

September 7, 1998:

MM: "Early Years of the Cold War; From Yalta to Westminster" January 1945 through March 1946

In January 1945, World War II was still in full swing. The Battle of the Bulge had turned back Germany, and the end of the war in Europe was evident. The only question was when Germany and Italy would fall.

Thoughts already turned to a post-war world. People thought about what had gone wrong at the end of the first World War (the failed attempt at a League of Nations) and began planning what to do after the end of the second war to avoid the same mistakes. Over 12 million Americans were serving under arms. Forces on both sides of Germany were making ground. While the end of the war with Japan was not a certainty, it was clear the war with Germany would soon end.

Roosevelt was driven by three dominant motives in January of 1945 :

- Avoid World War III
- Build an international peacekeeping organization
- Successfully conclude World War II

There were three meetings between the US president, the British prime minister and the Soviet premier:

- April of 1943 in Tehran
- February of 1945 at the Black Sea Resort in Yalta
- July/August of 1945 in Potsdam

The Yalta conference became significant. The name alone became a symbol – for some of unity, for others of betrayal. The outcome of Yalta was unexpected, but came as a result of Roosevelt's public communication practice. Roosevelt believed information was power – a sort of currency. As a result, Roosevelt withheld information from everyone.

The American public did not know that at the Tehran conference in 1943 Roosevelt had assured Stalin that Eastern Europe would have Soviet-friendly governments.

This agreement included countries like Romania, Czechoslovakia, and especially Poland. Few people were aware of Roosevelt's vow, and the announced intent of the Yalta conference was to determine the state of exactly those buffer countries, currently occupied by Soviet troops.



Stalin, Roosevelt, and Churchill at Tehran

Instead, Yalta confirmed the Tehran decisions. The Yalta accords surprised many. The were filled with loose language that did not really guarantee anything.

Soviet troops were already in Poland. The Soviet-controlled committee (called the Lublin Committee) was in control of the government. The Polish government-in-exile in London was unacceptable to the Soviet Union, and the US was not going to fight with the Soviet Union to replace the original government.

America believed they would need the Soviet Union to aid in the war in the Pacific, so they felt it was necessary to pacify the Soviets. Roosevelt believed Polish freedom was an acceptable price to pay to maintain the alliance.

Instead of its described intent, the time at Yalta was spent discussing (1) post-war boundaries of Poland and (2) how Poland's new government would be organized.

Stalin expected he would dictate the Polish boundaries. He felt that since his was the country that was attacked, he had earned the right to define Poland's boundaries. He said eastern Poland would be annexed by the USSR and the lost land would be made up on the Western boundary by confiscating land from Germany.

Since the Soviet troops already occupied Poland, the US conceded Stalin's boundary requests and focused instead on the second question: the makeup of the new Polish government

Since the Lublin Committee was running Poland from Moscow and the government-in-exile was operating from London, Roosevelt wanted Stalin to form a new, third government until free, open elections could be held. Roosevelt was only able to extract a promise to add a few officials to the Lublin group.

The conference report called for additions to the Lublin Committee on a "broader democratic basis," and free, unfettered elections "as soon as possible." This elastic language meant nothing. Within a week, the allies accused the Soviets of breaking the accords, but the Soviet Union maintained they had abided by the accords.

Roosevelt realized the problems, but needed an end to the war. He hoped to form an alliance and avert another war. He hoped he would be able to pull the USSR into a world organization. Stalin did agree to join the war with Japan two to three months after the defeat of Germany, but in exchange demanded several parcels of land; Saakland Islands, the Port of Darrian, lease of Port Arthur, the Carial Islands etc.

Roosevelt declared Yalta a success before congress, but privately he was troubled by the results. The Soviets quickly consolidated power in Romania and established the Lublin committee. The USSR did not send Secretary of State Molotov to the opening of the United Nations. The Soviet Union ordered OSS agents to stop contact with Germans in Switzerland. Roosevelt cabled Moscow describing the "discouraging lack of progress" in

Poland and in the country's relations. By the time Roosevelt died, the Polish question had reached a dead end.

Truman had only been vice-president for three months. He knew little of the current diplomacy and had never heard of the atomic bomb. Roosevelt had kept Truman in the dark along with the rest of the nation.

Truman listened to advisors recommending a harder line with the Soviet Union. Truman did not know about Roosevelt's agreements at Tehran, so he demanded concessions in Poland or America would not join the United Nations.

When Germany finally surrendered, Soviet military occupied all of Central and Eastern Europe. The commanders met in Germany to determine the new system of governance. The Soviet Secretary of State Zukov postponed the talks until everyone had retreated to their own zones. Military units were scattered geographically, and Zukov wanted to stall discussions until these units were moved to their appropriate territory. Churchill resisted this proposal. He foresaw fighting again with the Soviets, and wanted to maintain the strategic ground some of the British units occupied. Truman, however, agreed to the terms.

On July 17, the third conference among the leaders of the three world powers was held in Potsdam. Truman called for a reorganization of Romania and Bulgaria. Stalin refused, saying a true, free government would be hostile to the Soviet Union.

The conference lasted two weeks, and it forged an agreement on the new German organization and a system of reparation from Germany. The questions of Italy and Soviet-occupied Europe were delayed. Truman announced Potsdam a success.

The war ended by August 14. The alliance was clearly not maintained, though no one was willing to admit it.

The Yalta report sought to present the summit as a satisfactory meeting with unified results. The language of the document emphasizes unity.

September 9, 1998:
JO: "Fair play? That's out!"

Definitions:

- COI: Coordinator of Information (under Donovan) – an analytical group.
- BCS: British Security Council (under Stephenson) – operated in U.S.
- ULTRA: Interception and decryption of German diplomatic and military communications and Japanese military communications. All these messages used the Enigma code machine.
- MAGIC: Japanese diplomatic communications using Purple code machine.

These intelligence operations gave American forces knowledge that Admiral Yamamoto was traveling to the Solomon Islands with six fighter escorts. The U.S. had the information two to three days in advance, but using the information might disclose the fact the Enigma code had been broken. The decision was made to shoot down Yamamoto, and the Japanese, fortunately, did not change their code.

In November of 1940, Churchill had four to five hours advance knowledge that the town of Coventry would be bombed. Churchill opted not to evacuate the city in order to conceal ULTRA's success.

In the early years of the war, there was an absence of HUMINT and covert action.



William Donovan was a Columbia Law graduate. He joined the military to fight Pancho Villa. Donovan commanded a battalion in World War I, sustaining many wounds and earning the nickname "Wild Bill."

Donovan traveled frequently to Europe where he had professional contact with British intelligence officers on behalf of Roosevelt. Despite the urgings of the British, the military and the FBI opposed the formation of a civilian intelligence agency.

Roosevelt stalled, but was finally persuaded by the British to form a civilian intelligence service and to make Bill Donovan its head. In 1942 the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) was formed.

Donovan created an elite, able organization. He hired professors, lawyers, journalists, writers, etc. The best and brightest minds he could find. He signed up 2,000 analysts from mostly university ranks and 9,000 operatives mostly from East Coast high society.

During the war, there was a standing order from Roosevelt that anyone with knowledge of ULTRA could not be placed in a position of possible capture. Donovan, with this

knowledge, had landed with the troops at Normandy. When he encountered trouble, he proposed to one of his comrades that if it appeared they might be captured, they should shoot each other. It never came to that, as they were ferried off the beach.

The OSS performed admirably. When U.S. forces landed in Africa in 1942 and in Italy in 1943, they were greeted by OSS agents who had prepared the landing sites. The OSS successfully parachuted men and supplies to the French resistance.

By 1944, Donovan began looking to future threats, and began shifting his resources to Russia before the war had even ended. OSS operatives purchased a Soviet key list and code machine instructions. Roosevelt was appalled at the news and ordered the materials returned. Roosevelt considered the Soviets allies and felt possession of the information was inappropriate. Donovan had the material returned - claiming it had been discovered in Norway during postwar cleanup and was being returned as a gesture of good faith. Foreseeing future strife between the superpowers, however, Donovan secretly retained a copy of the materials.

The German Chief of Foreign Armies East, Gaylen, had good Soviet intelligence and made it available to the United States. General Gaylen had sleeper agents within the Soviet Union which he activated under American control.

After Roosevelt's death, however, Donovan's standing in Washington crumbled. Truman did not want a civilian intelligence service. The president's aides portrayed Donovan's proposed civilian service as a Gestapo-like organization. Donovan lost his campaign for an intelligence agency. Eighteen days after the Japanese surrender the OSS was dissolved.

Instead of a full-blown civilian intelligence agency, President Truman wanted a loosely organized group of analysts. This setup existed from 1945-1956

President Dwight Eisenhower recognized Donovan's contributions and called him out of retirement to serve as US ambassador to Thailand in 1953. William J. Donovan is the only American to have received all four of the nation's highest honors; The Medal of Honor, the Distinguished Service Cross, the Distinguished Service Medal and the National Security Medal

February	Stalin declares Communism and Capitalism cannot coexist
May	Civil war erupts in Greece
September	Bulgaria is declared a People's Republic
November	Romanian and Polish uprisings
May 1947	Communist coup in Hungary

In September of 1947 the Central Intelligence Agency was formed. The CIA was given expanded analytical capability as well as the ability to conduct HUMINT and cover action. World War II had finally ended American squeamishness over covert operations.

September 11, 1998:

JO: "I was really grateful to be there."

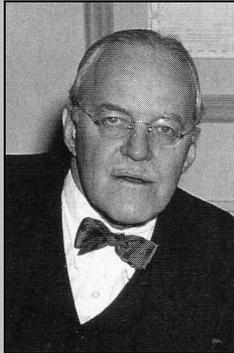
The new CIA looked for the same caliber of members as the old OSS. In fact, one-third of the CIA staff was former OSS agents. CIA directors Allen Dulles, William Colby, Richard Helms and William Casey were all OSS agents.

The major source for CIA recruits were the P-Source or professors. University professors around the country would quietly identify potential candidates and pass their names along. Recruits were contacted without ever revealing the source of their recommendation.

Originally, p-sources were in elite northwest universities, but are now located in schools around the country. Most early CIA agents had similar backgrounds and school ties. The Directorate of Operations - Officers of Clandestine Service became a brotherhood with its own code.

Finally ready for covert operations, each covert action by the new agency was carried out by order of the National Security Council with knowledge and approval of the President.

Former CIA Directors who Served the OSS



Allen W. Dulles
(1953-1961)



Richard M. Helms
(1965-1966)



William E. Colby
(1973-1976)



William J. Casey
(1981-1987)