Document Based Question: Origins of the Cold War- Was the Cold War a Product of Paranoia?

The Cold War and domestic anti-communism were rational and measured responses on the part of U.S. government and society to tangible external and internal threats from a paranoid and expansionist Soviet Union abroad and subversive communist elements at home.

You may agree or disagree in whole or in part with the statement. Whatever position you take, be sure to explain the how and to address the who, what, when and especially the why in your response. Be sure to address the counter-argument, what historians might say in opposition to your thesis, and to support your argument with historical evidence. Remember that terms such as "McCarthyism" "expansionism" and "paranoia" are open to interpretation, so be sure to define your terms carefully. Do not forget to consider the point of view of the source, particularly regarding nationality and ideology.

Select three of the following topics to use as topics in addressing the above quotation:

1. the retreat from the popular front and the Yalta Conference
2. the application of the "Munich analogy" and other lessons from WWII
3. economic imperatives in the containment of communism and the support of Europe
4. domestic politics and the containment of communism abroad
5. domestic politics and McCarthyism
6. American and Soviet expansionism
7. American and Soviet paranoia

Document A

John Winthrop, A Model of Christian Charity, 1630

Redacted and introduced by John Beardsley, Editor in Chief, the Winthrop Society Quarterly

http://www.winthropssociety.org/charity.htm

Governor John Winthrop of the Massachusetts Bay Colony composed this essay on board the Arbella in 1630 in order to establish the mission and goals of the new colony.

God Almighty in his most holy and wise providence hath so disposed of the condition of mankind [that] in all times some must be rich, some poor, some high and eminent in power and dignity, other mean and in subjection.... Yet, we must be knit together in this work as one man.... We must delight in each other... rejoice together, mourn together, labor and suffer together, always having before our eyes our commission and community in the work, our community as members of the same body.... We must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us, so that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken, and so cause him to withdraw his present help from us, we shall be made a story and a by-word through the world.

Document B

John L. O'Sullivan on Manifest Destiny from Democratic Review, 1839 and 1845

http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/osulliva.htm

In 1839, and again in 1845, John L. O'Sullivan, an influential editor sought to explain America's drive for expansion, and to present a defense for America's claim to new territories. He called this drive "manifest destiny."

America is destined for better deeds.... We have no interest in the scenes of antiquity, only as lessons of avoidance of nearly
all their examples. The expansive future is our arena, and for our history. We are entering on its untrodden space, with the truths of God in our minds, beneficent objects in our hearts and with a clear conscience unsullied by the past. We are the nation of human progress, and who will... set limits on our onward march. Providence is with us....

Yes, we are the nation of progress, of individual freedom, of universal enfranchisement.... [All of] this is our high destiny... we must accomplish it. All this will be our future history, to establish on earth the moral dignity and salvation of man....For this blessed mission... has America been chosen.

Document C

Franklin Delano Roosevelt to Ambassador to USSR, William C. Bullitt 1943

William C. Bullitt, "How We Won the War and Lost the Peace," Life,

August 30, 1958, p. 94.

http://www.geocities.com/Pentagon/6315/valtabet.html

Setting the stage for the debates over Soviet intentions at the Yalta Conference in 1945, William C. Bullitt, a former ambassador to the USSR and to France, submitted a memorandum to Roosevelt in August 1943 in which he suggested obtaining Stalin’s pledge for a renunciation of conquest in Europe and recommended a military advance from the south through Eastern and Central Europe. FDR, who felt he could "handle" Stalin, responded,

I just have a hunch that Stalin...doesn't want anything but security for his country, and I think that if I give him everything I possibly can and ask nothing from him in return, noblesse oblige, he wouldn't try to annex anything and will work for a world of democracy and peace.

Document D

Henry Luce, The American Century, 1941

"The American Century" by Henry R. Luce. Life magazine, Feb. 17, 1941.

© 1941 Time, Inc.

Henry R. Luce was the founder and publisher of the magazines Time, Life, Fortune, and later Sports Illustrated. "The American Century" appeared in Life magazine just before the bombing of Pearl harbor and America's official entry into World War II. It's most famous passages presage the internationalism of the post-war period.

In the field of national policy, the fundamental trouble with American has been, and is, that whereas their nation became in the 20th Century the most powerful and the most vital nation in the world, nevertheless Americans were unable to accommodate themselves spiritually and practically to that fact. Hence they have failed to play their part as a world power–a failure which has had disastrous consequences for themselves and for all mankind. And the cue is this: to accept wholeheartedly our duty and our opportunity as the most powerful and vital nation in the world and in consequence to exert upon the world the full impact of our influence, for such purposes as we see fit and by such means as we see fit…

As America enters dynamically upon the world scene, we need most of all to seek and to bring forth a vision of America as a world power which is authentically American and which can inspire us to live and work and fight with vigor and enthusiasm...

But all this is not enough. All this will fail and none of it will happen unless our vision of America as a world power includes a passionate devotion to great American ideals. We have some things in this country which are infinitely precious and especially American–a love of freedom, a feeling for the equality of opportunity, a tradition of self-reliance and independence and also of co-operation. In addition to ideals and notions which are especially American, we are the inheritors of all the great principles of Western civilization–above all Justice, the love of Truth, the ideal of Charity...It now becomes our time to be the powerhouse from which the ideals spread throughout the world and do their mysterious work of lifting the life of mankind from the level of the beasts to what the Psalmist called a little lower than the angels.
Document E
Churchill, FDR and Stalin at Yalta, 1945

http://history.acusd.edu/cdr2/WW2Pics/09078.jpg

The Yalta conference is often cited as setting the stage for the Cold War. This meeting of the "Big Three" at the former palace of Czar Nicholas on the Black Sea took place in February, 1945. Roosevelt appeared weak and tired in photos of the Yalta conference. FDR would present his Yalta report to Congress seated and in two months he would be dead. Critics would accuse Roosevelt of a "sell-out" at Yalta, of giving away Eastern Europe to Stalin, of "secret deals" with a ruthless dictator. Other commentators point out that FDR was hoping the future United Nations organization would present the best venue for addressing postwar differences.

Document F
Winston S. Churchill, The Iron Curtain Speech, Fulton, Missouri 1945

From the Congressional Record, 79th Cong., 2nd sess., 1945-46, 92: A1145-47

Winston S. Churchill was no longer British Prime Minister on March 5, 1946, when he made his frank "iron curtain" speech in Fulton, Missouri. While attracted to his candid anti-Soviet language, some critics pointed out that in condemning Russia for its influence in Eastern Europe, Churchill ignored British predominance in Greece and the empire. For some observers, Truman's presence on the platform signified American endorsement of Churchill's remarks.

The United States stands at this time at the pinnacle of world power. It is a solemn moment for the American democracy. With primacy in power is also joined an awe-inspiring accountability to the future. As you look around you, you feel not only the sense of duty done but also feel anxiety lest you fall below the level of achievement. … It is necessary that constancy of mind, persistency of purpose, and the grand simplicity of decision shall guide and rule the conduct of the English-speaking peoples in peace as they did in war. We must and I believe we shall prove ourselves equal to this severe requirement...

A shadow has fallen upon the scenes so lately lighted by the Allied victory. Nobody knows what Soviet Russia and its Communist international organization intends to do in the immediate future, or what are the limits, if any, to their expansive and proselytizing tendencies. I have a strong admiration and regard for the valiant Russian people and for my wartime comrade, Marshal Stalin… It is my duty, however, to place before you certain facts about the present position in Europe.

From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest, and Sofia, all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in the Soviet sphere and all are subject, in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and increasing measure of control from Moscow.
[In] a great number of countries, far from the Russian frontiers and throughout the world, Communist fifth columns are established and work in complete unity and absolute obedience to the directions they receive from the Communist center.

Last time I saw it all coming, and cried aloud to my own fellow countrymen and to the world, but no one paid any attention. Up till the year 1933 or even 1935, Germany might have been saved from the awful fate which has overtaken her and we might all have been spared the miseries Hitler let loose upon mankind.

We surely must not let that happen again. This can only be achieved by reaching now, in 1946, a good understanding on all points with Russia under the general authority of the United Nations and by the maintenance of that good understanding through many peaceful years, by the world instrument, supported by the whole strength of the English-speaking world and all its connections.

**Document G**

**George E Kennan, The Long Telegram, 1946**


A diplomat in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow and a leading expert on Soviet affairs, George E Kennan sent a long, 8,000-word, secret telegram to the State Department early in 1946 sketching the roots of Soviet policy and warning of serious difficulties with the Soviet Union in the years ahead. The stilted language is the product of dropped words to shorten the telegram. Kennan recommended a long-term, firm policy of resistance by the United States to Soviet expansionism, known as "containment."

At bottom of Kremlin's neurotic view of world affairs is traditional and instinctive Russian sense of insecurity...[T]hey have learned to seek security only in patient but deadly struggle for total destruction of rival power, never in compacts and compromises with it...

Agencies utilized [by the Soviet Union] for promulgation of policies on this plane are following:

Inner central core of Communist Parties in other countries...tightly coordinated and directed by Moscow...Rank and file of Communist Parties...National associations or bodies which can be dominated or influenced...These include: labor unions, Youth leagues, women's organizations, racial societies, religious societies, social organizations, cultural groups, liberal magazines, publishing houses, etc. International organizations which can be similarly penetrated through influence over various national components. Labor, youth and women's organizations are prominent among them...

In summary, we have here a political force committed fanatically to the belief that with US there can be no permanent *modus vivendi*, that it is desirable and necessary that the internal harmony of our society be disrupted, our traditional way of life be destroyed, the international authority of our state be broken, if Soviet power is to be secure...Problem of how to cope with this force [is] undoubtedly greatest task our diplomacy has ever faced and probably greatest it will ever have to face...I would like to record my conviction that problem is within our power to solve and that without recourse to any general military conflict.

**Document H**

**Joseph Stalin, Stalin Interview on Churchill with *Pravda*, 1946**


*Shortly after Churchill's speech, the Russian newspaper Pravda interviewed an extremely agitated Joseph Stalin. Mindful of the horrible human and material costs of World War II, Stalin was particularly sensitive about his nation's borders.*
Repeatedly Stalin pointed out that Germany had attacked Russia through the Polish corridor. The United States and Britain, he angrily charged, were ganging up to deny Russia future security.

Q. How do you assess the last speech of Mr. Churchill which was made in the United States?…Can one consider that the speech of Mr. Churchill is damaging to the cause of peace and security?

A. Undoubtedly, yes. In substance, Mr. Churchill now stands in the position of a firebrand of war. And Mr. Churchill is not alone here. He has friends not only in England but also in the United States of America.

In this respect, one is reminded remarkably of Hitler and his friends. Hitler began to set war loose by announcing his racial theory, declaring that only people speaking the German language represent a fully valuable nation. Mr. Churchill begins to set war loose also by a racial theory, maintaining that only nations speaking the English language are fully valuable nations, called upon to decide the destinies of the entire world…

In substance, Mr. Churchill and his friends in England and the United States present nations not speaking the English language with something like an ultimatum: "Recognize our lordship voluntarily and then all will be well. In the contrary case, war is inevitable.”… There is no doubt that the setup of Mr. Churchill is a setup for war, a call to war with the Soviet Union....

Q. How do you assess that part of Mr. Churchill's speech in which he attacks the democratic regime of the European countries which are our neighbors and in which he criticizes the good neighborly relations established between these countries and the Soviet Union?

A. … Mr. Churchill maintains that Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia, all these famous cities and the populations of those areas, are within the Soviet sphere and are all subjected to Soviet influence and to the increasing control of Moscow…. To begin with, it is quite absurd to speak of the exclusive control of the USSR in Vienna and Berlin, where there are Allied control councils with representatives of four states, where the USSR has only one-fourth of the voices.

Secondly, one cannot forget the following fact: the Germans carried out an invasion of the USSR through Finland, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary. The Germans were able to carry out the invasion through these countries by reason of the fact that these countries had governments inimical to the Soviet Union.

As a result of the German invasion, the Soviet Union has irrevocably lost in battles with the Germans, and also during the German occupation and through the expulsion of Soviet citizens to German slave labor camps, about 7 million people. In other words, the Soviet Union has lost in men several times more than Britain and the United States together.

Document I

Henry A. Wallace, Letter Sent to President Truman, July 23, 1946

Excerpted from a letter sent by Henry Wallace to President Truman, July 23, 1946, in Harry Truman Papers, Harry S Truman Library, Independence, Missouri

Secretary of Commerce Henry A. Wallace was deeply disturbed by the aggressive tenor of President Truman's foreign policy from mid-1945 to mid-1946. Wallace, who had served as secretary of agriculture and as vice president under FDR, feared the consequences of reversing Roosevelt's "popular front" policy of wartime cooperation with the Soviet Union. Truman rejected this advice, and, following Wallace's public opposition to the administrations' policies, fired Wallace in September 1946.

I have been increasingly disturbed about the trend of international affairs since the end of the war, and I am even more troubled by the apparently growing feeling among the American people that another war is coming and the only way that we can head it off is to arm ourselves to the teeth… Therefore, I want to give you my views on how the present trend toward conflict might be averted . . . .

How do American actions since V-J Day appear to other nations? I mean by actions the concrete things like $13 billion for the War and Navy Departments, the Bikini tests of the atomic bomb and continued production of bombs, the plan to arm Latin America with our weapons, production of B-29s and planned production of B-36s, and the effort to secure air bases spread over half the globe from which the other half of the globe can be bombed. I cannot but feel that these actions must make it look to the rest of the world as if we were only paying lip service to peace at the conference table.
These facts rather make it appear either (1) that we are preparing ourselves to win the war which we regard as inevitable or (2) that we are trying to build up a predominance of force to intimidate the rest of mankind. How would it look to us if Russia had the atomic bomb and we did not, if Russia had 10,000-mile bombers and air bases within a thousand miles of our coastlines, and we did not?

Our basic distrust of the Russians, which has been greatly intensified in recent months by the playing up of conflict in the press, stems from differences in political and economic organization...I am convinced that we can meet that challenge as we have in the past by demonstrating that economic abundance can be achieved without sacrificing personal, political and religious liberties. We cannot meet it as Hitler tried to by an anti-Comintern alliance.

I should list the factors which make for Russian distrust of the United States and of the Western world as follows. The first is Russian history, which we must take into account because it is the setting in which Russians see all actions and policies of the rest of the world. Russian history for over a thousand years has been a succession of attempts, often unsuccessful, to resist invasion and conquest-by the Mongols, the Turks, the Swedes, the Germans and the Poles. The scant thirty years of the existence of the Soviet Government has in Russian eyes been a continuation of their historical struggle for national existence. The first four years of the new regime, from 1917 through 1921, were spent in resisting attempts at destruction by the Japanese, British and French, with some American assistance, and by the several White Russian armies encouraged and financed by the Western powers. Then, in 1941, the Soviet State was almost conquered by the Germans after a period during which the Western European powers had apparently acquiesced in the rearming of Germany in the belief that the Nazis would seek to expand eastward rather than westward. The Russians, therefore, obviously see themselves as fighting for their existence in a hostile world.

Second, it follows that to the Russians all of the defense and security measures of the Western powers seem to have an aggressive intent. Our actions to expand our military security system-such steps as extending the Monroe Doctrine to include the arming of the Western Hemisphere nations, our present monopoly of the atomic bomb, our interest in outlying bases and our general support of the British Empire-appear to them as going far beyond the requirements of defense.

**Document J**

**Clark Clifford, Memorandum to President Truman, 1946**

Excerpted from a Clark Clifford memorandum to President Truman, September 24, 1946, in Clark Clifford Papers, Harry S Truman Library, Independence, Missouri.

This Private memorandum for the president, prepared by his special counsel, Clark Clifford, summarizes the attitudes and outlook of most high level officials in the Truman administration and reveals the influence of George E Kennan's diplomatic cables from Moscow. It blames the Soviet Union for the emerging Cold War and urges the president to counter the direct Soviet threat to American security.

As long as the Soviet government maintains its present foreign policy, based upon the theory of an ultimate struggle between communism and capitalism, the United States must assume that the USSR might fight at any time for the two-fold purpose of expanding the territory under Communist control and weakening its potential capitalist opponents. The Soviet Union was able to flow into the political vacuum of the Balkans, Eastern Europe, the Near East, Manchuria and Korea because no other nation was both willing and able to prevent it. Soviet leaders were encouraged by easy success and they are now preparing to take over new areas in the same way...

The main deterrent to Soviet attack on the United States, or to attack on areas of the world which are vital to our security, will be the military power of this country. It must be made apparent to the Soviet government that our strength will be sufficient to repel any attack and sufficient to defeat the USSR decisively if a war should start. The prospect of defeat is the only sure means of deterring the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union's vulnerability is limited due to the vast area over which its key industries and natural resources are widely dispersed, but it is vulnerable to atomic weapons, biological warfare, and long-range power. Therefore, in order to maintain our strength at a level which will be effective in restraining the Soviet Union, the United States must be prepared to wage atomic and biological warfare...
In addition to maintaining our own strength, the United States should support and assist all democratic countries which are in any way menaced or endangered by the USSR. Providing military support in case of attack is a last resort; a more effective barrier to communism is strong economic support. Trade agreements, loans and technical missions strengthen our ties with friendly nations and are effective demonstrations that capitalism is at least the equal of communism. The United States can do much to ensure that economic opportunities, personal freedom and social equality are made possible in countries outside the Soviet sphere by generous financial assistance... Our efforts to break down trade barriers, open up rivers and international waterways, and bring about economic unification of countries, now divided by occupation armies, are also directed toward the reestablishment of vigorous and healthy non-Communist economies.

In conclusion, as long as the Soviet government adheres to its present policy, the United States should maintain military forces powerful enough to restrain the Soviet Union and to confine Soviet influence to its present area. All nations not now within the Soviet sphere should be given generous economic assistance and political support in their opposition to Soviet penetration. Economic aid may also be given to the Soviet government and private trade with the USSR permitted provided the results are beneficial to our interests.

Document K

Harry Truman, Truman Doctrine Speech, 1947

In 1947 the democratic government of Greece was threatened by communist guerrillas believed to be receiving support from the Soviet Union. Facing financial problems and the decline of its empire, the British announced that they could no longer offer support to Greece and Turkey. Americans feared that this would leave Greece and perhaps Turkey open to Soviet domination. The Soviet Union had already taken steps to install communist governments in Poland, Rumania and Bulgaria — seemingly in violation of the Yalta Agreement which had called for free elections in these nations. In this speech Truman asked Congress for $400 million to aid Greece and Turkey, asserting that it was the policy of the United States to "support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures."

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one. One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression. The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms. I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures. I believe that our help should be primarily through economic stability and orderly political process.

Document L

HUAC Interrogates Screenwriter Sam Ornitz, 1947

The Newshour With Jim Lehrer, Excerpt from Seeing Red, October 24, 1997

Excerpted from the PBS documentary "The Legacy of the Hollywood Blacklist"

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The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) existed on a temporary basis beginning in 1938 and became a permanent committee in 1945. HUAC is most widely known for its investigations of suspected Communist influence in the late 1940s and early 1950s, the most well-known investigation being of State Department official Alger Hiss. In September
1947, HUAC subpoenaed 41 witnesses for its hearings on Communist influence in Hollywood. The ten unfriendly witnesses, known as the "Hollywood Ten," who eventually came to the hearings in October 1947 became the most famous participants in the HUAC hearings. HUAC's initial investigations of Communists in Hollywood ended after the testimony of the Hollywood Ten. The committee resumed investigations of Communist influence on movies in the early 1950s and continued them for several years. The following interrogation of screenwriter Sam Ornitz is an example of the methods used by the committee and the responses from witnesses who refused to "name names."

SPOKESMAN: Are you a member of the Screen Writers Guild?

SAM ORNITZ, Screenwriter: I wish to reply to that question by saying that this involves a serious question of conscience.

SPOKESMAN: Conscience?

SAM ORNITZ: Conscience. I say you do raise a serious question of conscience for me when you ask me to act in concert with you to override the Constitution--

SPOKESMAN: Mr. Chairman.

SAM ORNITZ: Wait a minute -- asking me to violate the constitutional guarantee of-

SPOKESMAN: Typical communist subversion. The witness is through. Stand away!

Document M


http://www.english.upenn.edu/~afilreis/50s/vital-center.html

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., a noted historian and public intellectual, was a leading voice of the "consensus school" in the 1950s, the notion that a "vital center" existed in the American polity between communism and totalitarianism and that center was liberalism.

Another objective [of the American communists] is what the Communists call "mass organizations" - that is, groups of liberals organized for some benevolent purpose, and because of innocence, laziness and stupidity of most of the membership, perfectly designed for control by an alert minority… The Attorney General’s list of subversive groups (whatever the merit of this type of list as a form of official procedure) provides a convenient way of checking the more obvious Communist-controlled groups…

Document N

Joseph McCarthy, "Speech at Wheeling West Virginia," 1950

Congressional Record, 81 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 1952-57


When the junior Senator from Wisconsin spoke before the Ohio Country Women’s Republican Club in Wheeling, West Virginia in February 1950 he claimed to have a list of 205 communists who worked in the U.S. State Department, shaping American foreign policy. He repeated the speech with minor changes, and placed it in the congressional record. Though McCarthy’s numbers would fluctuate, the charges would propel him to the forefront of American politics.

Today we are engaged in a final, all-out battle between communistic atheism and Christianity.... And, ladies and gentlemen, the chips are down — they are truly down....

Six years ago... there was within the Soviet orbit 180 million people. Lined up on the anti-totalitarian side there were in the world at that time roughly 1.625 billion people. Today, only six years later, there are 800 million people under the absolute domination
of Soviet Russia — an increase of over 400 percent. On our side the figure has shrunk to around 500 million. In other words, in less than six years the odds have changed from 9 to 1 in our favor to 8 to 5 against us. This indicates the swiftness of the tempo of communist victories and American defeats in the cold war. As one of our outstanding historical figures once said, "When a great democracy is destroyed, it will not be because of enemies from without, but rather because of enemies from within."...

**Document O**

**National Security Council, NSC-68: United States Objectives and Programs for National Security, April 14, 1950**

http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nsc-hst/nsc-68.htm

In this memo that would have a significant impact on American policy, the president’s national security advisors depict the threat that the U.S.S.R. poses to American interests and what will be required of the United States in its conflict with Soviet Union.

[T]he Soviet Union, unlike previous aspirants to hegemony, is animated by a new fanatic faith, antithetical to our own, and seeks to impose its absolute authority over the rest of the world. Conflict has, therefore, become endemic and is waged, on the part of the Soviet Union, by violent and non-violent methods in accordance with the dictates of expediency. With the development of increasingly terrifying weapons of mass destruction, every individual faces the ever-present possibility of annihilation should the conflict enter the phase of total war.

Our overall policy at the present time may be described as one designed to foster a world environment in which the American system can survive and flourish...This broad intention embraces two subsidiary policies. One is a policy... of attempting to develop a healthy international community. The other is the policy of "containing" the Soviet system. The two policies are closely interrelated and interact on one another.

A comprehensive and decisive program to win the peace and frustrate the Kremlin design should be so designed that it can be sustained for as long as necessary.... It would probably involve:

A substantial increase in expenditures for military purposes....

A substantial increase in military assistance programs... [to meet] the requirements of our allies....

Some increase in economic assistance programs [for our allies]....

Development of programs designed to build and maintain confidence among other peoples in our strength and resolution....

Intensification of affirmative and timely measures and operations by covert means in the fields of economic warfare and political and psychological warfare with a view to fomenting and supporting unrest and revolt in selected strategic... countries.

Development of internal security and civilian defense programs.

Improvement and intensification of intelligence activities

Reduction of Federal expenditures for purposes other than defense and foreign assistance....

Increased taxes....

The whole success of the proposed program hangs ultimately on recognition by this Government, the American people, and all free peoples, that the cold war is in fact a real war in which the survival of the free world is at stake.