

# Correspondence

## Stalin & the Cold War

To the Editors: In the December issue of *Worldview* Walter C. Clemens, Jr., I think, makes a serious mistake when he writes: "My own conclusion is that he [Stalin] would have preferred a harmonious continuation of the Grand Alliance into the postwar era, and resorted to unilateral measures harmful to the alliance largely in response to what he saw as Western breaches of good faith, especially on reparations."

Clemens, like a number of other non-Communist American writers, is quite prepared to give Stalin the benefit of the doubt, and to heap blame particularly on the United States for the breakdown of the wartime alliance between the Soviet Union and the Western powers. In contradiction to this thesis I would like to cite the testimony of no less a person than Earl Browder, the general secretary of the American Communist party from 1930 to 1945.

This testimony is to be found in an extensive interview with Browder by Steven G. Neal, staff writer of the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, which was published in the *Inquirer* on August 5, 1973. Neal interviewed Browder at the home of Browder's son in Princeton, New Jersey.

Said Browder: "Stalin needed the cold war to take the place of the hot war then coming to a close. He needed it to keep up the sharp international tensions by which he alone could maintain such a regime in Russia. Stalin had to pick a quarrel with the United States, the leading capitalist country. And I was the victim of it." (Stalin expelled Browder from the Communist party because Browder was inextricably linked with the policy of friendship between the United States and the Soviet Union.)

Browder's expulsion from the Communist party, which occurred about the beginning of June, 1945, was the signal that heralded the beginning of the cold war, with Stalin as the engineer. World War II had ended in Europe only a month before that but was still going on in Asia. At the Potsdam Conference, which began in July, 1945, the Ameri-

cans and the British discovered for the first time following the war the deep hostility of the Soviet leaders.

Robert Heckert

Walter Clemens Responds:

Analysis of the cold war's origins requires a sober evaluation of many kinds of evidence. Mr. Heckert cites one important source, which, however, could by no means be considered as the last word. My own judgment, to which Mr. Heckert objects, is based on many other sources as well, Soviet and Western. The debates among orthodox and revisionist historians, and those who try to create a new synthesis (with whom I would like to be included), cannot be fully resolved unless we obtain access to Soviet and other materials not yet in the public domain. The importance to Moscow of the reparations issue, however, was noted by U.S. negotiator Philip E. Mosely even before Potsdam, and has been argued further in the recent book by Daniel Yergin, *Shattered Peace* (Houghton-Mifflin, 1977).

## With Mrs. Gandhi

To the Editors: Why do we have to have served up, almost unchallenged, Mrs. Gandhi's apologia for the Emergency and her assessment of Janata? I was sad to read Ralph Buultjens's interview with the former Indian prime minister ("No Room for Vengeance," *Worldview*, December), and the more so when I noted *Worldview's* statement of editorial purpose: "To place public policies, particularly in international affairs, under close ethical scrutiny." This seemed to be the one scrutiny that was missing from the article.

I write with some feeling as I have just been in India for the publication by Macmillan of my book on the Emergency. After a fairly intensive study of this twenty-month period I had to give the book the title, "Experiment with Untruth." One cannot in correspondence deal with all the unbegged questions. But may I make just three points.

Firstly, all the evidence now being presented to the Shah Commission makes nonsense of Mrs. Gandhi's justification for the imposition and retention of Emergency legislation.

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# WORLDVIEW

## Statement of Purpose

The purpose of *Worldview* is to place public policies, particularly in international affairs, under close ethical scrutiny. The Council on Religion and International Affairs, which sponsors the journal, was founded in 1914 by religious and civic leaders brought together by Andrew Carnegie. It was mandated to work toward ending the barbarity of war, to encourage international cooperation, and to promote justice. The Council is independent and nonsectarian. *Worldview* is an important part of the Council's wide-ranging program in pursuit of these goals.

*Worldview* is open to diverse viewpoints and encourages dialogue and debate on issues of public significance. It is edited in the belief that large political questions cannot be considered adequately apart from ethical and religious reflection. The opinions expressed in *Worldview* do not necessarily reflect the positions of the Council. Through *Worldview* the Council aims to advance the national and international exchange without which our understanding will be dangerously limited.

Philip A. Johnson, *Publisher*

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