

# **Meet the Men of the Cold War**

## **Pat McLarty**

### **Kathleen High School**

#### **Summary**

In this activity, students will assume the identity of a leading figure from the Cold War era. After researching their assigned personality, they will create nametags depicting major events from their person's life. The entire class will then participate in a "speed dating" style information sharing session. At the conclusion of the information sharing session, each student will complete an expository writing assignment about the one person they believe was the most influential figure emerging from the Cold War.

#### **Objectives**

Curriculum Map Topic: The Cold War Period

Lesson's Essential Question: Who were the major figures of the cold war and how did they influence world politics?

SS.A.5.4.6 understand the political events that shaped the development of United States foreign policy since World War II and know the characteristics of that policy.

SS.C.1.4.4 understand the role of special interest groups, political parties, the media, public opinion, and majority/minority conflicts on the development of public policy and the political process.

SS.A.1.4.3 evaluate conflicting sources and materials in the interpretation of a historical event or episode.

SS.A.1.4.4 use chronology, sequencing, patterns, and periodization to examine interpretations of an event.

#### **U.S. History Event**

Korean Conflict, Cold War, Kennedy, Vietnam, Helsinki Accords, Iran Hostage Crisis, Collapse of the Soviet Union

#### **Grade Levels**

Advanced Middle School through High School

#### **Materials Needed**

Copies of personality profiles (one per student), Overhead of "Meet and Greet" activity instructions (Overhead A),

#### **Lesson time**

Introduction to activity, role assignment, and fact sheet should be completed prior to the primary lesson and will take 15 to 30 minutes, depending on how much work is completed in class versus for homework. The primary lesson can be completed in one 90-minute or two 45-minute lessons. Extension activities would require additional class time.

## Lesson Procedures/Activities

**1. Preview Activity – Journaling.** (Students must write in pen) Explain that the students will each assume the role of one of the major international figures that played a part in the Cold War. There are no female roles – for the purposes of this activity everyone will be portraying a middle-aged man. Ask each student to answer the following questions:

- What was the Cold War?
- Who were the leading figures involved in the Cold War and what did they do?

Once students have completed their writings, have them ball of the paper (pencil rubs off – that’s why the assignment needed to be completed in pen) and toss the papers randomly around the room. Once time is called, students will pick a paper ball closest to them and then take turns reading a sampling of the answers. Discuss responses.

**2. Review the Activity** – Project Overhead Master One and walk the class through the assignment. Stress that during the interview phase each student should “become” the person they are assigned.

**3. Pass out roles** – Either assign each student a specific person to portray or allow students to draw names from the slips of paper provided on Handout One. Once roles have been selected, provide the personality profile that matches that person.

**4. Research and Investigation** – Allow time for the class to read and review their assigned roles. If possible, provide other information sources for further investigation. Stress that the students should be gathering information on their person that directly pertained to the Cold War.

**5. Create Name Tags** – Provide time and materials for students to create name tags for their person. If you are dividing the lesson into two days, you may want to assign this activity for homework because some of the more creative students tend to make very elaborate tags. If you complete this in class, carefully monitor the time on this.

**6. Begin the Meet and Greet** - Arrange the classroom so that student’s desks are paired, and at any time two students will be facing each other. (I used an inside and an outside circle with the student’s in the outside circle rotating and the students in the inside circle staying stationary.) Explain that the students must assume the role of their assigned character and provide as much information as possible about them in the time allowed. Set the timer for around 3 minutes and assign one group to begin, then when the timer goes off switch to the other person in the pair. (I always assigned who would start first, inside or outside person, so there were fewer arguments.) After the timer goes off the second time, allow time for note taking (Handout Two) and clarification, then shift the students to the next partner. Continue the process until all of the students have talked to each other.

NOTE: I designed this around the idea of a speed dating session (<http://www.8minutedating.com/howItWorks.shtml>) but calling it a “Meet and Greet” was much more popular with the students

**7. Wrap-up** – Bring the class back together and ask the class

- Who was the most interesting personality?
- Who was the scariest?
- Is there any information that you were surprised about?
- Were there any similarities to their personalities?
- Would the Cold War have still happened if these people hadn’t been in charge?

## Assessment

For homework, have students answer the following free-response question: To what extent were the events of the Cold War dependent on the personalities in charge at the time?

## Resources

<http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/> All of the personality profiles were pulled directly from CNN's website companion to their documentary The Cold War. In addition to the personality profiles, the site includes an interactive timeline and a wealth of other background information.

[http://edsitement.neh.gov/view\\_lesson\\_plan.asp?id=688](http://edsitement.neh.gov/view_lesson_plan.asp?id=688) this provides an entire unit on the Cold War with excellent links to numerous primary source documents.

[www.lhps.org/homework/ms/montalvoa/Ch.26,%20section%2027.1%20Jeopardy.ppt](http://www.lhps.org/homework/ms/montalvoa/Ch.26,%20section%2027.1%20Jeopardy.ppt) Jeopardy review of the major events of the Cold War

<http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/applications/dilemma/cgi-bin/teacher.php> The Spy's Dilemma is an experiential activity designed to help the student's understand the high intensity of the beginnings of the cold war by examining and prioritizing 17 "secret" documents taken from the White House in 1945.

1. Research your person

- a. Spend a few minutes reading over the information sheet your teacher has provided.
- b. Write down the most important facts about who you are and what you've done to contribute to the Cold War.
- c. Prepare a short speech (2 – 3 minutes long) to present your contributions in the best light possible. You may not lie, but your goal is to present yourself as a hero to your country.

2. Create a name tent

- a. Fold a piece of typing paper in half to create a tent. If your assigned name is long, you may need to fold it accordingly.
- b. Write your assigned name and title in large letters.
- c. Include a small drawing of the flag of your assigned country.

3. Speed interview session

- a. You will be giving your speech about your person then listening to the profile of your assigned partner.
- b. Once they have given their presentation, ask questions about what they have said. Remember, they cannot lie so ask probing questions to try to discover if they are hiding information.
- c. Record information about your person on your note taking guide and prepare for your next interview.

## HANDOUT ONE

**Cut out the following slips of paper and give one to each student in the class in order to determine their assigned personality profiles:**

Yuri Andropov	Leonid Brezhnev
Winston Churchill	Fidel Castro
Alexander Dubcek	John Dulles
Mikhail Gorbachev	Ho Chi Minh
Lyndon B. Johnson	George F. Kennan
John F. Kennedy	Nikita Khrushchev
Kim Il Sung	Henry Kissinger
Joseph McCarthy	Robert McNamara
Mao Tse-tung	George Marshall Jr.
Gamal Nasser	Richard Nixon
Daniel Ortega	Ronald Reagan
Franklin Roosevelt	Anwar Sadat
Joseph Stalin	Josip Tito
Harry S Truman	Walter Ulbricht
Lech Walesa	Boris Yeltsin

## Handout Two

Person	Country	Title	Years in Power	Facts about their life	Something else I'd like to know...

## **Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov** **KGB Chief, Soviet Premier**

Born June 15, 1914, in Russia, Andropov left school when he was 16, holding a variety of jobs before entering Komsomol (the Communist Youth League) in 1930. A beneficiary of Stalin's purges, he rose rapidly, becoming first secretary of the Yaroslavl Komsomol (1938) and first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee in the newly created Karelo-Finnish Republic (1940-1944). During World War II, Andropov took part in partisan guerrilla activities. After the war, he held positions in the Karelo-Party apparatus before being transferred to the Communist Party's Central Committee in Moscow (1951).

Following Stalin's death (March 1953) Andropov was demoted to Budapest as a counselor in the Soviet Embassy (1953) but promoted to ambassador to Hungary in 1954. Over the next three years he watched events that led to the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. Andropov played an important role in the Soviet decision to invade Hungary in 1956. His steady stream of reports to Moscow warned of growing unrest in Hungary. He also gave his views on the strength of the Hungarian leadership's position. Moscow's decision to invade was based in part on Andropov's reports. Andropov cabled a request for Soviet military assistance to Moscow from Erno Gero, first secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party. According to Maj. Gen. Bela Kiraly, former Hungarian military commander of Budapest, Andropov also assured the Nagy government that the Soviets had no intention of invading, although he knew otherwise.

Andropov returned to Moscow to head the newly created Central Committee Department for Liaison with Socialist Countries (1957-1967), was elevated to the Central Committee Secretariat (1962) and was appointed head of the KGB in May 1967. During his tenure, KGB methods were "refined." Dissent was severely repressed, and dissidents frequently confined to psychiatric hospitals. The most famous dissidents were "allowed" to emigrate to avoid negative world opinion. In 1973 Andropov became a full member of the Politburo, retaining that position after giving up his KGB post in 1982.

Just days after Brezhnev's death (November 10, 1982), Andropov became the Communist Party's general secretary. In the 15 months he ruled before his death, Andropov tried to improve the efficiency of the Soviet economy. His foreign policy stance reflected the Soviet status quo. During Andropov's tenure, the U.S.S.R. remained in the war in Afghanistan. He also tried to persuade the Europeans not to allow U.S. President Ronald Reagan to station Pershing missiles in Germany.

It was also during Andropov's time as Soviet leader that Soviet forces shot down a civilian, South Korean airliner, killing all 269 people on board. Scholars still debate whether Andropov would have proved to be a real reformer had he lived. He died on February 9, 1984, at age 69, of acute kidney failure.

## **Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev**

### **Soviet Premier**

Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, leader of one of the two most powerful nations in the world, was born to Russian parents in the Ukrainian mining town of Kamensk in 1906. Little is known about his youth, except that at age 15 he went to work in the steel mill that employed his father.

After the Russian Revolution, Brezhnev pursued a technical education and became a land surveyor. But his political ambitions soon became apparent: He joined the Communist Party in 1931, then held a series of local party posts. The young apparatchik showed a remarkable ability to correctly survey the political landscape. After Stalin's death, Brezhnev correctly tied his fortunes to Nikita Khrushchev, helping the new Soviet premier pursue his "Virgin Lands" agricultural campaign in Kazakstan (where Brezhnev was serving as first secretary of the Communist Party), and in supporting Khrushchev during an aborted attempt to remove him from power. Soon, Brezhnev was named a full member of the Politburo.

By the early 1960s he was seen as Khrushchev's likely successor. Named chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet in 1960, he resigned in 1964 to become Khrushchev's direct assistant as second secretary of the Central Committee. The assistance he offered, however, was not what Khrushchev had hoped: After only three months in the post, Brezhnev helped lead the conservative coalition that forced Khrushchev from power.

Brezhnev himself was one of the primary beneficiaries of Khrushchev's ouster. Named first secretary of the Communist Party, he became one of the two most important men in the Soviet Union. The other was Premier Aleksei Kosygin. Eventually, however, Brezhnev emerged as the dominant force and was named General Secretary of the Communist Party.

Brezhnev's colorless leadership style was a strong contrast to Khrushchev's dynamic but turbulent reign. This was reassuring to the vast Soviet bureaucracy, which had been threatened by Khrushchev's reforms. Indeed, under Brezhnev, the Soviet bureaucracy flourished, and government power centers like the KGB regained the authority -- if not quite the brutality -- they had enjoyed in Stalin's time.

The Soviet decision in 1968 to invade Czechoslovakia to crush the Prague Spring was an early indicator of Brezhnev's world view. In a speech justifying the move, he spelled out what came to be called the "Brezhnev Doctrine," asserting Moscow's right to intervene in the affairs of other socialist states.

Brezhnev was, above all, a Cold Warrior, dedicated to the ongoing struggle with the United States. Though more cautious than Khrushchev, he nonetheless supported U.S. antagonists and left-leaning regimes throughout the world, most notably in Vietnam, the Middle East and the Third World. A new era of detente was heralded in 1972, when Brezhnev and U.S. President Richard Nixon signed the SALT treaty, freezing certain U.S. and Soviet weapons systems. But the new era was short-lived, corroded by lingering Cold War antagonisms. By 1979, it was only a memory, as Brezhnev and his comrades approved the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

By this time Brezhnev was an increasingly feeble old man. As Brezhnev's health deteriorated, so did the Soviet economy. Years of heavy spending on the defense and aerospace industries, at the expense of agriculture and other sectors of the economy, had taken a toll. Ordinary Soviet citizens had to wait in long lines to get basic necessities, and economic productivity and the Soviet standard of living fell into a slow but steady decline.

When Brezhnev died on November 10, 1982, at age 75, the Soviet Union itself had less than 10 years to live.

## **Fidel Castro Ruz**

### **Cuban President**

Born into a large, prosperous Cuban farming family in Mayari, near Brian, Cuba, on August 13, 1926 or 1927, Castro attended Jesuit schools and later studied law in Havana. During his student years, he was a political activist. Upon receiving his degree in 1950, he established a private law practice and joined the reformist Cuban People's Party. In 1952 he planned to run for a parliamentary seat. However, Gen. Batista overthrew the government and canceled the election. Castro first challenged the Batista regime in court, but in 1953 organized an unsuccessful rebel force. Castro was arrested, tried and put in jail until 1955. He next went to Mexico to organize a new force, one that became known as the 26 of July Movement. In 1956 this group launched its attack, again meeting a bloody defeat. Castro and his followers next began a guerrilla war against the corrupt and by now very unpopular Batista regime. They quickly built a large following, also thanks to an effective propaganda campaign. On January 1, 1959, Castro triumphantly took power.

Having received widespread support from numerous Cubans because of his promises to restore the 1940 constitution, pursue a moderate program and respect civil liberties, Castro quickly disappointed many sympathizers with his radical policies after 1960. It turned out that the Cuban revolution involved a far-reaching transformation of Cuban society led by the state, which, for its part, was dominated by the communist party. The hostility of the United States could be taken for granted virtually from the start. Washington, under President Eisenhower, had already resolved to bring the Castro regime down, if necessary by violence. Disinclined to work with the Americans and in the face of U.S. hostility, Castro quickly intensified his cooperation with the Soviet Union. Cuban-U.S. relations deteriorated further when John Kennedy entered the White House, and they reached a crisis point with the CIA-sponsored Bay of Pigs invasion by Cuban exiles in April 1961. This event contributed heavily to the Soviet decision the following year to station nuclear missiles in Cuba. The Cuban Missile Crisis, during which Castro's influence was very limited, brought the world as close to the brink of nuclear war as it has ever been.

## **Sir Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill**

### **British Prime Minister**

Born November 30, 1874, in Blenheim Palace in Oxfordshire, England, to Lord and Lady Randolph Churchill, Winston Churchill had the usual privileged education and upbringing of his class: educated at a small private school, Harrow, and at the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, with an appointment as a second lieutenant in a cavalry regiment. For the next five years, Churchill sought out excitement, taking leave from his regiment several times to fight and write about battles in northern India, the Sudan and the Boer War, where he was captured and made a daring escape, becoming famous at home.

In 1900, he was elected to Parliament as a Conservative but was at such odds with his party by 1904 that he crossed the floor of the House of Commons in a dramatic switch of allegiance to the Liberals. Churchill won and was seated as a Liberal member in the 1906 election, holding three different government positions in the next few years. In 1911, Churchill was appointed the first Lord of the Admiralty with a mandate to bring the British fleet to a state of full readiness for war. In 1915, he strongly pressed for a British attack on the Dardanelles and Gallipoli Peninsula, which would have aided Russia, the British ally. However, the attack was a disaster and Churchill was blamed. He resigned from the Admiralty, considered his career finished and went off to serve in the British army (1915-1917).

However, Prime Minister David Lloyd George appointed him minister of munitions in July 1917. Churchill greatly increased the production of war materials, including tanks -- which had been known as Winston's folly, so ridiculous was deemed the idea of tanks. When the war ended in 1918, he became secretary of state for war, in charge of demobilization, and in 1921 was appointed colonial secretary, playing a conspicuous role in the settlement of the Irish question. Although he was not elected in the 1922 elections, he was returned to Commons in 1924 as a Conservative and named chancellor of the exchequer, a position he held until the Conservatives lost the government in 1929. Although he no longer held a Cabinet position, he continued to hold a seat in Commons and used his spare time to write a six-volume biography of his ancestor Marlborough, and a four-volume history of World War I. He also voiced his increasing concern over Hitler's Germany, communism in the Soviet Union and fascism in Italy. With Hitler's confirmation in power, Churchill called for British preparedness for war -- but he was called a warmonger. After Munich, he spoke out against the Chamberlain government, strongly criticizing its "all is well" policy. Churchill's words were only heeded after Germany invaded Poland on September 1, 1939, and Great Britain and France declared war on Germany: Churchill was asked to be Lord of the Admiralty. His return to office was signaled to the fleet with the simple message "Winston is back."

After Chamberlain's government fell, King George VI asked Churchill to form a new government on May 10, 1940. Churchill, addressing the House of Commons, said, "... Victory, victory at all costs, in spite of all terror, victory, however long and hard the road may be; for without victory, there is no survival. ... I have nothing to offer but blood, toil tears and sweat." Less than a month later, after Belgium had surrendered to Germany, and France seemed likely to fall at any moment, Churchill told Commons that even if all of Europe fell the British would have to go on: "We shall go on to the end ... we shall fight in the seas and oceans ... whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches ... we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender. ..." When France surrendered on June 2, Britain stood alone and Churchill declared, "Let us brace ourselves for our duties, and so bear ourselves that if the British Empire and its Commonwealth last for a thousand years, men will say, 'This was their finest hour.'"

Churchill worked for the nation with much more than great oratory. As minister of defense as well as prime minister, he worked closely with his chiefs coordinating strategy, convinced the Americans to relax the neutrality acts -- which provided Britain with badly needed war materials -- and to enact "Lend-Lease," which gave the British older U.S. battleships in return for 99-year leases on naval and air bases. In August 1941, Churchill and U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt had their first "summit" meeting off the coast of Newfoundland. They discussed U.S. participation in the war and drew up the Atlantic Charter, which outlined common postwar aims of Britain and the United States. In 1943 they met in Casablanca and declared that they would accept only unconditional surrender from the Germans, although Churchill was afraid that this removed postwar bargaining leverage.

Throughout the war years, Churchill and Roosevelt worked very closely, meeting several times and communicating almost daily -- yet, there were still differences between them. Churchill endorsed Britain's colonialism and trading preferences, Roosevelt wanted a free trading system; Roosevelt wanted to try to work with Stalin, Churchill did not trust him. These differences manifested themselves at the Big Three conferences (at Tehran in November 1943, and Yalta in early February 1945) and again in early April 1945 when Churchill warned Roosevelt (and later President Truman) that "we should join hands with the Russian armies as far to the east as possible, and if circumstances allow, enter Berlin." His fears that the Soviets would not give up Prague and Berlin later proved accurate. Despite the fact that Churchill's party was not re-elected and he lost his position as prime minister in July 1945, Churchill continued to speak of the disingenuity of the Soviets and of the finality of the division of Europe. On March 5, 1946, in a speech at Fulton Missouri, Churchill warned, "Beware ... time may be short. ... From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an Iron Curtain has descended across the continent."

Churchill's party was out of power until 1951, when he returned to the position of prime minister at age 77. In 1953, Churchill was made Knight of the Garter, Britain's highest order of knighthood, by Queen Elizabeth, and he won the Nobel Prize in literature. He suffered a stroke in 1954, retired in April 1955 and went back to writing and painting. He had served the British people and government long and well. He entered the service of Britain in 1895 under Queen Victoria and ended his service to the country in 1964 under Queen Elizabeth, the great-great-granddaughter of Queen Victoria. On January 15, 1965, he suffered a massive stroke and died on January 24, 1965, at the age of 90.

## **Alexander Dubcek**

### **President of Czechoslovakia**

Born November 27, 1921 in Uhrovec, Czechoslovakia (now in the Slovak Republic), to communist parents, Dubcek spent his youth first in Slovakia, then in Kirghizia (now Kyrgystan), where his father moved the family in response to the Soviet Communist Party's call for communists to help build "socialism" in the Soviet Union. In 1938 the family moved back to Slovakia, where Dubcek joined the illegal Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. During the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia, Dubcek fought the Germans both through guerrilla activities of the underground resistance and as part of the Slovak National Uprising. He rose steadily through the ranks of the Communist Party, achieving membership on the Central Committee of the Slovak Communist Party in 1951. The party sent him to Moscow Political College in 1955, where he graduated with honors in 1958. By 1962, he was a member of the Slovak and Czechoslovak Communist parties and a full member of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

During this period the party faced challenges both internally and externally: the economy was in serious disarray, the Slovak communists chafed at Prague centralism, and de-Stalinization caused unrest. Many party intellectuals hoped for reform. In October 1967, Dubcek and his reformer colleagues took action, calling Communist Party First Secretary Novotny's policies into question at a Central Committee Meeting. Dubcek became first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party on January 5, 1968, when several factors -- Brezhnev's failure to support Novotny in December 1967, fissures within the party, and a growing coalition of party members allied against Novotny -- coalesced. During the resulting "Prague Spring" (March-August 1968), Dubcek attempted to reform the Communist Party and allow "socialism with a human face." Under Dubcek, the Prague Spring transformed the lives and social relations among all Czechs, party and non-party members alike.

The Prague Spring, however, caused great concern among Eastern bloc nations and the U.S.S.R. Dubcek attempted to reassure the Soviets that they were still good communists friendly to Moscow, while arguing that the reforms were an internal matter. After a series of meetings and visits of Soviet officials to Czechoslovakia, the Prague Spring ended on August 21, when Soviet tanks rolled into Prague. Dubcek and other reformist top communists were seized, flown to Moscow and forced to surrender to Soviet demands. People in the streets of Czechoslovakia passively resisted tanks with placards and slogans, changing the names of many villages to Dubcekovo ("belonging to Dubcek") to show their support for Dubcek and confuse the invading troops. Dubcek was returned to Prague on August 27 and gave a speech, breaking into tears as he told his people that much of what they had achieved was lost.

After April 1969 Dubcek was demoted, expelled from the party and eventually sent into internal exile as a forestry official. He could talk to no one outside his family without permission. In November 1989, as part of the country's Velvet Revolution, he spoke at a rally in Bratislava and later stood on the balcony overlooking Wenceslas Square with newly elected President Vaclav Havel while huge crowds cheered. Dubcek was unanimously elected chairman of the Federal Assembly on December 28, 1989, and re-elected in 1990. Dubcek died at age 70 on November 7, 1992, of injuries sustained in a car crash.

## **John Foster Dulles**

### **U.S. Secretary of State**

Born in Washington, D.C., on February 25, 1888, John Foster Dulles -- son of a Presbyterian minister and grandson of a former secretary of state -- enjoyed a privileged youth. He was also extremely talented. He studied at Princeton, and before graduating in 1908 got his first taste of international politics when his grandfather brought him along to the Hague Peace Conference of 1907. He studied at the Sorbonne in Paris and George Washington University Law School. He passed the bar in New York and joined a law firm. During World War I Dulles worked at the War Industries Board and later served at the Versailles Peace Conference. Upon his return, he became a partner in his law firm, working primarily on international cases.

Dulles' work in foreign policy began with his association in 1937 with Thomas Dewey, the 1944 Republican candidate for president. In 1945, Dulles became a prominent Republican participant in bipartisan foreign policy endeavors, serving as senior U.S. adviser to the 1945 San Francisco conference of the United Nations. A great supporter of international cooperation, Dulles quickly became disillusioned with the Soviet Union after World War II when he experienced Soviet intransigence firsthand at various international meetings. In 1949, New York governor Dewey named Dulles to the U.S. Senate seat vacated by the resignation of Robert Wagner. In a close election, he failed to win re-election the following year. The same year, President Truman charged Dulles with concluding a peace treaty with Japan. The treaty, along with a U.S.-Japan security pact, was signed on September 8, 1951.

After an election campaign in which Dulles sharply attacked the Democratic foreign policy record as ineffective and lacking in moral content, President-elect Dwight Eisenhower named Dulles as his secretary of state. Dulles and Eisenhower pursued a policy of strength toward the Soviet Union and communist China. However, the election promise of a "rollback" of communist power proved to be a hollow one. Neither in the case of East Germany (1953) nor in Hungary (1956) was there anything Dulles or Eisenhower believed the United States could do to support anti-communist uprisings in the Soviet bloc. The best one could do was hold the line. Eisenhower and Dulles redefined U.S. military options. Their "New Look" defense policy sought to combine fiscal solvency and a credible deterrent through heavy reliance on nuclear weapons. However, the Eisenhower administration also shepherded West Germany into the Western alliance. And it kept the United States out of major war. Recent archival findings suggest that Dulles was a good deal more sophisticated about the East- West conflict than his rhetoric at the time may have suggested. In 1958, Dulles was diagnosed with terminal cancer. He died in Bethesda, Maryland, on May 24, 1959, at age 71.

## **Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev**

### **Soviet Premier**

The man credited with helping end the Cold War was born into a peasant family on March 2, 1931, near Stavropol. As a boy, he did farm work along with his studies. He joined the Communist Party in 1952 and completed a law degree at Moscow University the following year. During the early 1960s he became head of the agriculture department for the Stavropol region. By the end of the decade he had risen to top of the party hierarchy in the region. He came to the attention of Politburo members Mikhail Suslov and Yuri Andropov, who got him elected to the Central Committee in 1971 and arranged foreign trips for their rising star. In 1978 he was back in Moscow, and the next year he was chosen as a candidate member of the Politburo. His stewardship of Soviet agriculture was not a success. As he came to realize, the collective system was fundamentally flawed in more than one way.

A full Politburo member since 1980, Gorbachev became more influential in 1982 when his mentor, Andropov, succeeded Leonid Brezhnev. He built a reputation as an enemy of corruption and inefficiency. Gorbachev finally rose to the top party spot in March 1985. Almost from the start, he strove for significant reforms, so that the system would work more efficiently and more democratically. Hence the two key phrases of the Gorbachev era: "glasnost" (openness) and "perestroika" (reform). Hoping to shift resources to the civilian sector of the Soviet economy, Gorbachev also began to argue in favor of an end to the arms race with the West.

Throughout his six years in office, Gorbachev always seemed to be moving too fast for the party establishment, which saw its privileges threatened, and too slow for more radical reformers, who hoped to do away with the one-party state and the command economy. Desperately trying to stay in control of the reform process, he seemed to have underestimated the depth of the economic crisis. He also seemed to have had a blind spot for the power of the nationality issue: Glasnost created ever-louder calls for independence from the Baltics and other Soviet republics. He was successful in foreign policy, but primarily from an international perspective. While his arms control agreements with the United States could be seen as in the Soviet interest too, the peaceful breakaway of the countries of Eastern Europe, followed by German unification and NATO membership for the new Germany, appeared to old-line Communists more a sell-out.

In August 1991 hard-liners had had enough. With Gorbachev on vacation in the Crimea, they staged a coup. However, they failed because of incompetence, lack of support from the military and massive street protests in Moscow. After the coup, Gorbachev lost the political initiative. This now belonged to the leaders of the various Soviet republics, in particular the president of Russia, Boris Yeltsin. At the end of the year, Gorbachev was forced to resign as president of a Soviet Union no longer in existence. Since that time, he has been blamed by many Russians for their current political and economic predicament. In the West, he remains the 1990 Nobel Peace Prize winner who helped end the Cold War.

## **Ho Chi Minh**

### **North Vietnamese Leader**

Son of a nationalist father, Ho was born on May 19, 1890, in Kimlien, Nghe-An province, in central Vietnam. After receiving his initial education from his father and at a village school, Ho studied at the Lycee Quoc-Hoc in the old imperial capital of Hue. It was a school designed to perpetuate Vietnamese nationalist traditions. In 1912 he went to France, where he worked at many odd jobs and became active in socialist politics and as an advocate of Indochinese independence. During World War I he visited the United States. At the Versailles peace conference, he petitioned the delegates on behalf of Vietnamese self-determination but was ignored. In 1920 Ho became a founding member of the French Communist Party.

He went to Moscow in 1922, joined the Comintern and met with Lenin. In 1925 he went to China to work for the Soviet mission with Chiang Kai-Shek's government. After Chiang turned on the communists in 1927, Ho fled to Moscow. During the 1930s he founded the Indochinese Communist Party, studied in Moscow and fought alongside Mao. In 1940 he returned to Vietnam. He founded the Viet Minh, the League for the Independence of Vietnam.

On September 2, 1945, Ho and his league declared Vietnamese independence. When the French colonial rulers tried to reassert their authority, Ho settled for nominal autonomy as a member of the French Union. The French-Vietnamese truce broke in late 1946, initiating a war that ended in 1954 with the Vietnamese victory at Dien Bien Phu. At the following Geneva conference, Ho allowed his Chinese and Soviet friends to pressure him into a highly unsatisfactory compromise that divided Vietnam in two. From that time Ho's primary goal was the reunification of Vietnam. He pursued this particularly through support of the Viet Cong guerrillas fighting the Southern government. Even though South Vietnam received ever-increasing support from the United States (which after 1964 began to bomb the North), Ho remained confident of victory and rejected negotiations with Washington. Only in 1968, after the U.S. bombardments of North Vietnam stopped in the wake of the Tet Offensive, did his government agree to talks. Shortly after this turning point in the war, Ho died of a heart attack at the age of 79 on September 3, 1969.

## **Lyndon Baines Johnson**

### **U.S. President**

Born on August 27, 1908, into a poor family in the Texas hill country, Lyndon Johnson was an average student but also seemed a natural leader among his peers. In 1927, he entered Southwest Texas State Teachers College. A prominent student, Johnson worked his way through school, graduating in three years. Next he taught English in Houston. In 1932, Johnson went to Washington as a legislative assistant to Representative Richard Kleberg. Doing most of the work, he became quite versed in the ways of Washington. In 1937, he ran for Congress himself as a Roosevelt New Dealer. In 1941, he ran for the Senate in a special election and lost. But he retained his House seat and continued his rise to prominence among congressional Democrats. During the war, Johnson served for a few months in a non-combat position.

In 1948, Johnson ran again for the Senate, defeating his Democratic primary opponent in a runoff by only 87 votes amid loud accusations of fraud. He easily won the general election in the fall. In the Senate, Johnson quietly but quickly rose to prominence. In 1952, he became the Democratic leader in the Senate. He has been recognized as one of the ablest parliamentarians in U.S. history. In 1960, he sought his party's nomination for president but had to settle for the vice presidential slot, behind John Kennedy. As vice president, Johnson seemed out of place, with little of significance reaching his desk. That changed radically when Kennedy's assassination thrust him into the Oval Office in 1963.

Johnson's presidency was a tragedy. Highly successful at home in getting his "Great Society" and civil rights legislation passed, his work was increasingly overshadowed by the war in Vietnam. A believer in the "domino theory," and concerned about becoming the first U.S. president to lose a war, Johnson steadily deepened the country's involvement until, in 1968, more than 500,000 U.S. soldiers were fighting in Southeast Asia. After the Tet Offensive, and in the face of mounting domestic protests against the war, he announced in March 1968 that he would not seek re-election. He left office with his "Great Society" programs threatened by insolvency, and his party and the nation as a whole deeply divided over the Vietnam War. Johnson died on January 22, 1973, at his Texas ranch at age 64.

## **George F. Kennan**

### **U.S. Diplomat**

Born February 16, 1904, he graduated from Princeton University (1925) and entered the U.S. Diplomatic Service (1926). After he served at a variety of posts in Central and Eastern Europe, the State Department sent him to study Russian language and culture at the University of Berlin (1929). After finishing his studies (1931), he accompanied Ambassador William Bullitt to Moscow (1933).

Stationed in Moscow from 1944 to 1946, he became a sharply critical observer of the Soviet Union. In February 1946, in response to the State Department, Kennan sent an 8,000-word cable (the famous "long telegram") to Washington explaining why he believed the Soviets acted as they did. The Soviet Union would not respond to "any form of rational persuasion or assurance" from the West, he said, because the Soviets saw themselves as surrounded by hostile capitalist countries. However, he also stated that "Marxism is a fig leaf" and that without it, the Soviet leaders "would stand before history, at best, as only the last in that succession of cruel and wasteful Russian rulers." Kennan's explanation of the Soviet world view was very influential in subsequent U.S. policy making.

In 1947, Kennan was appointed Director of the State Department's policy planning staff. Kennan also published an article in *Foreign Affairs* in July 1947 (under the name "Mr. X") that clearly laid out a policy of containment. He urged that "the United States policy toward the Soviet Union must be that of a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies" and called for the defense and support of key regions in the world, such as Western Europe. The article, which created quite a stir in Washington, laid the groundwork for much subsequent foreign policy.

After serving briefly as ambassador to Moscow in 1952, he retired from the Foreign Service (1953) to work at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, New Jersey. In 1956 he became a permanent professor at Princeton University and left only briefly (1961-63) to serve as U.S. ambassador to Yugoslavia. In the 1960s he firmly stated that his policy of containment had not been meant to apply to countries other than the U.S.S.R. Kennan is the author of numerous books, two of which -- "Russia Leaves the War" (1956) and "Memoirs, 1925-1950" (1967) -- simultaneously were awarded Pulitzer Prizes and National Book Awards. Kennan remains a commentator on politics.

## **John Fitzgerald Kennedy**

### **U.S. President**

One of the most charismatic U.S. presidents in history, John Kennedy was born on May 29, 1917, in Boston into a prominent, wealthy Irish Catholic family. His father, Joseph P. Kennedy, served as U.S. ambassador to Britain from 1938 to 1940. The time in Europe enabled John to write "Why England Slept," a best seller. Kennedy was a Harvard graduate, also having attended Choate Preparatory School. During World War II, he served in the Navy, commanding a PT boat that was sunk by the Japanese in 1943. His wartime experience led to another successful book and helped launch his political career. Probably as important in this regard were the political ambitions Joseph Kennedy had for his children. After the war death of his older brother Joe, John became the focus of his father's hopes, benefiting greatly from his contacts and money.

In 1946, Kennedy was elected to the House of Representatives. He posed as an anti-communist, conservative Democrat. In 1952, he defeated Henry Cabot Lodge in the race for the latter's Senate seat. As a senator, Kennedy did not build an impressive legislative record. By 1954, however, he began to speak out on foreign policy issues and in 1956 made his first bid for his party's presidential nomination.

In 1960 Kennedy again ran for president. He attacked the Eisenhower administration for lacking vigor in the contest with the Soviet Union. Kennedy defeated Eisenhower's vice president, Richard Nixon, in the closest presidential race in history. In the White House, Kennedy suffered some early setbacks, such as the failed Bay of Pigs operation and the tense Vienna meeting with Soviet leader Khrushchev. The early failures only added fuel to his administration's military buildup. The president wanted U.S. forces to be more diversified than they were under his predecessor, so as to acquire "flexible response" capability instead of having to rely on nuclear weapons.

Later in 1961 Kennedy appeared to be hitting his stride. In August he responded with restraint to the building of the Berlin Wall and the following year performed brilliantly during the Cuban Missile Crisis, the peaceful resolution of which is probably his greatest triumph. In 1963, the United States and Soviet Union agreed on a limited test ban treaty. Kennedy's legacy in Vietnam is more ambiguous. He increased the number of U.S. advisers from 700 to 15,000 and brought the conflict no closer to a resolution. In the domestic field Kennedy also grew while in office, eventually becoming quite supportive of the civil rights movement in the South. On November 22, 1963, Kennedy was assassinated by Lee Harvey Oswald during a visit to Dallas, Texas. He was 46.

## **Nikita Sergeyeovich Khrushchev**

### **Soviet Premier**

Nikita Sergeyeovich Khrushchev was born in 1894 to an illiterate peasant family in Kalinovka, a village near Russia's border with Ukraine. To supplement his family's meager income he began working at an early age, but despite this, and despite his father's second job as a coal miner, Khrushchev's family was unable to survive as farmers. In 1908 they moved to an industrial center in Ukraine, where young Nikita began working in a factory. It was the beginning of his activist career: at the age of 18, Khrushchev joined a group of workers who had organized a strike protesting working conditions. He was fired.

Khrushchev found another job but continued his activism, helping to organize strikes in 1915 and 1916. In 1917, after the Russian Revolution had ousted the Czar, Khrushchev joined the Bolshevik forces of the Red Army in the Russian civil war, serving as a political commissar. He was now a dedicated communist.

After the war, Khrushchev was given a series of political assignments and received his first formal training in Marxism at a Technical College. After graduation he was appointed to a political post in Ukraine, where Lazar Kaganovich, a protege of Joseph Stalin, was head of the Communist Party. Khrushchev joined Kaganovich in supporting Stalin in his power struggles against Leon Trotsky and Nikolai Bukharin. With Stalin's success, Khrushchev's career soared. In the 1930s Khrushchev was promoted from one political position to the next, until finally, in 1935, he became second in command of the Moscow Communist Party. In Moscow, Khrushchev oversaw construction of much of Moscow's subway system, and in 1939 he became a full member of the Politburo.

Khrushchev's rise to power coincided with one of the darkest periods in Soviet history: the Great Terror. During the 1930s, Stalin began a series of bloody purges to consolidate his power. The terror spread throughout the Soviet Union, and Khrushchev was part of it, denouncing several fellow students and workers as "enemies of the people" and willingly taking part in the extermination of the Ukrainian intelligentsia.

By the time Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, Khrushchev had been sent to head the Communist Party in Ukraine, which put him near the front lines. He saw the devastation of war first-hand as the Germans routed the Red Army, then again as the Soviets turned back the Nazi advance.

After the war, Khrushchev was called back to Moscow, where he soon became one of Stalin's top advisers. When Stalin died in 1953, Khrushchev and Nikolai Bulganin won a power struggle against Stalin's successor, Georgi Malenkov, and secret police chief Lavrenti Beria. Beria was executed, and Malenkov was forced to resign. Bulganin became premier, but Khrushchev, in charge of the Communist Party, soon became the dominant figure.

Khrushchev's leadership marked a crucial transition for the Soviet Union. From the beginning, Khrushchev set out to make the Soviet system more effective by curbing Stalin's worst excesses. In an historic speech to the 20th Party Congress in 1956, he attacked Stalin for his crimes -- acknowledging what many people believed, but which no Soviet leader had ever dared mention. What Khrushchev dared not mention was his own complicity in those crimes.

Khrushchev's advocacy of reforms contributed to a groundswell of independence movements among Soviet satellite nations in Eastern Europe. While promoting change, Khrushchev would not tolerate dissent: he supported sending tanks into Budapest in 1956 to brutally suppress a Hungarian rebellion. The Iron Curtain remained in place.

In relations with the West, Khrushchev's tenure was marked by a series of high-stakes crises: the U-2 affair, the building of the Berlin Wall, and the Cuban Missile crisis. At the same time, he was the first Soviet leader to advocate "peaceful coexistence" with the West, and to negotiate with the United States on reducing Cold War tensions.

By 1964, his reforms had alienated too many powerful Soviet constituencies. A group of conservatives led by Leonid Brezhnev ousted Khrushchev, and he retired to a dacha in rural Russia, where he died in 1971.

## **Kim Il Sung**

### **North Korean leader**

Born into a peasant family on April 15, 1912, in Mangyondae, Korea, Kim Il Sung was still a child when his parents left Japan-occupied Korea for Manchuria. There Kim attended Chinese schools. In 1932, he became the leader of a small group of Korean partisans, which he led in various raids against Japanese outposts in Korea. In 1941, Kim fled Manchuria for the Soviet Far East. He next received military training in the Soviet Union. In 1945, Kim returned to his homeland as a major in the Soviet army. The Soviets put him in charge of the formation of a provisional system of government in Soviet-occupied Korea. In 1948, he became the first premier of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Strongly favoring national unification by military means, Kim's regime waged a guerrilla war against the South, and with strong Soviet support built up a large military.

In 1950 Kim managed to get Stalin's permission for an invasion of the South, which he launched on June 25. But it was only thanks to a massive Chinese intervention that Kim's regime survived the U.S.-led counteroffensive in fall 1950. In 1953, Kim and his Soviet and Chinese guardians chose to settle for half the country, but Kim never accepted the division of his country and until the end of his life continued efforts to overthrow the South Korean republic and kill its rulers.

After 1953, Kim created an austere, militarized and highly regimented North Korean society that worshipped him as a deified leader. While officially extolling self-reliance, North Korea in reality relied heavily on Soviet and Chinese economic and military support. Kim's North Korea pursued many independent initiatives toward developing nations, often with the objective to undermine positions of the West. Since the 1970s, North Korea has been a major arms supplier to countries such as Libya, Iran and Syria.

In 1993, Kim's defense policy became a great concern for Washington when intelligence analysis estimated that North Korea was less than two years away from being able to strike South Korea and Japan with nuclear missiles. The ensuing crisis was eased in June 1994 when former U.S. President Carter persuaded Kim to freeze his program in return for an easing of international sanctions and talks with the United States about ending North Korea's international isolation. Kim died on the eve of these talks at age 82 on July 8, 1994, in Pyongyang, North Korea.

## **Henry Alfred Kissinger**

### **U.S. National Security Adviser, Secretary of State**

Born on May 29, 1923, in Fuerth, Germany, to an assimilated, middle-class Jewish couple, Kissinger as a boy experienced increasing discrimination in Nazi Germany after 1933. In 1938, the family fled to New York. There, Kissinger studied at City College, until in 1943 he entered the U.S. Army as an intelligence specialist. He served until 1946, ending as a local administrator in occupied Germany. Upon leaving the Army, he entered Harvard to study history, philosophy and international relations. He received his doctorate in 1954. In 1955 he became a study director for the Council on Foreign Relations, and during the late 1950s published several works on the issue of nuclear weapons and foreign policy. In 1957, Kissinger returned to Harvard, meanwhile cultivating his relations with the world of politics and government.

After Richard Nixon won the presidency in 1968, he offered Kissinger the job of national security adviser. Together, the men conducted U.S. foreign policy from the White House, circumventing government bureaucracies and frequently Congress as well. Their main preoccupation was with the war in Vietnam. They pursued a strategy of "Vietnamization," opened secret peace negotiations with the North Vietnamese, but also increased the bombing of North Vietnam and widened the war into Cambodia. In addition, Nixon and Kissinger sought to improve relations with the Soviet Union and China, with the partial aim of getting their help in ending the Vietnam War. In late 1972, their efforts produced a fragile peace accord. Meanwhile, Nixon and Kissinger's strategy of improving the U.S. position in world affairs had produced successes such as an arms control agreement with Moscow and the spectacular "opening" to China.

In 1973, Kissinger became secretary of state. In this capacity he helped negotiate a truce to the 1973 Yom Kippur war in the Middle East. After Nixon's resignation in 1974, he became even more influential under President Gerald Ford. But his final years in government were not happy ones. His complex, cooperative approach to the Soviet Union, "detente," failed, and he increasingly came under fire in Congress, the media and inside the Republican Party. Ford lost the 1976 election, in part because of Republican division over Kissinger's policies. But perhaps his greatest disappointment came in 1975 when, after Congress refused his request for support, South Vietnam was overrun by the North, thereby demolishing the peace accords of 1972-73. Since leaving government, Kissinger has been advising business and international leaders through his company, Kissinger Associates.

## **Joseph Raymond McCarty**

### **U.S. Senator**

Born in a small, close-knit Irish farming community in Grand Chute, Wisconsin, on November 14, 1909, Joseph McCarthy dropped out of school at age 14. Six years later, he crammed a four-year high school program into one year and in 1930 was admitted to Marquette University. He received his law degree in 1935, and in 1939 was elected a Wisconsin circuit court judge. During World War II, McCarthy served as a lieutenant in the Marine Corps. In 1944, he lost a campaign for the U.S. Senate. His next try came two years later, when he challenged Sen. Robert M. LaFollette for the Republican nomination. He won, and in the fall became the junior senator from Wisconsin.

His early years in the Senate were unimpressive, but in 1949, with several U.S. Cold War setbacks and an increasingly anti-communist political atmosphere at home, McCarthy found a cause. In February 1950, in Wheeling, West Virginia, he made the first of a series of claims that he had the names of "known communists" who were in the employ of the State Department. It was the beginning of a personal witch hunt for communists in the government that lasted for more than five years. McCarthy rarely provided any solid evidence to back up his claims, but in the political climate of the time his accusations and subsequent investigations nonetheless ended many a career and damaged a good number of lives.

After winning re-election in 1952, McCarthy became chairman of the Permanent Investigations Subcommittee, a position he used to launch many of his investigations of government officials and agencies. He did not shy away from questioning the integrity of people such as George C. Marshall, or even President Eisenhower. The latter disliked McCarthy intensely but refused to "get in the gutter with him" and never denounced the senator publicly. However, by 1953 a seemingly out-of-control McCarthy was making many enemies. His investigation of the activities of an Army dentist, Maj. Irving Peress, eventually led to his downfall. In 1954, the Army launched its counterattack, charging that McCarthy was seeking preferential treatment for a consultant, David Schine, who in 1953 had been drafted into the Army. Eventually McCarthy's own subcommittee decided to hold hearings on the matter, the Army-McCarthy hearings. The televised hearings fully exposed McCarthy as irresponsible and dishonest. In December 1954, the Senate voted to censure him. McCarthy never repented, but he quickly descended into irrelevance and alcoholism. He died of a liver ailment in Bethesda, Maryland, on May 2, 1957, at age 47.

## **Robert Strange McNamara**

### **U.S. Secretary of Defense**

Born on June 9, 1916, in San Francisco, McNamara graduated in 1937 from the University of California at Berkeley and went on to earn a graduate degree from the Harvard Business School, where from 1940 to 1943 he taught as an assistant professor. Poor eyesight kept him out of combat during World War II, but he served in the Air Force's Statistical Control Office, focusing, as he had done at Harvard, on ways to improve efficiency and productivity. After the war he brought his management skills to the ailing Ford Motor Company and became one of the "Whiz Kids" credited with the company's revival. In 1960 he became the first person outside the Ford family to rise to the position of president of the company. The same year, McNamara accepted President-elect John Kennedy's offer to become secretary of defense.

McNamara set out to reorganize and streamline the nation's defense force and its bureaucracy. He was central to the Kennedy administration's drive to change U.S. military strategy from its Eisenhower-era reliance on nuclear "massive retaliation" to one of "flexible response," including a range of conventional options. McNamara emphasized cost control, the phasing out of what he believed to be obsolete weapons systems, and greater overall efficiency. While arguing that there was no essential difference between large organizations such as Ford and the Pentagon, and even though he did gain considerable control over the defense establishment, McNamara also had to deal with resistance from a variety of powerful, entrenched traditionalists in the various services, to say nothing of Capitol Hill.

Trusted by Kennedy, McNamara became very influential in the administration. He was an important member of Kennedy's circle of advisers during the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis. He was also a central figure in the evolution of the nation's nuclear strategy from "massive retaliation" to a more limited "counterforce" doctrine to "mutually assured destruction," seeking international strategic stability. During the Vietnam War, McNamara initially was a great believer in victory and was convinced the United States could win thanks to its technological superiority. But by 1966 McNamara became disillusioned with the war and offered his resignation to President Johnson in 1967. In 1968, he became president of the World Bank. During the 1980s he became a critic of the nuclear arms race and a proponent of a policy of "no first use." McNamara recently published a memoir on Vietnam, admitting that he had been tragically misguided in his view and conduct of the war.

## **Mao Tse-tung**

### **Chinese Premier**

Son of a prosperous peasant, Mao was born in Hunan province on December 26, 1893. Although he worked in the fields from an early age, Mao also received enough schooling to develop an interest in learning. This drew him back to school at age 16. Next, he worked at various teaching jobs and became active in radical student groups. In 1921 he was a founding member of the Chinese Communist Party. Soon afterward, he began to develop his theory of the revolutionary potential of the peasantry, which deviated from the traditional Marxist-Leninist emphasis on the industrial proletariat.

After the bloody communist fallout with Nationalist Chiang Kai-shek in 1927, Mao established a base in the southern Kiangsi province. He began to put into practice his ideas about a revolutionary peasantry by way of a guerrilla war against the government. In 1934, Chiang's armies closed in, but the communist forces escaped for their "Long March" to the northwestern Shensi province. When the Chinese civil war resumed after 1945, Mao and his movement were able to use their rural foundation to outmaneuver and eventually overwhelm the Nationalists. Mao proclaimed the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949.

In 1950, China concluded a mutual defense pact with Stalin's Soviet Union, and together Moscow and Beijing supported North Korea in its attack on South Korea. Soviet-Chinese relations deteriorated during the 1950s, when both sides competed for pre-eminence in the world communist movement, particularly in the Third World. Relations during the 1960s were outright tense, and in 1969 the sides even fought a brief border war. The Sino-Soviet split helped Mao's regime accept a normalization of relations with the United States. Although Beijing continued to resent Washington's support for Taiwan, in 1972 Mao welcomed U.S. President Richard Nixon in Beijing.

Domestically, Mao's record is dominated by two disastrous initiatives: the "Great Leap Forward," a broad campaign to organize peasants into communes during the late 1950s that resulted in mass starvation and repression; and the "Cultural Revolution," a youth- and army-driven nationwide campaign for ideological purity, again resulting in widespread repression and death. The Cultural Revolution was still sputtering under the leadership of Mao's wife, Chiang Ch'ing, when Mao died on September 9, 1976, at age 82.

**George Catlett Marshall Jr.**  
**U.S. Army Chief of Staff, Secretary of State**

Dubbed the "organizer of victory" by Winston Churchill for his World War II leadership, George Marshall is perhaps best known for the postwar plan to rebuild Europe that bears his name.

Graduated from Virginia Military Institute in 1901, Marshall received a commission in 1902 and rose through the ranks in a series of staff officer positions until World War I.

In 1938, he became chief of the Department of War's Plans Division. He was nominated Army chief of staff by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and sworn in on September 1, 1939. He directed the American military buildup for World War II by raising new divisions, training troops, procuring weapons and equipment and selecting top commanders. The Army grew from fewer than 200,000 men to a fighting force of more than 8 million men by 1942. Winston Churchill called him the "organizer of victory."

Marshall resigned on November 21, 1945, at age 65 but was asked by the president that year to go to China as his special envoy with the rank of ambassador to negotiate a settlement in the Chinese civil war between the Nationalists and the Communists. He failed in his efforts but was nominated by President Harry Truman as secretary of state. On January 8, 1947, the U.S. Senate disregarded precedent and unanimously approved the nomination without a hearing, making Marshall the first military commander ever to lead the U.S. Department of State.

In a famous Harvard commencement address on June 5, 1947, Marshall outlined American ideas for European recovery that became known as the Marshall Plan. As secretary of state he oversaw the provision of aid to Greece and Turkey, the recognition of Israel and the initial discussions that led to NATO.

In 1949, Marshall resigned because of ill health. However, in 1950, Truman requested that he take the position of secretary of defense to prepare the armed forces for the Korean War. Marshall did so until 1951 and remained the highest-ranking general of the Army on the active-duty list available for government consultation. In 1953 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. He died in Washington, D.C., in 1959 at age 78 and was buried in Arlington National Cemetery.

## **Gamal Abdel Nasser**

### **Egyptian Premier**

Son of a post office clerk, Nasser was born in Alexandria, Egypt, on January 15, 1918, and grew up in a small village in the Nile delta of the British-ruled country. Later he lived in Cairo, where he took part in many anti-British demonstrations. He studied law before entering the Royal Military Academy. At age 20 he graduated as second lieutenant. While serving in the Sudan during the late 1940s, he and three other officers founded the secret Free Officers revolutionary organization. Their objective was the overthrow of the British regime and the Egyptian royal family.

In July 1952, the Free Officers staged their coup, which, under Nasser's influence, succeeded virtually without bloodshed. Remaining in the background at first, Nasser took public control of the new regime in 1954. Nasser's government pursued significant land and social reforms. After an assassination attempt in 1954, Nasser cracked down on the Muslim Brotherhood. In 1956 Nasser pronounced Egypt a socialist state, with a one-party system and with Islam as its official religion. The same year the United States canceled an offer to finance the Aswan High Dam project. In response, Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal. He also continued his purchases of military equipment from Soviet bloc countries. He had gone there after being turned down by the West, which rightly suspected plans to use the weapons against Israel. The latter attacked in October 1956. Egypt took a beating from Israeli troops aided by the British and the French. Both Washington and Moscow worked to curb the conflict.

Many Arabs admired Nasser as a champion of Arab interests, a reputation he cultivated. In 1958 Egypt and Syria formed the United Arab Republic. Nasser fervently hoped that eventually all Arab nations would join, but in 1961, Syria withdrew from the union. During the late 1950s and the 1960s, Nasser frequently intervened in other Arab countries. With Soviet help, Nasser succeeded in completing the Aswan Dam, greatly accelerating the modernization of his country. He also made Egypt one of the leading members of the Non-Aligned Movement. One of Nasser's greatest accomplishments is that he stayed in power for 18 years in the face of a large number of domestic competitors and opponents. However, he did turn Egypt into a police state with censorship, phone-tapping, staged elections and political prisoners. In the wake of Egypt's defeat by Israel in the Six Day War of 1967, Nasser responded favorably to a U.S. proposal for a settlement of the Middle East conflict. He died in the midst of the deliberations of a sudden heart attack on September 28, 1970, in Cairo, Egypt, at age 52.

## **Richard Milhous Nixon**

### **U.S. President**

Born on January 9, 1913, in Yorba Linda, California, into a lower-middle-class Quaker family, Richard Nixon had a difficult childhood. In school he was an ambitious student, but not one who excelled. Upon graduation, he entered Whittier College. Nixon graduated second in his class and won a scholarship to Duke University law school, where he graduated third in his class. He returned to California and took a job at a law firm in Whittier. Nixon served in the Navy during World War II.

After the war, Nixon ran successfully for Congress. He quickly distinguished himself as one of Congress' most fervent anti-communists, leading the charge against accused spy Alger Hiss. In 1950, Nixon was elected to the Senate. He was picked as a running mate in 1952 by Republican presidential candidate Dwight Eisenhower. As vice president, he took an active interest in national security affairs. In 1960, Nixon waged a vigorous campaign for the presidency, losing to Democrat John F. Kennedy in the closest presidential race in U.S. history. Perhaps more bitter was his defeat in the 1962 California gubernatorial campaign. He declared his withdrawal from politics, but instead built a strong national political base which, in 1968, enabled him to win the White House.

In domestic politics, Nixon was a pragmatic president who continued many of his Democratic predecessors' programs. In foreign policy, he sought "peace with honor" in the Vietnam War, in the end achieving neither. But under his leadership, the war in Vietnam did come to a halt. Nixon also sought to improve the U.S. strategic position in the Cold War. He forged a new, more cooperative relationship with the Soviet Union and achieved a diplomatic revolution through his normalization of U.S. relations with China. However, Nixon's secret methods not only exposed him to fierce criticism at home, but ultimately also undermined some of the achievements themselves. Nixon's ongoing obsession with political enemies resulted in the Watergate scandal, and in August 1974 Nixon became the first U.S. president to resign. Afterward, Nixon wrote a number of books on international affairs and, toward the end of his life, was somewhat rehabilitated as a foreign policy expert. Nixon died in Saddle Creek, New Jersey, on April 22, 1994, at age 81.

## **Daniel Ortega Saavedra**

### **Nicaraguan Premier**

Born in La Libertad, Nicaragua, on November 11, 1945, to middle-class parents who were actively opposed to Nicaragua's dictator, Anastasio Somoza, Ortega was first arrested for his political activities at the age of 15.

During the early 1960s, after only a few months as a student at the Central American University in Managua, he joined the underground Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). He was put in charge of its urban guerrilla wing in 1967. However, that same year Somoza's National Guard captured him. Ortega was in prison until 1974. Upon his release, the result of a Sandinista hostage taking, he went to Cuba and next returned to Nicaragua to continue what was now a war against the government.

Ortega was one of the leading commanders of the forces that ousted Somoza in July 1979 and became the head of the ruling junta at the head of the government of national reconstruction. A coalition of various opposition groups at first, the junta quickly became the exclusive domain of the Sandinistas as the other members left, dissatisfied with what was turning into a leftist and somewhat corrupt dictatorship. However, the Sandinista regime did initiate significant reforms that, in many cases, were of great benefit to Nicaragua's poor and could have achieved more, had it not been for a new civil war.

In November 1984, the Sandinistas were victorious in national elections, and Ortega became Nicaragua's president. Opponents charged that the Sandinistas had manipulated conditions during the election campaign in such a way that, although clean at first sight, the vote was actually rather tainted. The U.S. government of Ronald Reagan shared the opposition's criticisms and further intensified U.S. support for the so-called "Contra" rebels -- a coalition of dissatisfied peasants, former Sandinista allies and Somozistas. The result was a cruel and costly civil war that in 1989 compelled the Sandinistas to accept a peace arrangement negotiated by Costa Rican President Oscar Arias Sanchez.

In the February 1990 elections under the Arias agreement, Ortega and the Sandinistas lost to a right-centrist coalition led by Violeta Barrios de Chamorro. Ortega relinquished the presidency the following April. Since that time, he has remained an influential leader in the Sandinista movement and through it, although less so recently, in Nicaraguan politics. Most recently, he has been in the news in connection with accusations of sexual abuse by a female member of his family.

## **Ronald Wilson Reagan**

### **U.S. President**

The son of an alcoholic shoe salesman and a woman devoted to charitable endeavors, Reagan -- born on February 6, 1911, in Tampico, Illinois -- had a poor but happy youth. He was a well-liked, athletic student but not very interested in academics. After graduating from Eureka College, Illinois, in 1932, he became a popular sports announcer. In 1937 he left for Hollywood, did a screen test and was offered a contract by Warner Brothers. It was the beginning of a movie career in which he would make more than 50 movies. From 1947 to 1952, Reagan, at that time still a Roosevelt Democrat, headed the Screen Actor's Guild, often contending with rival, radical unions. It was a formative political experience that turned him into a fierce anti-communist. During the 1950s, with his movie career sagging, he became a traveling corporate spokesman for General Electric and also turned to television. In 1962 he became a Republican, and in 1964 he gave an eloquent speech at the Republican Party convention endorsing the party's candidate for president, conservative Barry Goldwater. In 1966 Reagan ran for office himself, urged on by a group of California Republicans. He served two terms as governor of California. In 1968 he made a feeble run for president.

In a more serious effort in 1976 he challenged President Ford for the Republican nomination, but he failed again. However, in 1980 he took full advantage of Jimmy Carter's malaise presidency and gained the White House through a landslide victory. Reagan was a popular president, even though he outraged others with what they saw as a lack of understanding of, or even interest in, vital policy issues. Domestically, Reagan pursued a contradictory policy of federal tax cuts and a massive military buildup; abroad he was an anti-communist crusader. His aim was to rebuild American strength and self-confidence and exploit Soviet imperial overreach where he could. He also professed to be interested in negotiations with the Soviet Union, but only from a position of strength. After his landslide re-election in 1984, Reagan surprised many by engaging with new Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in serious arms-reduction talks. Greatly aided by the escalating decline of the Soviet Union, Reagan made an important contribution to the end of the Cold War. His second term was tainted by the Iran-Contra arms for hostages affair. Nonetheless, he left office a popular figure.

## **Franklin Delano Roosevelt**

### **U.S. President**

The longest-serving president in the history of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt -- or FDR, as he was popularly known -- is credited with pulling the country out of the Depression and leading it through much of World War II.

Roosevelt was born in Hyde Park, New York, on January 30, 1882, graduated from Harvard in 1904 and studied at Columbia Law School. He ran for the New York Senate as a Democrat, won and fought the ward politicians of the state's Tammany Hall.

President Wilson appointed Roosevelt assistant secretary of the Navy, a post he held from 1913 to 1920. Roosevelt helped the Navy mobilize for World War I. In 1920, the Democrats nominated him for vice president, but the ticket lost and he returned to private life. While on vacation in August 1921, Roosevelt caught polio. Over the next few years, he worked hard to rehabilitate himself and kept in touch with party leaders.

He returned to national politics on crutches in 1924, nominating Gov. Alfred E. Smith for president at the Democratic convention. Roosevelt was elected governor of New York in 1928. After the Depression hit, his legislation foreshadowed that of his New Deal. He was re-elected in 1930 by a large majority.

In 1932, Roosevelt won the presidential election in a landslide, carrying 42 states. In his inaugural speech he told Americans, "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself." His first 100 days in office are famous for the amount of legislation he proposed -- and Congress approved -- to alleviate suffering from the Depression. In international politics, his administration recognized the Soviet Union in November 1933, exchanging diplomatic representatives for the first time since the Russian Revolution of 1917.

Re-elected in 1936, Roosevelt expanded his New Deal, although some of it failed. While his first term was largely dominated by domestic politics, his next three terms were largely concerned with World War II.

After winning a third term in 1940, Roosevelt lobbied hard for Lend-Lease, a program to allow the British - - who no longer could pay for war materials -- to lease U.S. war equipment and pay the debt after the war. The bill passed Congress in March 1941. After the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor in December 1941 and Germany and Italy declared war on the United States soon after, Roosevelt and Churchill met to discuss strategy and forge a stronger alliance. In 1943 at Casablanca they decided to demand unconditional surrender from the Axis powers and agreed that none of the Allies would sign a separate peace. At Tehran in November 1943, Roosevelt tried to get Stalin and Churchill to agree on important war aims and to position the United States between Britain and the Soviet Union so as to be able to work with Stalin after the war.

Elected to an unprecedented fourth term in 1944, Roosevelt began to think ahead to the war's end. The major powers signed the Bretton Woods agreement in August 1944 creating the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. After D-Day (June 6, 1944), the Allied powers met at Yalta to draw up the future of Europe and solidify the structure of the future United Nations. By Yalta however, Roosevelt was very sick. Two months later, on April 12, 1945, he died of a massive cerebral hemorrhage in Warm Springs, Georgia, at age 63.

## **Anwar Sadat**

### **Egyptian President**

Born in the Delta village of Mit Abu el-Kom on December 25, 1918, and of peasant origin, Sadat had a military career that began with his entry in the Royal Military Academy in the 1930s. In 1938 he entered the army as a second lieutenant and was posted in the Sudan. There, he met with Gamal Abdel Nasser, and together, along with several other junior officers, they formed the secret, anti-British, anti-monarchy Free Officers revolutionary organization. During World War II the British imprisoned Sadat for treason, but he escaped. In 1952 the Free Officers succeeded in seizing power. Sadat worked closely with Nasser, who in 1954 emerged as the regime's strongman. In 1964, Sadat became Egypt's vice president. When Nasser died suddenly of a heart attack in 1970, Sadat succeeded him.

As president, Sadat inherited a relationship with the Soviet Union that was deteriorating. Moscow was not fulfilling Egypt's requests for economic and military aid, Egypt was refusing to become a Soviet foreign policy pawn, and the United States was working to disrupt the relationship. In July 1972 Sadat ordered the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet Union's 5,000 military advisers. They were followed by 15,000 air combat personnel. The relationship was partially restored later in the year. In October 1973, Egypt and Syria attacked Israel, aiming to reverse losses suffered during the 1967 Six Day War and destroy the Jewish state. Initially, the Arabs gained much ground. However, with U.S. help the Israelis turned the tide. The war ended after both the Soviet Union and the United States intervened to prevent a destruction of the balance of power in the region. When U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger brokered a truce, Sadat became convinced that good relations with Washington served Egypt's interests better than friendship with Moscow. Sadat abrogated the Soviet-Egyptian Treaty of Friendship in 1976.

Having achieved a somewhat improved negotiating position vis-a-vis Israel in 1973 and '74, and with the sympathy of the United States, Sadat next pursued peace. In November 1977, in order to overcome Israeli suspicions, he made a historic trip to Israel, also addressing the Israeli parliament (Knesset). This breakthrough led to the Camp David talks moderated by the new U.S. president, Jimmy Carter, and eventually the Camp David peace treaty. In 1978, Sadat and his Israeli counterpart, Prime Minister Menachem Begin, jointly received the Nobel Peace Prize. But although welcomed in the West, the Camp David Accords were almost unanimously rejected by the Arab world, and to many Arabs Sadat was a traitor. Sadat was assassinated on October 6, 1981, in Cairo by Muslim fundamentalists while reviewing a military parade commemorating the 1973 Yom Kippur war. He was 62.

## **Joseph Stalin**

### **Soviet Premier**

As ruler of the U.S.S.R. from 1929 to 1953, Joseph Stalin was in charge of Soviet policies during the early phase of the Cold War. Born Iosif Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili on December 21, 1879, he adopted the name Stalin, which means "Man of Steel," while still a young revolutionary.

Stalin first rose to power in 1922 as secretary general of the Communist Party. Using administrative skills and ruthless maneuvering, Stalin rid himself of all potential rivals in the party, first by having many of them condemned as "deviationists," and later by ordering them executed.

To ensure his position and to push forward "socialism in one country," he put the Soviet Union on a course of crash collectivization and industrialization. An estimated 25 million farmers were forced onto state farms. Collectivization alone killed as many as 14.5 million people, and Soviet agricultural output was reduced by 25 percent, according to some estimates.

In the 1930s, Stalin launched his Great Purge, ridding the Communist Party of all the people who had brought him to power. Soviet nuclear physicist and academician Andrei Sakharov estimated that more than 1.2 million party members -- more than half the party -- were arrested between 1936 and 1939, of which 600,000 died by torture, execution or perished in the Gulag.

Stalin also purged the military leadership, executing a large percentage of the officer corps and leaving the U.S.S.R. unprepared when World War II broke out. In an effort to avoid war with Germany, Stalin agreed to a non-aggression pact with German leader Adolf Hitler in August 1939.

When Hitler invaded the U.S.S.R. on June 22, 1941, Stalin was not seen or heard from for two weeks. After addressing the nation two weeks later, Stalin took command of his troops.

With the Soviet Union initially carrying the burden of the fighting, Stalin met with British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and U.S. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt at Tehran (1943) and Yalta (1945), and with Churchill and Roosevelt's successor, President Harry S. Truman, in Potsdam (1945), dividing the postwar world into "spheres of influence."

Though the U.S.S.R. only joined the war against Japan in August 1945, Stalin insisted on expanding Soviet influence into Asia, namely the Kurile Islands, the southern half of Sakhalin Island and the northern section of Korea. More important, Stalin wanted to secure a territorial buffer zone that had ideologically friendly regimes along the U.S.S.R.'s western borders.

In the wake of the German defeat, the U.S.S.R. occupied most of the countries in Eastern Europe and eventually ensured the installation of Stalinist regimes. Stalin said later to Milovan Djilas, a leading Yugoslav communist, "Whoever occupies a territory also imposes his own social system." He believed that the Americans and the British "imperialism" would clash and eventually "socialism" would triumph.

After initially approving the participation by Eastern European countries in the U.S.-sponsored Marshall Plan (1947), Stalin forbade it. Stalin also sought to gain influence in Germany, though his exact goals remain controversial. Denied access to the western German occupation zones, he agreed to the establishment of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) in October 1949.

Encouraged by Communist victory in the Chinese Civil War and the establishment of the People's Republic of China in October 1949, Stalin gave the green light to North Korean leader Kim Il Sung to attack South Korea in June 1950.

His confrontational foreign policy and his domestic terror regime (the "Stalinist system") had an impact on Soviet society and politics well beyond the dictator's death of natural causes at age 73 on March 5, 1953.

## **Josip Broz Tito**

### **Premier of Yugoslavia**

Born May 7, 1892 in the village of Kumrovec, Austria-Hungary, Josip Broz was the seventh of fifteen children born to Roman Catholic peasant parents. He only attended school from the age of seven to twelve. After his apprenticeship to a locksmith, he wandered throughout the Empire as a journeyman, even working as a test driver for Daimler Benz near Vienna in 1913. At the age of 18 he joined the Croatian Social Democratic Party. In 1913 he was conscripted into the Austro-Hungarian Imperial Army and the following year, when World War I broke out, he fought on the Russian front against the Serbs. Captured there (1915), he was imprisoned in a Russian hospital, became fluent in Russian and was released when Russian Czar Nicholas II abdicated in 1917. Broz, who supported the Bolsheviks, took a train to Petrograd to fight in the streets with Lenin's revolutionaries where he was again captured then imprisoned. When the Communists took power in October 1917, he was released and joined the Red Guard to fight in the Russian Civil War.

In 1920 he returned to Croatia, (now part of the newly established Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes), and joined the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY). The CPY was outlawed after a young Bosnian communist assassinated the Minister of the Interior and Broz was arrested several times. His arrests and detentions did not prevent him from continuing his underground communist activities and in April 1927 he joined the CPY's Zagreb Committee. His positions within the CPY brought him positive attention from Moscow: he was named a deputy of the Politburo of the CPY Central committee and leader of the Croatian and Slovenian committees. His rapid rise in the party was interrupted when he was again arrested. By the time he was released in 1934, the parliamentary regime had collapsed and had been replaced by the royal Yugoslav dictatorship which retained the ban on the communist party. Shortly after his release, Broz was named a full member of the CPY Politburo and Central committee. It was at this time that he adopted the pseudonym "Tito" to use in his underground party work.

In 1935, Tito travelled to the Soviet Union, working for a year in the Balkan section of Comintern. He returned to Yugoslavia after being named the Secretary -General of the still outlawed CPY by Comintern and proceeded to replenish the ranks of CPY (which had been severely reduced by Stalin's purges) with his hand-picked replacements - including men like Milovan Djilas, Aleksandar Rankvic and Edward Kardelj. In 1940, Tito's position was officially ratified by 105 of the 6,000 members of the CPY at a secret meeting in Zagreb.

Tito did not initially respond to Germany's invasion of Yugoslavia on Stalin's orders because Stalin had signed the Nazi -Soviet non-aggression pact. After Germany attacked the Soviet Union (June 1941), Tito called a Central committee meeting, was named Military Commander and issued a call to arms with the slogan, "Death to Fascism, Freedom to the People!" Tito's Partisans, due to their prior organization in underground communist cells, were well-organized and aimed not only to liberate Yugoslavia from the Axis powers, but to seize power for the Communist party. To this end Tito created a revolutionary government for the areas that the Partisans freed from Axis control. This government prefigured the administrative structure of the new Yugoslavia. Tito's Partisans faced competition from the largely Serbian Chetniks who were long supported by the British and the royal government in exile. After the Partisans stood up to intense Axis attacks (January to June 1943), Allied leaders switched their support to the Partisans and American President Roosevelt, British Premier Churchill and Soviet leader Stalin officially recognized the Partisans at the Tehran Conference. This resulted in Allied aid being parachuted behind Axis lines to assist the Partisans. Although Churchill had hoped that Tito would cooperate with the government-in-exile, this proved not to be the case. Tito consolidated power after the Yalta Conference (February 1945) by purging his government of non-communists. In November (1945), a new constitution was proclaimed and Tito organized a strong army and a strong secret police force (the UDBA) loyal to him. The UDBA methodically found, imprisoned and even executed a large number of Nazi collaborators, Catholic priests, those who had opposed the communist-led war effort, and even communists who did not agree with Tito. Tito then proceeded to centralize the economy and society in Stalinist fashion although agriculture was not successfully collectivized.

Stalin disliked Tito's attempt to ignore his suggestions as to how the new Yugoslav government and economy would be run. He was also very unhappy with Tito's foreign-policy decisions taken independently of Moscow: first to try to form a Balkan federation with Bulgarian leader Dimitrov, second with Yugoslavia's relations with Albania and finally with Tito's decision to support the communists in the Greek Civil War. Tito, angered by Stalin's interferences in Yugoslav affairs as well as with Stalin's attempt to depose him denounced the Soviet policy of "...unconditional subordination of small socialist countries to one large socialist country." Stalin's responded in June 1948 by expelling the "Tito clique" from Cominform, in essence, kicking Yugoslavia out of the "socialist camp" to go it alone. Stalin imposed economic boycotts and sanctions but stopped short of physically invading Yugoslavia.

Tito then used the UDBA to purge the party and to "reeducate" Stalinist communists within the party. He also began a decentralization of the economy, supporting the idea of workers councils and workers self-management, an idea which he revised over the coming years. He also turned to the West at the same time that the West perceived an opportunity to utilize the first split in the Communist East bloc to its own advantage. Western aid to Yugoslavia came in both the form of dollars and tacit military cooperation with NATO. In return, Tito sealed off the border between Yugoslavia and Greece, effectively ending the Greek Civil War.

When Stalin died (1953), Tito was faced with the choice to continue his western orientation and reforms or to try to reconcile with the Soviet union. Tito chose to try to reconcile, meeting with Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev in Belgrade in 1955. The resulting Belgrade Declaration affirmed equality in relations between communist-ruled countries, although the limits of that equality became obvious in the case of other communist countries - Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968. Tito also began to conceive more broadly of

a foreign policy in which countries could be actively neutral between the two blocs. With Nasser of Egypt and Nehru of India, Tito convened a meeting of 25 actively neutral states on his island in the Adriatic in 1956. His policy of "nonengagement" led to his policy of "nonalignment" which created a third, alternative neutral bloc under his leadership. During the 1960's and 1970's he traveled widely in the third World to promote non-alignment.

Domestically, Tito tried to create a balance among the nationalities of the country that would ensure stability as well as his control of the country. He created a system of "symmetrical federalism" that was suppose to ensure equality among the six republics and two autonomous provinces (Kosovo and Vojvodina) although in practice it frequently played the nationalities off against each other. He also decreased the power of the UDBA, was made President for life in 1974 and ousted his opponents while trying, ultimately to ensure stability in the succession to power. Tito allowed a freer exchange of people and ideas than most of the countries in the bloc. Many Yugoslavs worked in Western Europe, and Western Europeans visited and vacationed regularly in Yugoslavia. Tito also promoted scientific exchanges between his country and the West. Tito died on May 4 1980, after being gravely ill for almost four months, in a hospital in Ljubljana.

## **Harry S Truman**

### **U.S. President**

"The Buck Stops Here," "Plain speaker," "Give 'em hell" -- all conjure up images of Harry S. Truman, the U.S. president remembered for his doctrine of communist containment -- as well as his decision to end World War II by unleashing the atom bomb on Japan.

Born on a farm near Lamar, Missouri, on May 8, 1884, Truman graduated from high school in 1901 and held a variety of jobs before fighting in France as a lieutenant in the National Guard. After the war, he and a friend opened a haberdashery store, but the economy was bad and the business failed. At age 38, with the help of Kansas City political boss Thomas J. Pendergast, Truman won a county judgeship. Truman attended law school at nights, lost reelection in 1924 and was elected to another term in 1926. In 1934, with Pendergast's help, he was elected to the Senate and was branded a "Pendergast" senator upon his arrival in Washington. He was a reliable "New Dealer." His hard work, diligence and fairness to all earned the respect of his colleagues. In his second term, which he won without the help of Pendergast, he enhanced his reputation by chairing the Special Committee Investigating National Defense, exposing graft, waste and corruption and saving the United States much money.

In 1944, Truman became the vice presidential nominee on the Democratic ticket. Only a few months after coming to office, however, President Franklin D. Roosevelt died (April 12, 1945) and Truman was sworn into office having only met with the president twice since their election. He was virtually unbriefed in world affairs. Less than two weeks after taking office, Truman finalized the arrangements for the U.N. charter-writing meeting in San Francisco. After Germany surrendered to the Allies on May 7, Truman attended his only Allied conference in Potsdam (July 17-August 2), where he met with Stalin, Churchill and new British Prime Minister Clement Attlee to help shape the world -- though much was left undecided. While in Potsdam, he learned of the success of the atomic test at Los Alamos, New Mexico. Less than three months after taking office he authorized the use of the atomic bomb, first on Hiroshima on August 6, and then, three days later, on Nagasaki. Japan officially surrendered on September 2.

After World War II, signs of increasingly troubled relations between the United States and the Soviet Union became evident. The inability of the two countries to reach agreement on key postwar issues and the growing wariness of his advisers contributed to Truman's hardening stance toward the Soviets. On March 12, 1947, Truman proclaimed that "it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or outside pressures" and proceeded to request \$400 million to help fight communist insurgents in Greece and Turkey. In June 1947, Secretary of State George F. Marshall offered U.S. economic aid to European countries to help stave off hunger and desperation, which the Truman administration believed provided the breeding grounds for nascent communist movements. Four months later, State Department official George F. Kennan's "Mr. X" article, which urged containment of the Soviets, appeared in *Foreign Affairs*. Truman stumped the country and lobbied Congress to approve the Marshall Plan. Thus in several ways he attempted to "contain" communism.

Domestically Truman worked for civil rights legislation and reformed the foreign affairs apparatus. The Foreign Service Act of 1946 professionalized the Foreign Service. The National Security Act of 1947 created the CIA, the National Security Council and the present-day Defense Department, with civilian control over the military.

Re-elected in 1948, Truman continued to press domestically for civil rights and to contain communism abroad. He signed off on the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1949 and the Paris and Bonn conventions, which helped bring West Germany into the allied camp under the aegis of the European Defense Community. In Asia, however, Truman's policies were less successful. He was unable to assure the success of the Nationalists over the communists in the conclusion of the Chinese civil war. Then, on June 25, 1950, the communist North Korean army invaded South Korea. Two days later, Truman committed U.S. armed forces under the leadership of Gen. Douglas MacArthur. Truman later fired MacArthur for publicly challenging Truman's orders, thereby asserting the primacy of civilian control over the military.

In 1952, Truman announced he would not seek a third term. He returned to private life, wrote his memoirs and built his presidential library. He died at age 88 on December 26, 1972, and was buried in the courtyard of his library in Independence, Missouri.

## **Walter Ulbricht**

### **East German Premier**

Born on June 30, 1893, in Leipzig to working-class parents, Walter Ulbricht was trained as a cabinet maker after attending public school for only eight years. He joined the Socialist Workers Youth movement in 1908, and in 1912 he became a member of the Socialist Party of Germany (SPD), the start of a 50-year career as a leftist activist and politician. At the start of World War I he joined the radical wing of the SPD in criticizing the party's approval in the Reichstag of war credits. In 1915 Ulbricht was called up for service, and until his desertion in 1918 he fought in the German army. During the war he also became a member of the left radical Spartakus League, the precursor of the German Communist Party (KPD). Ulbricht was one of the founding members of the KPD's Leipzig organization in early January 1919.

Between 1920 and 1923 Ulbricht occupied various regional offices in the KPD, distinguishing himself through tireless organizing work. His early activities earned him the nickname "Comrade Cel" -- an apparatchick with, by all accounts, an ice-cold personality. In 1922 he made his first trip to Moscow, where he shook hands with Lenin. Later in life, when dealing with Soviet officials too young to have known Lenin, he rarely missed an opportunity to remind others of his seniority in the communist movement. During the 1920s Ulbricht rose quickly through his party's ranks. In 1928 he became a member of the Reichstag. That year he also became a candidate member of the Comintern's executive committee, necessitating frequent, politically valuable travel to Moscow. He became a faithful executor of Stalin's will, most evidently in 1932 when as KPD leader in Berlin he ordered communist cooperation with the Nazis against the faltering German democracy.

When Hitler came to power in 1933, Ulbricht went underground, and next was active in KPD organizations in Paris and Prague. In 1935 he went to live in Moscow, where he spent most of his time until the final weeks of World War II. It speaks to his identification with the Stalinist system that where other prominent foreign communists perished in Stalin's purges, Ulbricht survived and by 1945 had become the most influential German communist.

In April 1945, Ulbricht returned to Germany at the head of a Soviet-controlled advance group of German communists. The following year he and his comrades maneuvered themselves into the political driver's seat in Soviet-occupied Germany. They forced the Soviet zone SPD into a merger with the KPD -- to form the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) -- and became Moscow's primary tool for policymaking in the zone. Ulbricht was the spider in the SED web and, after the establishment of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) in the Soviet zone, also the prime policymaker in East Germany. His power seemed in peril during the GDR crisis in 1953, when the population rose in opposition to the communist regime, but ultimately Moscow could not find a credible alternative among the SED leadership. After fighting off another internal challenge to his position in 1956-1957 Ulbricht ruled supreme. In 1961 he convinced Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev that in order to secure the survival of the GDR the regime needed to build a wall in Berlin, sealing off West Berlin. In spite of the fact that this did stabilize the GDR to some extent, Ulbricht never succeeded in turning his country into an economic success. When, by the late 1960s, Moscow and other SED leaders began to show an interest in establishing closer economic ties with the West, particularly West Germany, the time had come for Ulbricht to retire. This he was forced to do in 1971. Ulbricht died at age 80 on August 1, 1973, in Dollnsee, near Berlin.

## **Lech Walesa**

### **Founder of Poland's Solidarity Trade Union**

Born September 29, 1943, in Popowo, Poland, Lech Walesa was the son of a carpenter. He attended primary and vocational school before taking up the position of electrical engineer in the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk, Poland, in 1967. In 1970, when the shipyards were the center of huge and violent demonstrations against the government's decision to increase food prices, Walesa was among the demonstrators. Six years later, Walesa was fired from his job when he not only protested the Gierek government's raise in food prices, but emerged as an anti-government union activist. He turned to the Workers Defense Committee (KOR), an underground intellectual group established to help the families of workers fired because of the protests, and became increasingly involved in their activities as a dissident. Walesa was arrested several times between 1976 and 1980 for his dissident activities.

In July 1980, the Polish government was once again forced to raise food prices, and by mid-August more than 100,000 workers were on strike. The Gdansk shipyards were once again at the heart of the protest. On August 14, 1980, the workers successfully seized control of the yard and demanded the reinstatement of Lech Walesa, who had scaled the shipyard fence to join the workers inside. Quickly named their leader, Walesa knew that the best hope of success was if the shipyard workers were joined by others in protest. Walesa chaired the Interfactory Strike Committee, which linked the shipyard workers with workers in 20 other striking factories in the Gdansk-Sopot-Gdynia area, and the committee issued a series of bold political demands. The Communist Party leadership, fearing wider riots and protests, met with Walesa, and on August 31, Walesa and Poland's first deputy premier, Mieczyslaw Jagielski, signed an agreement that gave the workers the right to organize freely and independently. In September, Solidarity was officially formed in Gdansk by representatives of various workers groups throughout the country, and Walesa was elected chair of the new organization. Walesa's role in the negotiations and as chair of Solidarity brought him immediate national and international recognition.

In 1981 however, Defense Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski was appointed prime minister in a year of increasing social unrest and dissatisfaction in Poland. In December, martial law was imposed and Solidarity was outlawed. Walesa was arrested, and for the next seven years he was either under arrest, watched closely by secret police or harassed. Awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1983, Walesa had his wife accept the award for him in Oslo, fearing that authorities would not allow him back into Poland if he left.

By December 1988 it was clear that the unrest, social dissatisfaction and economic conditions could not continue without change. At the conclusion of the 10th plenary session of the Communist Party, the party invited the still-illegal and large opposition Solidarity movement to join in talks beginning in February 1989. These talks, which became known as the "roundtable talks," lasted for 59 days, with 13 working groups in 94 sessions.

Walesa traveled the country giving speeches in support of the negotiations, and he and his advisers met with the chief government negotiator and minister of the interior in several special high-level talks in Magdalenka. In the end, Solidarity was legalized, political reforms were enacted that increased the power of the Sejm (parliament), and Solidarity could run candidates for parliament. Walesa actively campaigned for all Solidarity candidates, his picture appearing on posters with most of the candidates, and he hit the campaign trail with vigor.

After elections in June 1989, Solidarity captured all the seats it had been allowed to fight for. Walesa, a key figure throughout the campaign, did not run for office himself but actively participated in many facets of the new government. In 1989, Walesa decided that he wanted to be president of Poland. Despite his campaign techniques, which included some mudslinging and tarnished his reputation abroad for a period of time, he won by a landslide. As president he led the country through industrial privatization, Poland's first set of totally free parliamentary elections in 1991, and international relations with the newly emerging states of Central and Eastern Europe as well as the well-established Western powers.

Walesa lost his re-election campaign in 1995 to Alexander Kwasniewski, the head of the Democratic Left Alliance. Walesa still remains active in Polish politics, although he does not hold a government office.

## **Boris Yeltsin**

### **Former Russian President**

The first-ever popularly elected leader of Russia, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin was a protégé of Mikhail Gorbachev's. Ironically, Yeltsin would both save and end Gorbachev's rule.

Born on February 1, 1931, in Sverdlovsk (now Yekaterinburg), Yeltsin worked on various construction projects from 1955 to 1968. He joined the Communist Party in 1961 during Khrushchev's anti-Stalinist reforms. In 1976, Yeltsin became first chairman of the Sverdlosk party committee. In that capacity, he met Gorbachev, who held the same position in Stavropol.

When Gorbachev took power in 1985, he chose Yeltsin to reform the corrupt Moscow party hierarchy. In 1986, Gorbachev made Yeltsin a non-voting member of the Politburo. Yeltsin, widely hailed as an effective reformer, soon became dissatisfied with the pace of perestroika, or restructuring. After challenging party conservatives and even Gorbachev himself, Yeltsin resigned from the party leadership in 1987 and from the Politburo in 1988.

Demoted to a deputy construction minister, Yeltsin remained popular with the people of Moscow. Popular demonstrations -- a new phenomenon in the U.S.S.R. -- erupted in support of Yeltsin. When Gorbachev introduced contested elections for the new Congress of People's Deputies in 1989, Yeltsin won a landslide victory. He was later elected president of the Russian parliament over Gorbachev's objections.

In July 1990, Yeltsin quit the Communist Party. The following year, he was elected president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, the first popularly elected leader in Russian history.

Yeltsin's place in history was assured during the August 1991 coup by communist hard-liners. With Gorbachev detained at his country house, Yeltsin became the leader of the resistance to the coup, rallying his followers and demanding Gorbachev's return.

When the coup collapsed after a few days, Gorbachev did return to Moscow -- but the center of power had shifted. On August 23, Yeltsin humiliated Gorbachev in front of the Russian parliament, forcing him to read out documents implicating Gorbachev's own party colleagues in the coup against him.

Meanwhile, Yeltsin was negotiating with the leaders of Ukraine and Belarus for a new arrangement to replace the Soviet Union. When the Commonwealth of Independent States was established on December 8, 1991, U.S. President Bush was notified before Gorbachev.

On December 25, Gorbachev resigned as president of a Soviet Union that had effectively ceased to exist.

Faced with a stagnating economy, a hostile legislature, an attempted coup and a military debacle in Chechnya, Yeltsin's prospects seemed dim in the 1996 elections. But Yeltsin staged another comeback, defeating communist challenger Gennady Zyuganov in a July runoff.

In November 1996, Yeltsin underwent quadruple heart bypass surgery and was confined to the hospital for months; health problems would continue to be a concern throughout his presidency.

Yeltsin became increasingly unpopular in his second term, as economic progress remained elusive and rumors of ill health became more pervasive. He appeared in public more sporadically, replacing government ministers as crises arose. On New Year's Eve 1999, Yeltsin surprised his nation and much of the world by announcing his resignation -- giving Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin the additional title of acting president. Castro remained fairly popular in Cuba. Many Cubans seemed to benefit from the redistribution, education and health policies of his regime. Those who opposed Castro often tried to flee the country for the United States before the regime could arrest them. Although Castro has never held an open election, many scholars argue that during the early years of his regime, he could have won one. Internationally, Cuba was solidly in the Soviet camp, also receiving considerable economic support from Moscow. During the 1970s Castro sent his own military intervention force to civil war-ridden Angola to support the communist side. The end of Soviet aid after 1991 has exposed the weaknesses of the Castro system,

causing the regime to initiate some cautious reforms.

Churchill's party was out of power until 1951, when he returned to the position of prime minister at age 77. In 1953, Churchill was made Knight of the Garter, Britain's highest order of knighthood, by Queen Elizabeth, and he won the Nobel Prize in literature. He suffered a stroke in 1954, retired in April 1955 and went back to writing and painting. He