old fellow of sixty-three, who had lived in the city all his life. At the sight of so much uncovered soil, he felt embarrassed, and longed for the decently covered dirt of Moscow. It had been drizzling for two days and the road was sticky.

"Where do you think the Red army would be now if our drivers quit every time the going was bad?" demanded Lydia. "The road is passable enough if you'll drive carefully. Go ahead."

The girl won, and we slithered on toward the farm. Lydia was my own idea for the trip. By accident I had found her at the Soviet Writers' Union, where she works as a reviewer and critic of English books. It turned out she'd translated one of mine and discovered the U. S. S. R. owed me some royalties—obviously a clever girl. She said she was just a simple Soviet woman with gypsy blood in her, but it was the kind of simplicity the world needs. I stole her for the day, and, it turned out, for the night also. But before you condemn, read on.

We reached The Flame about noon and, getting out of the car, picked our way down the alligator-back road between two rows of peasant cottages. They were ready for winter. Firewood was out and piled in neat stacks. The wood walls of the huts were reinforced with abutments of earth a foot thick, fencod in with laths. Shorly they would be fencod as solid as bricks.





came Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur . Tedder, Allied Deputy Supreme Commander, and Gen. Carl Spaatz, commander of the United States Strategic Air Forces, along with their staffs.

They had all come to Berlin for the signing of a second capitulation by the Germans. The original surrender at Rheims had not been enough for Marshal Stalin. He wanted the Nazi defeat admitted by the highest German commanders in Adolf Hitler's wrecked capital. Although Britain and the United States had refused a Russian request for, a further delay in announcing the Rheims capitulation they sent officers to sign during the Berlin ceremony. German cars took the Allied and German delegations to the headquarters of Marshal Gregory K. Zhukoff, commander of the First White Russian Army and conqueror of Berlin. They were in a former German Army school in the suburbs of the city— no building in the city proper was sufficiently intact.

### **'Leave the Room'**

At midnight exactly Marshal Zhukoff and Marshal Tedder entered the

whitewashed hall. Zhukoff rose, bent his close-cropped head and read the documents of surrender. At 12:10 Keitel, taut and flushed, stamped in, slammed his field marshal's baton on the table, and sat down, glaring straight ahead. Zhukoff motioned him forward. Keitel jammed a monocle into his right eye, bristled over to the head table, and signed, with disgust reflected through the studied insolence of his manner.

While Tedder and Zhukoff signed, Keitel called to the Russian interpreter and demanded an extra 24 hours to inform his troops of minor modifications in the capitulation text. The lines in Zhukoff's heavy face tightened. He ignored the interruption, rose, and announced in Russian: "I now request the German delegation to leave the room." Keitel snapped together his folder, picked up his marshal's baton, hat, and gloves, and strode out. The surrender was over. Outside, the night sky still glowed red from innumerable fires. Only the occasional rumbling of a Red Army truck broke the silence of the dead city.

**Soldiers of the Press, Boyd Lewis**  
program "Victory in the East"

**Audiofile**

