

J. STALIN
WORKS 17

J. STALIN 17

Scanned / Transcribed by
The Socialist Truth in Cyprus – London Bureaux

<http://www.st-cyprus.co.uk/intro.htm>

<http://www.st-cyprus.co.uk/english/home/index.php>



WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

J. V. STALIN

WORKS

VOLUME

17

WAR TELEGRAMS



RED STAR PRESS LTD
P.O. BOX 71 LONDON SW 2

Printed in England

1986

Preface

The editors of the J. Stalin "Works"-edition, striving to present a most complete collection of the writings of J. Stalin, have decided to publish separately the text of J. Stalin's telegrams addressed to the other heads of state of the anti-fascist war allies.

Naturally without the answers of Roosevelt and Churchill not always the full meaning of the text is understandable, while to publish writings of the English and American leaders in a J. Stalin "Works"-edition seemed not suitable.

Red Star Press has published the full text of these telegrams including the answers of the other heads of state to J. Stalin's telegrams in a two volume edition under the title WAR TELEGRAMS I and II as published by the Soviet Government after the end of the war.

The Editors
Red Star Press
August 1986

PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM STALIN TO Mr CHURCHILL

Allow me to thank you for your two personal messages.

Your messages have initiated agreement between our two Governments. Now, as you with every justification put it, the Soviet Union and Great Britain have become fighting Allies in the struggle against Hitler Germany. I have no doubt that our two countries are strong enough to defeat our common enemy in the face of all difficulties.

It may not be out of place to inform you that the position of the Soviet troops at the front remains strained. The results of Hitler's unexpected violation of the Non-Aggression Pact and the sudden attack on the Soviet Union, which have placed the German troops at an advantage, are still affecting the position of the Soviet armies. It is quite obvious that the German forces would have been far more advantageously placed if the Soviet troops had had to counter the blow, not along the line Kishinev-Lvov-Brest-Bialystok-Kaunas and Vyborg, but along the line Odessa-Kamenets Podolsk-Minsk and the vicinity of Leningrad.

It seems to me, furthermore, that the military position of the Soviet Union, and by the same token that of Great Britain, would improve substantially if a front were established against Hitler in the West (Northern France) and the North (the Arctic).

A front in the North of France, besides diverting Hitler's forces from the East, would make impossible invasion of Britain by Hitler. Establishment of this front would be popular both with the British Army and with the population of Southern England. I am aware of the difficulty of establishing such a front, but it seems to me that, notwithstanding the difficulties, it should be done, not only for the sake of our common cause, but also in Britain's own interest. The best time to open this front is now, seeing that Hitler's forces have been switched to the East and that he has not yet been able to consolidate the positions he has taken in the East.

It would be easier still to open a front in the North. This would call for action only by British naval and air forces, without landing troops or artillery. Soviet land, naval and air forces could take part in the operation. We would be glad if Great Britain could send thither, say, one light division or more of Norwegian volunteers, who could be moved to Northern Norway for insurgent operations against the Germans.

July 18, 1941

Sent on August 4, 1941

J. V. STALIN TO F. ROOSEVELT

The U.S.S.R. attaches great importance to the matter of neutralising Finland and her dissociation from Germany. The severance of relations between Britain and Finland and the blockade of Finland, announced by Britain, have already borne fruit and engendered conflicts among the ruling circles of Finland. Voices are being raised in support of neutrality and reconciliation with the U.S.S.R.

If the U.S. Government were to threaten Finland with a rupture of relations, the Finnish Government would be more resolute in the matter of breaking with Germany. In that case the Soviet Government could make certain territorial concessions to Finland with a view to assuaging her and conclude a new peace treaty with her.

Sent on September 3, 1941

PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM PREMIER STALIN TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr. CHURCHILL

Please accept my thanks for the promise to sell to the Soviet Union another 200 fighter aeroplanes in addition to the 200 fighters promised earlier. I have no doubt that Soviet pilots will suc-

ceed in mastering them and putting them to use.

I must say, however, that these aircraft, which it appears we shall not be able to use soon and not all at once, but at intervals and in groups, cannot seriously change the situation on the Eastern Front. They cannot do so not merely because of the scale of the war, which necessitates the continuous despatch of large numbers of aircraft, but also, and chiefly, because during the last three weeks the position of the Soviet troops has considerably deteriorated in such vital areas as the Ukraine and Leningrad.

The fact is that the relative stabilisation of the front, achieved some three weeks ago, has been upset in recent weeks by the arrival of 30-34 fresh German infantry divisions and enormous numbers of tanks and aircraft at the Eastern Front, and also by the activation of 20 Finnish and 26 Roumanian divisions. The Germans look on the threat in the West as a bluff, so they are moving all their forces from the West to the East with impunity, knowing that there is no second front in the West nor is there likely to be one. They think it perfectly possible that they will be able to beat their enemies one at a time—first the Russians and then the British.

As a result we have lost more than half the Ukraine and, what is more, the enemy is now at the gates of Leningrad.

These circumstances have led to our loss of the Krivoi Rog iron ore area and a number of iron and steel works in the Ukraine, to the evacuation by us of an aluminium plant on the Dnieper and another in Tikhvin, a motor plant and two aircraft plants in the Ukraine and two motor and two aircraft plants in Leningrad, which cannot begin production on their new sites before seven or eight months.

This has resulted in a lessening of our defence capacity and has confronted the Soviet Union with mortal danger.

Here it is pertinent to ask—what is the way out of this more than unfavourable situation.

I think the only way is to open a second front this year somewhere in the Balkans or in France, that would divert 30-40 German divisions from the Eastern Front, and simultaneously to supply the Soviet Union with 30,000 tons of aluminium by the beginning of October and a minimum *monthly* aid of 400 aeroplanes and 500 tanks (of small or medium size).

Without these two kinds of aid the Soviet Union will be either defeated or weakened to the extent that it will lose for a long time the ability to help its Allies by active operations at the front against Hitlerism.

I realise that this message will cause Your Excellency some vexation. But that cannot be helped. Experience has taught me to face up to reality, no matter how unpleasant it may be, and not to shrink from telling the truth, no matter how unpleasant.

The matter of Iran came off well indeed. Joint operations by the British and Soviet troops settled the issue. And so it will be in the future, as long as our forces operate jointly. But Iran is merely an episode. It is not in Iran, of course, that the outcome of the war will be decided.

The Soviet Union, like Britain, does not want war with Japan. The Soviet Union does not deem it possible to violate treaties, including the treaty of neutrality with Japan. But should Japan violate that treaty and attack the Soviet Union, she will be properly rebuffed by Soviet troops.

In conclusion allow me to thank you for the admiration you have expressed for the operations of the Soviet troops, who are waging a bloody war against Hitler's robber hordes for our common liberation cause.

Sent on September 13, 1941

**PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr. CHURCHILL**

In my last message I set forth the views of the Government of the U.S.S.R. on the opening of a second front as the chief means of promoting our common cause. In reply to your message in which you reaffirm the impossibility of opening a second front at the moment, I can only repeat that its absence is playing into the hands of our common enemies.

I have no doubt that the British Government wants the Soviet Union to win and is searching for ways to attain that goal. If at the moment the opening of a second front in the West seems unfeasible to the British Government, then perhaps some other means could be found of rendering the Soviet Union active military aid against the common enemy. It seems to me that Britain could safely land 25-30 divisions at Archangel or ship them to the southern areas of the U.S.S.R. via Iran for military cooperation with the Soviet troops on Soviet soil in the same way as was done during the last war in France. That would be a great help. I think that help of this kind would be a severe blow to the Hitler aggression.

Please accept my thanks for the promise of monthly British aid in aluminium, aircraft and tanks.

I can but be glad that the British Government contemplates this aid, not as a transaction of selling and buying aircraft, aluminium and tanks, but in the shape of comradely cooperation.

It is my hope that the British Government will have not a few opportunities of satisfying itself that the Soviet Government knows how to appreciate help from its Ally.

A few words about the Memorandum transmitted by British Ambassador Cripps to V. M. Molotov on September 12, 1941. The Memorandum says: "If the Soviet Government were compelled to destroy its naval vessels at Leningrad in order to prevent their falling into the enemy hands, His Majesty's Government would recognise after the war claims of the Soviet Government to a certain compensation from His Majesty's Government for the restoration of the vessels destroyed."

The Soviet Government is aware of and appreciates the British Government's readiness to compensate for part of the damage that would be caused to the Soviet Union in the event of the Soviet vessels at Leningrad being destroyed. There can be little doubt that, if necessary, Soviet people will actually destroy the ships at Leningrad. But responsibility for the damage would be borne, not by Britain but by Germany. I think, therefore, that Germany will have to make good the damage after the war.

J. V. STALIN TO F. ROOSEVELT

My dear Mr Roosevelt,

Your letter has reached me through Mr Harriman.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express to you the Soviet Government's deep gratitude for having entrusted the leadership of the U.S. delegation to such an authoritative person as Mr Harriman, whose participation in the Moscow Three-Power Conference was so fruitful.

I have no doubt that you will do all that is necessary to ensure implementation of the Moscow Conference decisions as speedily and fully as possible, all the more because the Hitlerites will certainly try to use the pre-winter months for exerting maximum pressure upon the U.S.S.R. at the front.

Like you, I am confident of final victory over Hitler for the countries now joining their efforts to accelerate the elimination of bloody Hitlerism, a goal for which the Soviet Union is now making such big and heavy sacrifices.

Yours very sincerely,

J. STALIN

October 3, 1941

J. V. STALIN TO W. CHURCHILL

My dear Prime Minister Churchill,

The arrival of the British and American Missions in Moscow and particularly the fact that they were led by Lord Beaverbrook and Mr Harriman, had a most favourable effect. As for Lord Beaverbrook, he did his utmost to expedite consideration and, possibly, solution of the most pressing problems discussed at the Moscow Tripartite Conference and to make them fruitful. I can

say the same for Mr Harriman. I wish therefore to convey to you and Mr Roosevelt the sincere gratitude of the Soviet Government for sending such authoritative representatives to Moscow.

I admit that our present requirements in military supplies, arising from a number of unfavourable circumstances on our front and the resulting evacuation of a further group of enterprises, to say nothing of the fact that a number of issues have been put off until final consideration and settlement in London and Washington, transcend the decisions agreed at the conference. Nevertheless, the Moscow Conference did a great deal of important work. I hope the British and American Governments will do all they can to increase the monthly quotas and also to seize the slightest opportunity to accelerate the planned deliveries right now, since the Hitlerites will use the pre-winter months to exert the utmost pressure on the U.S.S.R.

With regard to both Turkey and China I agree with the considerations you have stated. I hope the British Government is displaying the proper activity at the moment in both directions, because this is particularly important now that the U.S.S.R.'s opportunities are naturally limited.

As regards the prospects of our common struggle against the bandits' lair of Hitlerites, who have entrenched themselves in the heart of Europe, I am confident that despite the difficulties we shall secure the defeat of Hitler in the interest of our freedom-loving peoples.

Yours sincerely,

J. STALIN

October 3, 1941

J. V. STALIN TO F. ROOSEVELT

Mr President,

I have not yet received the text of your message, but on November 2 Mr Steinhardt, the United States Ambassador, delivered to me through Mr Vyshinsky an Aide-Mémoire giving its substance.

I should like first of all to express complete agreement with your appraisal of the results of the Three-Power Conference in Moscow,³ which should be credited primarily to Mr Harriman and to Mr Beaverbrook who did their best to bring the Conference to an early and successful conclusion. The Soviet Government is most grateful for your statement that the implications of the Conference will be carried out to the utmost.

Your decision, Mr President, to grant the Soviet Union an interest-free loan to the value of \$1,000,000,000 to meet deliveries of munitions and raw materials to the Soviet Union is accepted by the Soviet Government with heartfelt gratitude as vital aid to the Soviet Union in its tremendous and onerous struggle against our common enemy—bloody Hitlerism.

On instructions from the Government of the U.S.S.R. I express complete agreement with your terms for granting the loan, repayment of which shall begin five years after the end of the war and continue over 10 years after expiration of the five-year period.

The Soviet Government is ready to do everything to supply the United States of America with such commodities and raw materials as are available and as the United States may need.

As regards your wish, Mr President, that direct personal contact be established between you and me without delay if circumstances so require, I gladly join you in that wish and am ready, for my part, to do all in my power to bring it about.

Yours very sincerely,

J. STALIN

November 4, 1941

Sent on November 8, 1941

**PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL**

Your message reached me on November 7.

I agree with you that we need clarity, which at the moment is lacking in relations between the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain. The

unclearly is due to two circumstances: first, there is no definite understanding between our two countries concerning war aims and plans for the post-war organisation of peace; secondly, there is no treaty between the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain on mutual military aid in Europe against Hitler. Until understanding is reached on these two main points, not only will there be no clarity in Anglo-Soviet relations, but, if we are to speak frankly, there will be no mutual trust. To be sure, the agreement on military supplies to the Soviet Union is of great positive significance, but that does not settle the issue, nor does it fully cover the question of relations between our two countries.

If General Wavell and General Paget, whom you mention in your message, come to Moscow to conclude agreements on the main points stated above, I shall be willing, naturally, to meet them and consider these points. If, however, the mission of the two Generals is to be restricted to information and examination of secondary issues, then I see no need for keeping them from their duties, nor can I myself go out of my way to engage in talks of that nature.

2. Concerning a British declaration of war on Finland, Hungary and Roumania I think that the situation is intolerable. The Soviet Government placed this matter before the Government of Great Britain through secret diplomatic channels. Then, unexpectedly for the U.S.S.R., the whole matter, beginning with the Soviet Government's request to the Government of Great Britain all the way to its consideration by the U.S. Government, has got into the press, both friendly and hostile, and is now the subject of all kinds of speculation. For all that the British Government declares that it takes a negative view of our proposal. What is the explanation? Can it be that the purpose is to demonstrate that there is disagreement between the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain?

3. You may rest assured that everything is being done to ensure that the arms delivered to Archangel from Britain reach their destination in time. The same will be done with regard to Iran. I must add, however, even though it is a trifling matter, that the tanks, guns and aircraft are badly packed, some parts of the guns come in different ships and the aircraft are so badly crated that we get them in a damaged state.

Sent on November 14, 1941

**PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM J. STALIN
TO Mr ROOSEVELT**

Your message about the favourable decision taken by the American Red Cross concerning delivery of medical supplies reached me on November 11.

The Soviet Government has no objection to establishing the organisational forms of cooperation between the Red Cross societies of our two countries, it being understood that it will be organised in accordance with the exchange of letters the text of which was agreed early in November by Red Cross representatives of both countries in Kuibyshev.

STALIN

Sent on November 23, 1941

**MESSAGE FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL**

Thank you for your message.

I sincerely welcome the desire, expressed in your message, to cooperate with me through personal correspondence on a basis of collaboration and trust, and I hope it will contribute in many respects to the success of our common cause.

As to Finland, the U.S.S.R. does not suggest anything—at least for the time being—but cessation of military operations and her withdrawal from the war. If, however, Finland does not do this within the brief time stipulated by you, I consider a British declaration of the state of war with Finland advisable and neces-

sary. Otherwise the impression might be created that we lack unity in the war against Hitler and his more zealous accomplices and that the accomplices in the Hitler aggression may continue to commit their infamous deeds with impunity. As regards Hungary and Roumania, I suppose we can wait.

I fully support your proposal for sending Mr Eden, your Foreign Secretary, to the U.S.S.R. in the near future. Discussion and approval of an agreement on joint operations by the Soviet and British troops on our front and the speedy execution of that task would be of great positive significance. It is quite true that the discussion and adoption of a plan for the post-war organisation of peace should be designed to keep Germany, above all Prussia, from again breaking the peace and plunging the nations into a new bloodbath.

I also agree that difference of political system in the U.S.S.R., on the one hand, and of Great Britain and the U.S.A., on the other, should not and cannot be an obstacle to a favourable solution of the fundamental problems of safeguarding our mutual security and rightful interests. I hope that reticences or doubts on this score, if any, will be dispelled by the talks with Mr Eden.

Please accept my congratulations on the successful beginning of the British offensive in Libya.

The Soviet troops are still engaged in tense struggle against the Hitler armies. However, despite the difficulties, the resistance of our troops is growing and will continue to do so. Our resolve to smash the enemy is unshakeable.

**TO Mr WINSTON CHURCHILL, PRIME MINISTER
OF GREAT BRITAIN**

Hearty birthday greetings. I sincerely wish you the vigour and health that are so essential for defeating Hitlerism, the enemy of mankind.

Best regards.

STALIN

November 30, 1941

Sent on December 17, 1941

J. V. STALIN TO F. ROOSEVELT

I received your message on December 16. It did not indicate the aims of the conferences to be called in Chungking and Moscow and as they were to open overnight I saw fit when I met Mr Eden, who had just arrived in Moscow, to ask him what those aims were and whether the two conferences could be put off for a while. It appeared, however, that Mr Eden was not posted either. I should like, therefore, to have the appropriate elucidations from you in order to ensure the results expected from Soviet participation.

Thank you for the sentiments expressed over the Soviet armies successes.

I wish you success in the struggle against the aggression in the Pacific.

Personal warm regards to you and Mr Hopkins.

STALIN

Sent on December 27, 1941

J. V. STALIN TO W. CHURCHILL

Thank you very much for your kind birthday wishes. I avail myself of this opportunity to convey to you and to the friendly British Army my hearty congratulations on their latest victories in Libya.

Sent on January 8, 1942

J. V. STALIN TO W. CHURCHILL

Thank you for the message and your solicitude for the progress of Soviet-American relations. The *Pravda* article to which you refer is not at all official and certainly has no other aims in view but the interests of the fight against aggression, which are common to our countries. For its part, the Soviet Government is doing, and will certainly continue to do, its utmost to strengthen Soviet-American relations.

Sent on January 16, 1942

J. V. STALIN TO W. CHURCHILL

I have received your message of January 15.

I sincerely thank you for your good wishes for the New Year and the successes of the Red Army. I greet you and the British Army on the occasion of your major successes in North Africa.

Sent on February 14, 1942

J. V. STALIN TO W. CHURCHILL

Thank you for your congratulations on the successes of the Red Army. Despite the difficulties experienced on the Soviet-German front and on the other fronts, I do not doubt for a moment that the mighty alliance of the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and the U.S.A. will crush the enemy and achieve complete victory.

settlement of the situation in Trieste-Istria necessitates agreement with the Yugoslav Government also on the concrete proposals made by the U.S. and British Governments.

Now that the Yugoslav Government has consented to the establishment of an Allied Military Administration in the Trieste-Istria territory it is my hope that nothing will be put in the way of Yugoslav interests being fully met and that a happy solution will be found to the entire problem of the present strained situation in the Trieste-Istria area.

June 8, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr H. TRUMAN**

I have received your message in reply to my suggestions for resuming diplomatic relations with Roumania, Bulgaria, Finland and Hungary.

It appears from your message that you, too, consider it desirable to establish normal diplomatic relations with these countries at the earliest possible date. However, I see no reason to show any preference in the matter to Finland which, unlike Roumania or Bulgaria, did not participate on the Allied side in the war against Hitler Germany. Public opinion in the Soviet Union and the entire Soviet command would find it hard to understand if Roumania and Bulgaria, the armed forces of which have

I take this opportunity to draw your attention to the fact that in using the loan extended to the U.S.S.R. the appropriate Soviet agencies are encountering great difficulties as far as shipping the munitions and materials purchased in the U.S.A. is concerned. In these circumstances we think that the most useful system is the one effectively used in shipping munitions from Britain to Archangel, a system not introduced so far with regard to supplies from the U.S.A. In keeping with this system the British military authorities supplying the munitions and materials select the ships, supervise their loading in harbour and conveying to the ports of destination. The Soviet Government would be most grateful if the same system of delivering munitions and conveying the ships to Soviet harbours were adopted by the U.S. Government.

Yours very sincerely,

J. STALIN

Sent on March 14, 1942

J. V. STALIN TO W. CHURCHILL

Thank you very much for your message, transmitted in Kuibyshev on March 12.

Please accept the Soviet Government's gratitude for the information on the steps you have taken to ensure deliveries to the U.S.S.R. and to intensify the air offensive against Germany.

I feel entirely confident that the combined efforts of our troops, occasional setbacks notwithstanding, will culminate in crushing the common enemy and that the year 1942 will see a decisive turn on the anti-Hitler front.

As to paragraph one of your message—concerning the frontiers of the U.S.S.R.—I think we still shall have to exchange views on the text of an appropriate treaty, if it is approved for signing by both parties.

March 29, 1942

PERSONAL AND SECRET

J. V. STALIN TO W. CHURCHILL

Thank you for the message which reached me through Mr Kerr a few days ago. I have had a talk with Mr Kerr, and my impression is that our joint work will proceed in an atmosphere of complete mutual trust.

I convey to you the Soviet Government's gratitude for the assurance that the British Government will treat any use of poison gas upon the U.S.S.R. by the Germans as if that weapon were directed against Great Britain and that the British Air Force will not hesitate to use the large store of gas bombs available in Britain for dropping on suitable targets in Germany.

According to our information poison gas may be launched against the U.S.S.R. not only by the Germans, but also by the Finns. I should like what you say in your message about retaliation with gas attack upon Germany to be extended to Finland in the event of the latter assaulting the U.S.S.R. with poison gas.

I think it highly advisable for the British Government to give in the near future a public warning that Britain would treat the use of poison gas against the U.S.S.R. by Germany or Finland as an attack on Britain herself and that she would retaliate by using gas against Germany.

It goes without saying that, if the British Government so desires, the U.S.S.R. is prepared in its turn to issue a similar warning to Germany against a German gas attack upon Britain.

The Soviet Government holds that a British Government warning to Germany on the above lines should come not later than the end of April or early May.

The Soviet Government would be most grateful if the British Government could help the U.S.S.R. to obtain certain chemical means of defence it lacks, as well as means of chemical retaliation against eventual chemical attack upon the U.S.S.R. by Germany. If you have no objection I could send an authorised person to Britain shortly to take care of the matter.

Sent on April 20, 1942

J. V. STALIN TO F. ROOSEVELT

Thank you for the message which I received in Moscow a few days ago.

The Soviet Government agrees that it is essential to arrange a meeting between V. M. Molotov and you for an exchange of views on the organisation of a second front in Europe in the near future. Molotov can arrive in Washington not later than May 10-15, accompanied by an appropriate military representative.

It goes without saying that Molotov will also go to London to exchange views with the British Government.

I have no doubt that I shall be able to have a personal meeting with you, to which I attach great importance, especially in view of the big problems of organising the defeat of Hitlerism that confront our two countries.

Please accept my sincere regards and wishes for success in the struggle against the enemies of the United States of America.

J. STALIN

PERSONAL AND SECRET

J. V. STALIN TO W. CHURCHILL

Thank you for the readiness you have expressed to give a warning to Germany and Finland early in May concerning the use of poison gas by Britain in the event of Germany and Finland resorting to that weapon in the war against the U.S.S.R.

I express to you my gratitude for the readiness to supply 1,000 tons of Mustard and 1,000 tons of Bleaching. Since, however, the U.S.S.R. has a more pressing need for other chemicals, the Soviet Government would like to receive, instead of the products mentioned above, 1,000 tons of calcium hypochloride and 1,000

tons of chloramine or, if these products cannot be supplied, 2,000 tons of liquid Bleaching in holders.

The Soviet Government intends to send Andrei Georgiyevich Kasatkin, Deputy People's Commissar of the Chemical Industry, to London as its expert in chemical defence and counter-attack.

2. A few days ago the Soviet Government received from Mr Eden the drafts of two treaties between the U.S.S.R. and Britain, which substantially depart on certain points from the texts of the treaties discussed during Mr Eden's stay in Moscow. As this circumstance involves fresh differences which it is hard to iron out by correspondence, the Soviet Government has resolved, despite the difficulties, to send V. M. Molotov to London for personal talks with a view to settling the issues holding up the signing of the treaties. This is all the more essential as the question of a second front in Europe raised by Mr Roosevelt, the U.S. President, in his latest message to me, inviting V. M. Molotov to Washington to discuss the matter, calls for a preliminary exchange of views between representatives of our two Governments.

Please accept my regards and wishes for success in the fight against the enemies of Great Britain.

J. STALIN

April 22, 1942

SECRET

J. V. STALIN TO W. CHURCHILL

I have a request to you. Up to 90 shiploads of essential war supplies for the U.S.S.R. have accumulated at present in Iceland and on the approaches to Iceland from America. I understand that the ships have been delayed for a long time owing to the difficulty British naval forces have in running a convoy.

I am conscious of the real difficulty involved and I know about the sacrifices which Britain has made in this matter.

Nevertheless, I consider it possible to request you to do your utmost to ensure delivery of those cargoes to the U.S.S.R. during May, when we shall need them badly for the front.

Please accept my best regards and good wishes.

J. STALIN

May 6, 1942

Sent on May 12, 1942

J. V. STALIN TO W. CHURCHILL

I have received your message of May 11 and thank you for the promise to take measures to deliver the maximum war materials to the U.S.S.R. We fully realise the serious difficulties which Great Britain has to overcome and the heavy naval casualties involved in carrying out that major task.

As to your proposal for increased assistance by the Soviet air and naval forces in covering the supply ships in the area mentioned by you, rest assured that we shall immediately do all we can. It should be borne in mind, however, that, as you know, our naval forces are very limited and by far most of our air forces are engaged in action at the front.

Please accept my best regards.

J. STALIN

Sent on May 15, 1942

J. V. STALIN TO F. ROOSEVELT

Thank you for the message delivered by M. M. Litvinov. In connection with the present difficulties in sailing and escorting ships to the U.S.S.R. I have already approached Prime Minister Churchill for his help in overcoming them as quickly as possible.

As the delivery of cargoes from the U.S.A. and Britain in May is a pressing matter, I address the same request to you, Mr President.

V. M. Molotov will leave for the U.S.A. and Britain a few days later than planned—on account of weather vagaries. It appears that he can fly in a Soviet aircraft—both to Britain and the U.S.A. I should add that the Soviet Government thinks it necessary for Molotov to travel without any press publicity until he returns to Moscow, as was done in the case of Mr Eden's visit to Moscow last December.

As to Molotov's place of residence in Washington, both he and I thank you for your offer.

J. STALIN

Sent on May 24, 1942

J. V. STALIN TO W. CHURCHILL

I have received the message, transmitted in Kuibyshev on May 20, in which you say that thirty-five ships with supplies for the U.S.S.R. are en route to Soviet ports: Thank you for the message and the steps taken by you in sending the ships. Our air and naval forces will, on their part, do all they can to cover the supply ships in the sector of which you informed me in your message of May 9.¹⁸

Sent on May 24, 1942

J. V. STALIN TO W. CHURCHILL

Your latest message reached me on May 24. Both Vyacheslav Molotov and myself think it advisable for him to stop in London on his way back from the U.S.A. to complete the discussions with British Government representatives on matters of interest to our two countries.

Sent on May 28, 1942

J. V. STALIN TO W. CHURCHILL

I am very grateful to you for the friendly sentiments and good wishes expressed on the occasion of our signing the new treaty.

I am certain that this treaty will be of great importance in promoting friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Great Britain, as well as between our two countries and the United States, and that it will ensure close cooperation by our three countries after victory.

I also hope that your meeting with Molotov on his way back from the United States will make it possible to complete the work left unfinished.

As to measures for covering the convoy, you may rest assured that we are doing and will continue to do our utmost in this respect.

Please accept my sincere good wishes and the expression of firm confidence in our common complete victory.

Sent on June 12, 1942

J. V. STALIN TO F. ROOSEVELT

The Soviet Government considers as you do, Mr President, that the results of V. M. Molotov's visit to the U.S.A. were quite satisfactory.

I take the occasion to express to you, Mr President, the Soviet Government's sincere gratitude for the cordial welcome given to Molotov and his colleagues during their stay in the U.S.A.

He returned safely to Moscow today.

Sent on June 20, 1942

**MESSAGE FOR THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr CHURCHILL,
FROM J. V. STALIN**

I have received your message warning me of the Germans' intention to launch an invasion from Northern Norway and Finland.

I fully share your view of the desirability of joint operations in those two areas, but I should like to know whether British naval and land forces are planned to take part in the operations and, if so, on what scale.

Thank you very much for the promise to send six squadrons to the Murmansk area. Will you let me know when they are due to arrive?

Sent on July 1, 1942

J. V. STALIN TO F. ROOSEVELT

With reference to your latest messages I should like to tell you that I fully concur with you as to the advisability of using the Alaska-Siberia route for U.S. aircraft deliveries to the Western Front. The Soviet Government has, therefore, issued instructions for completing at the earliest possible date the preparations now under way in Siberia to receive aircraft, that is, for adapting the existing air fields and providing them with additional facilities. As to whose pilots should fly the aircraft from Alaska, I think the task can be entrusted, as the State Department once suggested, to Soviet pilots who could travel to Nome or some other suitable place at the appointed time. An appropriate group of those pilots could be instructed to carry out the survey flight proposed by you. To fully ensure reception of the aircraft we should like to know the number of planes which the U.S.A. is allocating for despatch to the Western Front by that route.

As to your proposal for a meeting between U.S. and Soviet Army and Navy representatives to exchange information if necessary, the Soviet Government is in agreement and would prefer to have the meeting in Moscow.

Sent on July 7, 1942

J. V. STALIN TO F. ROOSEVELT

In view of the situation in which the Allied forces find themselves in Egypt I have no objection to forty of the A-20 bombers now in Iraq en route to the U.S.S.R. being transferred to the Egyptian front.

Sent on July 18, 1942

J. V. STALIN TO F. ROOSEVELT

Your message on the designation of Major-General F. Bradley, Captain Duncan and Colonel Michela as the U.S. representatives at the Moscow conference has reached me. The U.S. delegates will be given every assistance in carrying out their assignment.

On the Soviet side the conference will be attended by Major-General Sterligov, Colonel Kabanov and Colonel Levandovich.

As regards the survey flight, we could in the next few days send a plane from Krasnoyarsk to Nome—I mean an American twin-engine aircraft—which could take on the U.S. officers on its way back from Nome.

I take this opportunity to thank you for the news about the despatch of an additional hundred and fifteen tanks to the U.S.S.R.

I consider it my duty to warn you that, according to our experts at the front, U.S. tanks catch fire very easily when hit from behind or from the side by anti-tank rifle bullets. The reason is

that the high-grade gasoline used forms inside the tank a thick layer of highly inflammable fumes. German tanks also use gasoline, but of low grade which yields smaller quantities of fumes, hence, they are more fireproof. Our experts think that the diesel makes the best tank motor.

Sent on July 23, 1942

**MESSAGE FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL**

I have received your message of July 18.

I gather from the message, first, that the British Government refuses to go on supplying the Soviet Union with war materials by the northern route and, secondly, that despite the agreed Anglo-Soviet Communiqué on the adoption of urgent measures to open a second front in 1942, the British Government is putting off the operation till 1943.

According to our naval experts, the arguments of British naval experts on the necessity of stopping delivery of war supplies to the northern harbours of the U.S.S.R. are untenable. They are convinced that, given goodwill and readiness to honour obligations, steady deliveries could be effected, with heavy loss to the Germans. The British Admiralty's order to the P.Q. 17 convoy to abandon the supply ships and return to Britain, and to the supply ships to disperse and make for Soviet harbours singly, without escort, is, in the view of our experts, puzzling and inexplicable. Of course, I do not think steady deliveries to northern Soviet ports are possible without risk or loss. But then no major task can be carried out in wartime without risk or losses. You know, of course, that the Soviet Union is suffering far greater losses. Be that as it may, I never imagined that the British Government would deny us delivery of war materials precisely now, when the Soviet Union is badly in need of them in view of the grave situation on the Soviet-German front. It should be obvious that deliveries via Persian ports can in no way make up for the loss in the event of deliveries via the northern route being discontinued.

As to the second point, namely, that of opening a second front in Europe, I fear the matter is taking an improper turn. In view of the situation on the Soviet-German front, I state most emphatically that the Soviet Government cannot tolerate the second front in Europe being postponed till 1943.

I hope you will not take it amiss that I have seen fit to give you my frank and honest opinion and that of my colleagues on the points raised in your message.

J. STALIN

MOST SECRET

**FOR PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL
FROM PREMIER STALIN**

I have received both your messages of July 31.

I hereby invite you on behalf of the Soviet Government to the U.S.S.R. for a meeting with members of the Government.

I should be much obliged if you could travel to the U.S.S.R. for joint consideration of urgent matters relating to the war against Hitler, who is now threatening Britain, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. more than ever.

I think that Moscow would be the most suitable place for our meeting, since the members of the Government, the General Staff and myself cannot be away at this moment of bitter fighting against the Germans.

The presence of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff would be most desirable.

I would request you to fix the date for the meeting at your convenience, depending on how you finish your business in Cairo and with the knowledge that there will be no objection on my part as to the date.

I am grateful to you for agreeing to sail the next convoy with war materials to the U.S.S.R. early in September. Although it will be very difficult for us to withdraw aircraft from the front, we shall take all possible steps to increase air cover for supply ships and convoy.

July 31, 1942

Sent on August 2, 1942

J. V. STALIN TO F. ROOSEVELT

I have received your latest message about the survey flight from Alaska. Our B-25 aircraft will arrive at Nome probably between August 8 and 10 and before taking off for the planned survey flight will pick up the three American members of the flight.

Sent on August 6, 1942

J. V. STALIN TO W. CHURCHILL

Your message of August 5 received.

The representatives of the Soviet Air Force in Tehran have been given the necessary instructions in compliance with your wishes.

Sent on August 7, 1942

J. V. STALIN TO F. ROOSEVELT

I have received your messages dated August 5. Thank you for advising me of Mr Harriman's forthcoming arrival in Moscow. I read with interest your information on Japan, and shall not fail to pass it on to my visitor.

Sent on August 12, 1942

J. V. STALIN TO F. ROOSEVELT

Your message of August 9 to hand. The Soviet Government takes a favourable view of Mr Wendell Willkie's visit to the

U.S.S.R. and I can assure you that he will be most cordially entertained.

J. V. STALIN TO W. CHURCHILL

MEMORANDUM

As a result of the exchange of views in Moscow on August 12 I have established that Mr Churchill, the British Prime Minister, considers it impossible to open a second front in Europe in 1942.

It will be recalled that the decision to open a second front in Europe in 1942 was reached at the time of Molotov's visit to London, and found expression in the agreed Anglo-Soviet Communiqué released on June 12 last.

It will be recalled further that the opening of a second front in Europe was designed to divert German forces from the Eastern Front to the West, to set up in the West a major centre of resistance to the German fascist forces and thereby ease the position of the Soviet troops on the Soviet-German front in 1942.

Needless to say, the Soviet High Command, in planning its summer and autumn operations, counted on a second front being opened in Europe in 1942.

It will be readily understood that the British Government's refusal to open a second front in Europe in 1942 delivers a moral blow to Soviet public opinion, which had hoped that the second front would be opened, complicates the position of the Red Army at the front and injures the plans of the Soviet High Command.

I say nothing of the fact that the difficulties in which the Red Army is involved through the refusal to open a second front in 1942 are bound to impair the military position of Britain and the other Allies.

I and my colleagues believe that the year 1942 offers the most favourable conditions for a second front in Europe, seeing that nearly all the German forces—and their crack troops, too—are tied down on the Eastern Front, while only negligible forces, and the poorest, too, are left in Europe. It is hard to say whether 1943 will offer as favourable conditions for opening a second front as

1942. For this reason we think that it is possible and necessary to open a second front in Europe in 1942. Unfortunately I did not succeed in convincing the British Prime Minister of this, while Mr Harriman, the U.S. President's representative at the Moscow talks, fully supported the Prime Minister.

J. STALIN

August 13, 1942

Sent on August 22, 1942

J. V. STALIN TO F. ROOSEVELT

Your message of August 19 received. I, too, regret that you were unable to take part in the talks which Mr Churchill and I recently had.

With reference to what you say about the despatch of tanks and other strategic materials from the United States in August I should like to emphasise our special interest in receiving U.S. aircraft and other weapons, as well as trucks in the greatest numbers possible. It is my hope that every step will be taken to ensure early delivery of the cargoes to the Soviet Union, particularly over the northern sea route.

Sent on September 8, 1942

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL**

I received your message on September 7. I realise the importance of the safe arrival in the Soviet Union of P.Q. 18 convoy and the need for measures to protect it. Difficult though we find it at present to assign extra long-range bombers for the purpose, we have decided to do so. Orders have been given today to assign

an additional force of long-range bombers for the purpose mentioned by you.

I wish you success in the operation against Rommel in Egypt and all success in "Torch."

PREMIER STALIN TO PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL

I must inform you that our position in the Stalingrad area has changed for the worse since the early days of September. It appears that the Germans have large reserves of aircraft which they concentrated in the Stalingrad area, achieving a twofold air superiority. We were short of fighters with which to cover our ground forces. Even the bravest troops are helpless without air cover. What we need particularly is Spitfires and Aircobras. I have given Mr Willkie detailed information on these points.

2. Supply ships with munitions have reached Archangel and are being unloaded. This is a great help. However, in view of the shortage of tonnage we could forgo for a while certain kinds of aid and thereby reduce the demand for shipping, provided the aid in the shape of fighter aircraft is increased. We could forgo for a while our request for tanks and guns, if Britain and the U.S.A. together could supply us with 800 fighters a month—Britain giving roughly 300 and the U.S.A. 500. This aid would be more effective and would improve the situation at the front.

3. Your intelligence to the effect that Germany's monthly output of operational aircraft does not exceed 1,300 does not tally with our information. According to our data, the German aircraft industry, including plants in the occupied countries making aeroplane parts, turns out some 2,500 operational aircraft a month.

October 3, 1942

**FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr ROOSEVELT**

In taking this opportunity to send you a personal message through the courtesy of Mr Standley, who is leaving for Washington, I should like to say a few words about U.S. military deliveries to the U.S.S.R.

The difficulties of delivery are reported to be due primarily to shortage of shipping. To remedy the shipping situation the Soviet Government would be prepared to agree to a certain curtailment of U.S. arms deliveries to the Soviet Union. We should be prepared temporarily fully to renounce deliveries of tanks, guns, ammunition, pistols, etc. At the same time, however, we are badly in need of increased deliveries of modern fighter aircraft—such as Aircobras—and certain other supplies. It should be borne in mind that the Kittyhawk is no match for the modern German fighter.

It would be very good if the U.S.A. could ensure the monthly delivery of at least the following items: 500 fighters, 8,000 to 10,000 trucks, 5,000 tons of aluminium, and 4,000 to 5,000 tons of explosives. Besides, we need, within 12 months, two million tons of grain (wheat) and as much as we can have of fats, concentrated foods and canned meat. We could bring in a considerable part of the food supplies in Soviet ships via Vladivostok if the U.S.A. consented to turn over to the U.S.S.R. 20 to 30 ships at the least to replenish our fleet. I have talked this over with Mr Willkie, feeling certain that he will convey it to you.

As regards the situation at the front, you are undoubtedly aware that in recent months our position in the South, particularly in the Stalingrad area, has deteriorated due to shortage of aircraft, mostly fighters. The Germans have bigger stocks of aircraft than we anticipated. In the South they have at least a twofold superiority in the air, which makes it impossible for us to protect our troops. War experience has shown that the bravest troops are helpless unless protected against air attack.

October 7, 1942

Sent on October 15, 1942

**REPLY FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT**

Your message of October 12 to hand. I am grateful for the information.

J. STALIN

**FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO U.S. PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT**

I have received your message of October 16. I am behind in answering because front affairs held my attention. The thing now is to have the promised cargoes delivered to the U.S.S.R. as scheduled by you.

October 19, 1942

Sent on October 28, 1942

J. V. STALIN TO F. ROOSEVELT

Your message of October 24 received. Thank you for the information.

Sent on November 8, 1942

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL**

Your message reached me on November 5.

I congratulate you on the progress of the operation in Egypt and feel confident that now it will be possible to finish off the bands of Rommel and his Italian allies.

All of us here hope that "Torch" will be successful.

I am grateful to you for informing me that you and President Roosevelt have decided to send 20 British and American Squadrons to the Southern Front in the near future. Speedy despatch of the 20 Squadrons will be a very valuable help. As to the conferences required in this connection and to the working out of specific measures by representatives of the British, American and our own Air Forces, it would be best to hold the appropriate meetings first in Moscow and then, if necessary, directly in the Caucasus. I have already been informed that the U.S. side is sending General Elmer E. Adler for the purpose. I shall expect to hear from you the name of the British appointee.

The situation on our Caucasian front has deteriorated somewhat compared with October. The Germans have succeeded in capturing Nalchik and are closing in on Vladikavkaz, where heavy fighting is now in progress. Our weak point there is shortage of fighter aircraft.

Thank you for your good wishes for the anniversary of the U.S.S.R.

**PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL**

We are highly pleased with your success in Libya and the successful launching of "Torch."¹ I wish you all success.

Thanks for the warning about Baku. We are taking counter measures.

November 9, 1942

TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT FROM PREMIER STALIN

My dear Mr President,

Thank you very much for your letter, which reached me through General Hurley today. I have had a long talk with him on strategic matters. I think that he understood me and is now con-

vinced of the soundness of the Allies' present strategy. He asked for an opportunity to visit one of our fronts, in particular the Caucasus. This opportunity will be provided.

No serious changes have occurred on the Soviet-German front in the past week. We plan to launch our winter campaign in the near future and are preparing for it. I shall keep you informed about it.

All of us here rejoice at the brilliant success of U.S. and British arms in North Africa. Congratulations on the victory. With all my heart I wish you further success.

Yours very sincerely,

STALIN

November 14, 1942

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr CHURCHILL**

Thank you for the message of November 13. All of us here are delighted with your success in Libya and the Anglo-American success in French Africa. I congratulate you with all my heart on the victory, and wish you further success.

In the past few days we have succeeded in halting the German advance on Vladikavkaz and stabilising the situation. Vladikavkaz is, and I think will remain, in our hands. We are taking all possible steps to retain our positions in the North Caucasus.

We are planning to start a winter campaign in the near future. Just when, depends on the weather, which is beyond our control. I shall keep you posted.

November 14, 1942

Sent on November 20, 1942

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr CHURCHILL**

We have begun the offensive operations in the Stalingrad area—in its southern and north-western sectors. The objective of the first stage is to seize the Stalingrad-Likhaya railway and disrupt the communications of the Stalingrad group of the German troops. In the north-western sector the German front has been pierced along a 22-kilometre line and along a 12-kilometre line in the southern sector. The operation is proceeding satisfactorily.

Sent on November 20, 1942

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr ROOSEVELT**

We have begun the offensive operations in the Stalingrad area—in its southern and north-western sectors. The objective of the first stage is to seize the Stalingrad-Likhaya railway and disrupt the communications of the Stalingrad group of the German troops. In the north-western sector the German front has been pierced along a 22-kilometre line and along a 12-kilometre line in the southern sector. The operation is proceeding satisfactorily.

Sent on November 27, 1942

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr CHURCHILL**

Thank you for your message, which I received on November 25. I fully share your view that it is highly important to promote our personal relations.

I express gratitude for the steps you are taking to send another large convoy to Archangel. I realise that at the moment this is particularly difficult for you, especially in view of the considerable operations by the British fleet in the Mediterranean.

I agree with you and President Roosevelt concerning the desirability of doing everything to bring Turkey into the war on our side in the spring. That, without a doubt, would mean a great deal for the speedy defeat of Hitler and his accomplices.

As for Darlan, I think the Americans have made skilful use of him to facilitate the occupation of North and West Africa. Military diplomacy should know how to use for the war aims not only the Darlans, but even the devil and his grandmother.

I have carefully read your communication saying that you and the Americans are continuing the preparations along your south-eastern and southern coasts in order to keep the Germans pinned in the Pas de Calais, etc., and that you are ready to take advantage of any favourable opportunity. That, I hope, does not imply renunciation of your Moscow promise to open a second front in Western Europe in the spring of 1943.

I accept President Roosevelt's and your suggestion that we call a conference of representatives of our three Staffs in Moscow to make appropriate war plans for 1943. We are prepared to meet your representatives, and the Americans, whenever you like.

So far the Stalingrad operation is proceeding successfully, helped among other things by snowfall and fog which prevent full-scale action by German aircraft.

We are planning active operations on the Central Front one of these days in order to tie up the enemy and prevent him from moving forces south.

Sent on November 27, 1942

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT**

Thank you for your message, received on November 21. I fully appreciate your desire to explain the military set-up to people in Australia and New Zealand, and your preoccupation with operations in the South-west Pacific. As to the Mediterranean operations, which are making such favourable progress and are important in terms of changing the whole military situation in Europe, I share your view that the time is ripe for appropriate consultations between the General Staffs of the U.S.A., Great Britain and the U.S.S.R.

Heartfelt regards and best wishes for further success in your offensive.

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT**

Thank you for your message which reached me on November 27. I am glad to hear of your successes in the Solomons area and of the strong build-up of your forces in the South-west Pacific.

Feeling certain of the speedy expulsion of Germans from North Africa, I trust that this will help in launching Allied offensive operations in Europe. The intensive air raids planned for Italy will no doubt be very useful.

We have achieved some success in the Stalingrad operation, largely facilitated by snowfall and fog which prevented the Germans from making full use of their aircraft.

We have decided to launch operations on the Central Front, too, to keep the enemy from moving his forces south.

I send you warm regards and best wishes to the U.S. Armed Forces.

November 28, 1942

Sent on November 29, 1942

TO Mr WINSTON CHURCHILL

On the occasion of your birthday I send you best wishes for good health and success in your war effort for the triumph of our common cause.

J. STALIN

Sent on December 6, 1942

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT**

Your message reached me on December 5.

I welcome the idea of a meeting between the three heads of the Governments to establish a common strategy. To my great regret, however, I shall be unable to leave the Soviet Union. This is so crucial a moment that I cannot absent myself even for a single day. Just now major military operations—part of our winter campaign—are under way, nor will they be relaxed in January. It is more than likely that it will be the other way round.

Fighting is developing both at Stalingrad and on the Central Front. At Stalingrad we have encircled a large group of German troops and hope to complete their destruction.

Sent on December 6, 1942

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL**

Your message of December 4 received. I welcome the idea of a meeting of the three heads of the Governments to establish a common strategic line. To my great regret, however, I shall be

unable to leave the Soviet Union. I must tell you that this is such a crucial moment that I cannot be away even for a single day. Just now the major operations of our winter campaign are getting under way, nor will they be relaxed in January. More than likely it will be the other way round.

I await your reply to that part of my previous message concerning the opening of a second front in Western Europe in the spring of 1943.

Fighting is developing both at Stalingrad and on the Central Front. At Stalingrad we have encircled a large group of German troops and hope to complete their destruction.

Sent on December 14, 1942

J. V. STALIN TO F. ROOSEVELT

I, too, express deep regret at not being able to leave the Soviet Union in the immediate future, or even in early March. Front affairs simply will not let me do so. Indeed, they necessitate my continuous presence.

I do not know as yet what were the specific matters that you, Mr President, and Mr Churchill wanted discussed at our joint conference. Could we not discuss them by correspondence until we have an opportunity to meet? I think we shall not differ.

I feel confident that no time is being wasted, that the promise to open a second front in Europe, which you, Mr President, and Mr Churchill gave for 1942 or the spring of 1943 at the latest, will be kept and that a second front in Europe will really be opened jointly by Great Britain and the U.S.A. next spring.

With reference to the rumours about the Soviet attitude to the use of Darlan and people like him, I should like to tell you that as I and my colleagues see it, Eisenhower's policy towards Darlan, Boisson, Giraud and the others is absolutely sound. I consider it an important achievement that you have succeeded in winning Darlan and others to the Allied side against Hitler. Earlier I wrote the same to Mr Churchill.

Sent on December 18, 1942

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO THE U.S. PRESIDENT, Mr ROOSEVELT**

Thank you very much for the willingness to help us. The Anglo-American squadrons with crews are no longer needed in Transcaucasia. The main battles are being fought, and will be fought, on the Central Front and in the Voronezh area. I should be most grateful if you would expedite the despatch of aircraft, especially fighters, but without crews, whom you now need badly for use in the areas mentioned.

A feature of the Soviet Air Force is that we have more than enough pilots but suffer from a shortage of machines.

Sent on December 21, 1942

**PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL**

Please accept my heartfelt thanks for your congratulations and good wishes.

Sent on January 1, 1943

TO Mr FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

I would ask you, Mr President, to convey to the United States Congress and accept my gratitude for the cordial greetings and good wishes sent to the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union in the name of the American people.

J. STALIN

Sent on January 5, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT**

Your message concerning the Far East received. I thank you for the readiness to send 100 bombers to the Far East for the Soviet Union. I must say, however, that what we need at present is aircraft, not in the Far East, where the U.S.S.R. is not fighting, but on a front where a most cruel war is being waged against the Germans, that is, on the Soviet-German front. The arrival of those aircraft without pilots—because we have a sufficient number of pilots—on the South-Western or Central Front would play a notable part in the most important sectors of our struggle against Hitler.

As regards the course of the war on our fronts, so far our offensive is, on the whole, making satisfactory progress.

Sent on January 5, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL**

Both your messages received. Thank you for notifying me about the forthcoming meeting with the President. I shall be grateful for a report about the outcome of the meeting.

Sent on January 13, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT**

Thank you for the decision to send 200 transport planes to the Soviet Union.

As to sending bomber units to the Far East, I have already pointed out in my previous messages that what we need is not air force units, but planes without pilots, because we have more than enough pilots of our own. Secondly, we need your help in the way of aircraft not in the Far East where the U.S.S.R. is not in a state of war, but on the Soviet-German front, where the need for aircraft aid is particularly great.

I was rather surprised at your proposal that General Bradley should inspect Russian military objectives in the Far East and elsewhere in the U.S.S.R. It should be perfectly obvious that only Russians can inspect Russian military objectives, just as U.S. military objectives can be inspected by none but Americans. There should be no unclarity in this matter.

Concerning General Marshall's visit to the U.S.S.R. I must say I am not quite clear about his mission. Kindly advise me of the purpose of the visit so that I can consider the matter with full understanding and reply accordingly.

My colleagues are upset by the fact that the operations in North Africa have come to a standstill and, I gather, for a long time, too. Would you care to comment on the matter?

Sent on January 16, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL**

Your message of January 11 has reached me. Thanks for the information.

Our operations against the Germans on the fronts are so far making satisfactory progress. We are finishing the destruction of the German group encircled at Stalingrad.

Sent on January 19, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL**

Thank you for the information on the successful bombing of Berlin on the night of January 17. I wish the British Air Force

further success, particularly in bombing Berlin.

Sent on January 30, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr CHURCHILL,
AND THE PRESIDENT, Mr ROOSEVELT**

Your friendly joint message reached me on January 27. Thank you for informing me of the Casablanca decisions about the operations to be undertaken by the U.S. and British armed forces in the first nine months of 1943. Assuming that your decisions on Germany are designed to defeat her by opening a second front in Europe in 1943, I should be grateful if you would inform me of the concrete operations planned and of their timing.

As to the Soviet Union, I can assure you that the Soviet armed forces will do all in their power to continue the offensive against Germany and her allies on the Soviet-German front. We expect to finish our winter campaign, circumstances permitting, in the first half of February. Our troops are tired, they are in need of rest and they will hardly be able to carry on the offensive beyond that period.

Sent on January 31, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr CHURCHILL**

Your message on the forthcoming meeting with the Turkish President received. I shall be grateful for information about the outcome of the meeting, the vital importance of which I appreciate.

Your wish that rumours about your visit be not contradicted will, naturally, be complied with.

Sent on February 6, 1943

**TO Mr FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMED FORCES
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

The White House, Washington

Thank you for your congratulations on the victory of the Soviet troops at Stalingrad.

I am convinced that the joint combat operations of the armed forces of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union will soon lead to victory over our common foe.

J. STALIN

Sent on February 6, 1943

**PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr WINSTON CHURCHILL**

I received on February 2 and 3 your messages on the subject of Turkey. Thank you for the information on your talks with the Turkish leaders in Adana.

With reference to your statement that the Turks would respond to any gesture of friendship on the part of the Soviet Union I think it opportune to point out that in relation to Turkey we made, both some months before the outbreak of the Soviet-German war and after it had begun, a number of statements the friendly nature of which is known to the British Government. The Turks failed to react, apparently fearing that they might upset the Germans. It can be assumed that they will react in the same way to the gesture you suggest.

Turkey's international position remains rather ticklish. On the one hand, she is linked to the U.S.S.R. by a treaty of friendship and neutrality, and to Great Britain by a treaty of mutual aid in resisting aggression; on the other hand, she is linked with Germany by a treaty of friendship concluded three days before Germany attacked the U.S.S.R. I do not know how, in the present circumstances, Turkey expects to square fulfilment of her obligations to the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain with fulfilment of

her obligations to Germany. However, if the Turks want closer and more friendly relations with the U.S.S.R. let them say so. In that case the Soviet Union will meet them half-way.

2. I shall certainly not object to you saying that you informed me of the Anglo-Turkish meeting, although I cannot say the information was complete.

3. I wish you every success in the coming offensive of the First and Eighth British Armies and the U.S. troops in North Africa and speedy expulsion of the Italo-German troops from the African coast.

4. Please accept my thanks for the friendly congratulations on the surrender of Field Marshal Paulus and the destruction of the enemy troops encircled at Stalingrad.

**MOST SECRET AND PERSONAL MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr CHURCHILL**

On February 12 I received your message on the forthcoming Anglo-American military operations.

Thanks for the additional information on the Casablanca decisions. On the other hand, I cannot but state certain considerations with reference to your message, which you tell me is a common reply conveying also the President's opinion.

It appears from your message that the date—February—which you had fixed earlier for completing the operations in Tunisia is now set back to April. There is no need to demonstrate at length the undesirability of this delay in operations against the Germans and Italians. It is now, when the Soviet troops are still keeping up their broad offensive, that action by the Anglo-American troops in North Africa is imperative. Simultaneous pressure on Hitler from our front and from yours in Tunisia would be of great positive significance for our common cause and would create most serious difficulties for Hitler and Mussolini. It would also expedite the operations you are planning in Sicily and the Eastern Mediterranean.

As to the opening of a second front in Europe, in particular in France, it is planned, judging by your communication, for

August or September. As I see it, however, the situation calls for shortening these time limits to the utmost and for the opening of a second front in the West at a date much earlier than the one mentioned. So that the enemy should not be given a chance to recover, it is very important, to my mind, that the blow from the West, instead of being put off till the second half of the year, be delivered in spring or early summer.

According to reliable information at our disposal, since the end of December, when for some reason the Anglo-American operations in Tunisia were suspended, the Germans have moved 27 divisions, including five armoured divisions, to the Soviet-German front from France, the Low Countries and Germany. In other words, instead of the Soviet Union being aided by diverting German forces from the Soviet-German front, what we get is relief for Hitler, who, because of the let-up in Anglo-American operations in Tunisia, was able to move additional troops against the Russians.

The foregoing indicates that the sooner we make joint use of the Hitler camp's difficulties at the front, the more grounds we shall have for anticipating early defeat for Hitler. Unless we take account of this and profit by the present moment to further our common interests, it may well be that, having gained a respite and rallied their forces, the Germans might recover. It is clear to you and us that such an undesirable miscalculation should not be made.

2. I have deemed it necessary to send this reply to Mr Roosevelt as well.

3. Thank you for your cordial congratulations on the liberation of Rostov. This morning our troops have taken Kharkov.

February 16, 1943

**MOST SECRET AND PERSONAL MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr ROOSEVELT**

On February 12 I received from Mr Churchill a message giving additional information on the decisions taken by the two of

you at Casablanca. Since, according to Mr Churchill, his message is a common reply giving your opinion as well, I should like to make some comments, which I have conveyed to Mr Churchill.

It appears from the message that the date—February—fixed earlier for completing the operations in Tunisia is now set back to April. There is no need to demonstrate at length the undesirability of this delay in operations against the Germans and Italians. It is now, when the Soviet troops are still keeping up their broad offensive, that action by the Anglo-American troops in North Africa is imperative. Simultaneous pressure on Hitler from our front and from yours in Tunisia would be of great positive significance for our common cause and would create most serious difficulties for Hitler and Mussolini. It would also expedite the operations you are planning in Sicily and the Eastern Mediterranean.

As to the opening of a second front in Europe, in particular in France, it is planned, judging by your communication, for August or September. As I see it, however, the situation calls for shortening these time limits to the utmost and for the opening of a second front in the West at a date much earlier than the one mentioned. So that the enemy should not be given a chance to recover, it is very important, to my mind, that the blow from the West, instead of being put off till the second half of the year, be delivered in spring or early summer.

According to reliable information at our disposal, since the end of December, when for some reason the Anglo-American operations in Tunisia were suspended, the Germans have moved 27 divisions, including five armoured divisions, to the Soviet-German front from France, the Low Countries and Germany. In other words, instead of the Soviet Union being aided by diverting German forces from the Soviet-German front, what we get is relief for Hitler, who, because of the let-up in Anglo-American operations in Tunisia, was able to move additional troops against the Russians.

The foregoing indicates that the sooner we make joint use of the Hitler camp's difficulties at the front, the more grounds we shall have for anticipating early defeat for Hitler. Unless we take account of this and profit by the present moment to further our common interests, it may well be that, having gained a res-

pite and rallied their forces, the Germans might recover. It is clear to you and us that such an undesirable miscalculation should not be made.

February 16, 1943

Sent on February 23, 1943

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Washington

Please accept my heartfelt thanks for your friendly message on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Red Army and your high praise of its combat achievements.

I share your confidence that these achievements clear the way for the final defeat of our common enemy, who must and shall be crushed by the combined might of our countries and of all the freedom-loving nations.

J. STALIN

Sent on March 2, 1943

PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr WINSTON CHURCHILL

I have received your message of February 17 on the Turkish Government's desire to enter upon exchange of views with the Soviet Government. On February 24 I also received from you three documents, transmitted by Mr Kerr: (1) a brief record of the statements made by the Prime Minister to President Ismet and the Turkish delegation at the Adana Conference; (2) the agreed conclusions of the Anglo-Turkish conference held in Adana on January 30-31, 1943; and (3) an aide-mémoire on post-war security.

Thank you for the information.

I find it necessary to inform you that on February 13 the Turkish Foreign Minister advised the Soviet Ambassador in Ankara of his Government's desire to begin negotiations with the Soviet Government to improve Soviet-Turkish relations. The Soviet Government replied through its Ambassador in Ankara that it welcomed the Turkish Government's desire to improve Soviet-Turkish relations, and signified its readiness to begin negotiations. We are now waiting for the return to Moscow of the Turkish Ambassador with whom we plan to begin the negotiations.

I take this occasion sincerely to wish you complete recovery and a speedy return to good health.

Sent on March 3, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr WINSTON CHURCHILL**

I salute the British Air Force, which successfully raided Berlin last night. I regret that the Soviet Air Force, busy fighting the Germans at the front, is, for the time being, unable to take part in bombing Berlin.

Sent on March 6, 1943

**MOST SECRET AND PERSONAL MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your message informing me of the successful bombing of Hamburg received. I salute the British Air Force and welcome your intention to increase the bomber attacks on Germany.

Thank you for your congratulations on our capture of Rzhev. Today our troops have taken Gzhatsk.

I look forward to a reply from you and Mr Roosevelt to my message of February 16.

Sent on March 15, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

On March 12 Mr Standley, the U.S. Ambassador, handed to Mr Molotov the following message from the U.S. Government.

The U.S. Government offers to mediate between the U.S.S.R. and Finland with a view to ascertaining the possibility of a separate peace between them. Asked by Mr Molotov whether the U.S. Government knew that Finland wanted peace and what her attitude was, Mr Standley said he had nothing to say on the matter.

As is known, the Anglo-Soviet Treaty of May 26, 1942, provides that our two countries shall not negotiate a separate peace either with Germany or with her allies other than by mutual agreement. This, for me, is an inviolable provision.

I therefore consider it my duty, first, to inform you of the American proposal and, secondly, to ask your opinion on the matter.

I have no reason to believe that Finland really wants peace, that she has already resolved to break with Germany and is willing to offer acceptable terms. She has probably not yet broken loose from Hitler's clutches, if she wants at all to do so. The present rulers of Finland, who signed a peace treaty with the Soviet Union and then tore it up and, in alliance with Germany, attacked the Soviet Union, are hardly capable of breaking with Hitler.

Nevertheless, in view of the U.S. proposal, I considered it my duty to advise you of the foregoing.

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your messages of March 6 and 13, informing me of successful air raids on Essen, Stuttgart, Munich and Nuremberg, have reached me. With all my heart I salute the British Air Force,

which is stepping up its bombing of German industrial centres.

Your wish that paragraphs 8, 9 and 10 of your message of March 11 be treated as special military information shall be complied with.

Thanks for your congratulations on the capture of Vyazma. I regret to say that we have had to withdraw from Kharkov today.

As soon as we receive your film of the Eighth Army, of which you advised me in a special message of March 11, I shall see it and we shall arrange for our Army and population to see it. I realise how valuable it will be for our fighting alliance. Allow me to send our Soviet film *Stalingrad* to you personally.

March 15, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

I have received your reply to my message of February 16.

It appears from your communication that Anglo-American operations in North Africa are not being hastened, but are, in fact, being postponed till the end of April. Moreover, even this date is given in rather vague terms. In other words, at the height of fighting against the Hitler troops, in February and March, the Anglo-American offensive in North Africa, far from having been stepped up, has been called off, and the date fixed by yourself has been set back. Meanwhile Germany has succeeded in moving from the West 36 divisions, including six armoured ones, to be used against Soviet troops. The difficulties that this has created for the Soviet Army and the extent to which it has eased the German position on the Soviet-German front will be readily appreciated.

For all its importance "Husky"³³ can by no means replace a second front in France, but I fully welcome, of course, your intention to expedite the operation.

I still regard the opening of a second front in France as the important thing. You will recall that you thought it possible to open a second front as early as 1942 or this spring at the latest. The grounds for doing so were weighty enough. Hence it should

be obvious why I stressed in my previous message the need for striking in the West not later than this spring or early summer.

The Soviet troops fought strenuously all winter and are continuing to do so, while Hitler is taking important measures to rehabilitate and reinforce his Army for the spring and summer operations against the U.S.S.R.; it is therefore particularly essential for us that the blow from the West be no longer delayed, that it be delivered this spring or in early summer.

I have studied the arguments you set out in paragraphs 8, 9 and 10 as indicative of the difficulties of Anglo-American operations in Europe. I grant the difficulties. Nevertheless, I think I must give a most emphatic warning, in the interest of our common cause, of the grave danger with which further delay in opening a second front in France is fraught. For this reason the vagueness of your statements about the contemplated Anglo-American offensive across the Channel causes apprehension which I cannot conceal from you.

March 15, 1943

**MOST SECRET AND PERSONAL MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT**

Now that I have Mr Churchill's reply to my message of February 16, I consider it my duty to answer yours of February 22, which likewise was a reply to mine of February 16.

I learned from Mr Churchill's message that Anglo-American operations in North Africa, far from being accelerated, are being postponed till the end of April; indeed, even this date is given in rather vague terms. In other words, at the height of the fighting against the Hitler troops—in February and March—the Anglo-American offensive in North Africa, far from having been stepped up, has been called off altogether, and the time fixed for it has been set back. Meanwhile Germany has succeeded in moving from the West 36 divisions, including six armoured, to be used against the Soviet troops. The difficulties that this has created for the Soviet Army and the extent to which it has eased

the German position on the Soviet-German front will be readily appreciated.

Mr Churchill has also informed me that the Anglo-American operation against Sicily is planned for June. For all its importance that operation can by no means replace a second front in France. But I fully welcome, of course, your intention to expedite the carrying out of the operation.

At the same time I consider it my duty to state that the early opening of a second front in France is the most important thing. You will recall that you and Mr Churchill thought it possible to open a second front as early as 1942 or this spring at the latest. The grounds for doing so were weighty enough. Hence it should be obvious why I stressed in my message of February 16 the need for striking in the West not later than this spring or early summer.

The Soviet troops have fought strenuously all winter and are continuing to do so, while Hitler is taking important measures to rehabilitate and reinforce his Army for the spring and summer operations against the U.S.S.R.; it is therefore particularly essential for us that the blow from the West be no longer delayed, that it be delivered this spring or in early summer.

I appreciate the considerable difficulties caused by a shortage of transport facilities, of which you advised me in your message. Nevertheless, I think I must give a most emphatic warning, in the interest of our common cause, of the grave danger with which further delay in opening a second front in France is fraught. That is why the vagueness of both your reply and Mr Churchill's as to the opening of a second front in France causes me concern, which I cannot help expressing.

March 16, 1943

Sent on March 27, 1943

PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL

I have received your communication of the main battle being fought in Tunisia. I wish the British and U.S. troops complete

and speedy success. I hope you will now be able to overwhelm and defeat the enemy and expel him from Tunisia.

I also hope that the air offensive against Germany will gain in momentum. I shall be obliged for the reels showing the destruction wrought in Essen.

PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL

I have received your message of March 28.

I congratulate the British Air Force on its latest big and successful raid on Berlin.

I hope the British armoured troops will be able to take full advantage of the improved situation in Tunisia and give the enemy no respite.

Last night I saw, with my colleagues, the film *Desert Victory*, you have sent us, and was greatly impressed. It splendidly shows how Britain is fighting, and skilfully exposes those scoundrels—we have them in our country too—who allege that Britain is not fighting but merely looking on. I eagerly look forward to another film of the same kind, showing your victory in Tunisia.

Desert Victory will be circulated to all our armies at the front and shown to the public.

March 29, 1943

Sent on April 2, 1943

PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL

I have received your message of March 30 advising me that you and Mr Roosevelt are compelled by necessity to postpone despatch of the convoys to the U.S.S.R. till September. I regard

this unexpected step as a catastrophic cut in the delivery of strategic raw materials and munitions to the Soviet Union by Great Britain and the U.S.A., because the Pacific route is limited in shipping and none too reliable, and the southern route has small clearance capacity, which means that those two routes cannot make up for the cessation of deliveries by the northern route. It goes without saying that this circumstance cannot but affect the position of the Soviet troops.

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

I have received your two messages^o of April 6, as well as to-day's message on the important advance made by your troops in Tunisia. This is a notable success—congratulations. I hope that this time the Anglo-American troops will completely overcome and beat Rommel and the other Hitler bands in Tunisia. That would be of great value to our common struggle as a whole.

I welcome the stepped up bombing of Essen, Berlin, Kiel and other industrial centres of Germany. Every blow delivered by your Air Force to vital German centres evokes a most lively echo in the hearts of many millions throughout the length and breadth of our country.

April 7, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your messages of April 10 and 11 have reached me.

The rapid progress of the British and U.S. offensive in Tunisia is an important achievement in the war against Hitler and Mussolini. I hope you finish off the enemy and take as many prisoners and as much booty as possible.

We are delighted that you are giving Hitler no respite. To your vigorous and successful bombings of large German towns we are now adding our own air raids on German industrial centres in East Prussia. Thank you for the film showing the effects of the raids on Essen. Both this and the other films which you have promised us will be shown to the public and the Army.

The fighter aircraft which you have released by cancelling convoys and intend to deliver to us will be of great value. I am also grateful for the offer to send us sixty 40-mm. cannon Hurricane II D aeroplanes. We are badly in need of such aircraft, especially for use against heavy tanks. I hope that the efforts of yourself and Mr Harriman to plan and guarantee the despatch of aircraft to the U.S.S.R. will be crowned with speedy success.

Our people greatly appreciate the warm sentiments and sympathy displayed by the British people expressed in the establishment of the medical relief fund mentioned by you. Please convey my thanks to Mrs Churchill, who heads the fund, for her vigorous work.

Today I received Lieutenant-General Martel, who handed me your letter. He will certainly be afforded every opportunity to acquaint himself with the Red Army and its battle experience.

April 12, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

I have received your message asking my consent to convey to the British bomber squadrons my congratulations on the bombing of Essen, Berlin and other industrial centres of Germany. I have no objection to your proposal, of course, and I leave the matter to you. I am glad you intend to go on bombing German towns on an ever-increasing scale.

Events in Tunisia seem to be progressing favourably. I wish you complete victory.

Your mention of the Germans' intention to use gas on our front is borne out by our information. It goes without saying that I fully support your proposal to warn Hitler and his allies and to

threaten them with powerful chemical retaliation should they undertake a gas attack on our front. The Soviet troops will in their turn prepare for a rebuff.

April 19, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT**

The behaviour of the Polish Government towards the U.S.S.R. of late is, in the view of the Soviet Government, completely abnormal and contrary to all the rules and standards governing relations between two allied states.

The anti-Soviet slander campaign launched by the German fascists in connection with the Polish officers whom they themselves murdered in the Smolensk area, in German-occupied territory, was immediately seized upon by the Sikorski Government and is being fanned in every way by the Polish official press. Far from countering the infamous fascist slander against the U.S.S.R., the Sikorski Government has not found it necessary even to address questions to the Soviet Government or to request information on the matter.

The Hitler authorities, having perpetrated a monstrous crime against the Polish officers, are now staging a farcical investigation, using for the purpose certain pro-fascist Polish elements picked by themselves in occupied Poland, where everything is under Hitler's heel and where no honest Pole can open his mouth.

Both the Sikorski and Hitler Governments have enlisted for the "investigation" the aid of the International Red Cross, which, under a terror régime of gallows and wholesale extermination of the civil population, is forced to take part in the investigation farce directed by Hitler. It is obvious that this "investigation," which, moreover, is being carried out behind the Soviet Government's back, cannot enjoy the confidence of anyone with a semblance of honesty.

The fact that the anti-Soviet campaign has been started simultaneously in the German and Polish press and follows identical lines is indubitable evidence of contact and collusion between Hitler—the Allies' enemy—and the Sikorski Government in this hostile campaign.

At a time when the peoples of the Soviet Union are shedding their blood in a grim struggle against Hitler Germany and bending their energies to defeat the common foe of the freedom-loving democratic countries, the Sikorski Government is striking a treacherous blow at the Soviet Union to help Hitler tyranny.

These circumstances compel the Soviet Government to consider that the present Polish Government, having descended to collusion with the Hitler Government, has, in practice, severed its relations of alliance with the U.S.S.R. and adopted a hostile attitude to the Soviet Union.

For those reasons the Soviet Government has decided to interrupt relations with that Government.

I think it necessary to inform you of the foregoing, and I trust that the U.S. Government will appreciate the motives that necessitated this forced step on the part of the Soviet Government.

April 21, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr. W. CHURCHILL**

The behaviour of the Polish Government towards the U.S.S.R. of late is, in the view of the Soviet Government, completely abnormal and contrary to all the rules and standards governing relations between two allied states.

The anti-Soviet slander campaign launched by the German fascists in connection with the Polish officers whom they themselves murdered in the Smolensk area, in German-occupied territory, was immediately seized upon by the Sikorski Government and is being fanned in every way by the Polish official press. Far from countering the infamous fascist slander against the U.S.S.R., the Sikorski Government has not found it necessary even to ad-

dress questions to the Soviet Government or to request information on the matter.

The Hitler authorities, having perpetrated a monstrous crime against the Polish officers, are now staging a farcical investigation, using for the purpose certain pro-fascist Polish elements picked by themselves in occupied Poland, where everything is under Hitler's heel and where no honest Pole can open his mouth.

Both the Sikorski and Hitler Governments have enlisted for the "investigation" the aid of the International Red Cross, which, under a terror régime of gallows and wholesale extermination of the civil population, is forced to take part in the investigation farce directed by Hitler. It is obvious that this "investigation," which, moreover, is being carried out behind the Soviet Government's back, cannot enjoy the confidence of anyone with a semblance of honesty.

The fact that the anti-Soviet campaign has been started simultaneously in the German and Polish press and follows identical lines is indubitable evidence of contact and collusion between Hitler—the Allies' enemy—and the Sikorski Government in this hostile campaign.

At a time when the peoples of the Soviet Union are shedding their blood in a grim struggle against Hitler Germany and bending their energies to defeat the common foe of the freedom-loving democratic countries, the Sikorski Government is striking a treacherous blow at the Soviet Union to help Hitler tyranny.

These circumstances compel the Soviet Government to consider that the present Polish Government, having descended to collusion with the Hitler Government, has, in practice, severed its relations of alliance with the U.S.S.R. and adopted a hostile attitude to the Soviet Union.

For these reasons the Soviet Government has decided to interrupt relations with that Government.

I think it necessary to inform you of the foregoing, and I trust that the British Government will appreciate the motives that necessitated this forced step on the part of the Soviet Government.

April 21, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

I have received your message concerning Polish affairs. Thank you for your sympathetic stand on this issue. I must tell you, however, that the matter of interrupting relations with the Polish Government has already been settled and that today V. M. Molotov delivered a Note^o to the Polish Government. All my colleagues insisted on this because the Polish official press is not only keeping up its hostile campaign but is actually intensifying it day by day. I also had to take cognisance of Soviet public opinion, which is deeply outraged by the ingratitude and treachery of the Polish Government.

As to publishing the Soviet document on interrupting relations with the Polish Government, I fear that it is simply impossible to avoid doing so.

April 25, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT**

I am sorry to say your reply did not reach me until April 27, whereas on April 25 the Soviet Government was compelled to interrupt relations with the Polish Government.

As the Polish Government for nearly two weeks, far from ceasing a campaign hostile to the Soviet Union and beneficial to none but Hitler, intensified it in its press and on the radio, Soviet public opinion was deeply outraged by such conduct, and hence the Soviet Government could no longer defer action.

It may well be that Mr Sikorski himself has no intention of collaborating with the Hitler gangsters. I should be happy to see this surmise borne out by facts. But my impression is that cer-

tain pro-Hitler elements—either inside the Polish Government or in its environment—have induced Mr Sikorski to follow them, with the result that the Polish Government has come to be, possibly against its own will, a tool in Hitler's hands in the anti-Soviet campaign of which you are aware.

I, too, believe that Prime Minister Churchill will find ways to bring the Polish Government to reason and help it proceed henceforward in a spirit of common sense. I may be wrong, but I believe that one of our duties as Allies is to prevent this or that Ally from taking hostile action against any other Ally to the joy and benefit of the common enemy.

As regards Polish subjects in the U.S.S.R. and their future, I can assure you that Soviet Government agencies have always treated and will continue to treat them as comrades, as people near and dear to us. It should be obvious that there never has been, nor could have been, any question of their being deported from the U.S.S.R. If, however, they themselves wish to leave the U.S.S.R., Soviet Government agencies will not hinder them, just as they have never done, and will, in fact, try to help them.

April 29, 1943

May 4, 1943 **PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE**
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL

In sending my message of April 21 on interrupting relations with the Polish Government, I was guided by the fact that the notorious anti-Soviet press campaign, launched by the Poles as early as April 15 and aggravated first by the statement of the Polish Ministry of National Defence and later by the Polish Government's declaration of April 17, had not encountered any opposition in London; moreover, the Soviet Government had not been forewarned of the anti-Soviet campaign prepared by the Poles, although it is hard to imagine that the British Government was not informed of the contemplated campaign. I think that from the point of view of the spirit of our treaty it would have been only

natural to dissuade one ally from striking a blow at another, particularly if the blow directly helped the common enemy. That, at any rate, is how I see the duty of an ally. Nevertheless, I thought it necessary to inform you of the Soviet Government's view of Polish-Soviet relations. Since the Poles continued their anti-Soviet smear campaign without any opposition in London, the patience of the Soviet Government could not have been expected to be infinite.

You tell me that you will enforce proper discipline in the Polish press. I thank you for that, but I doubt if it will be as easy as all that to impose discipline on the present Polish Government, its following of pro-Hitler boosters and its fanatical press. Although you informed me that the Polish Government wanted to work loyally with the Soviet Government, I question its ability to keep its word. The Polish Government is surrounded by such a vast pro-Hitler following, and Sikorski is so helpless and browbeaten that there is no certainty at all of his being able to remain loyal in relations with the Soviet Union even granting that he wants to be loyal.

As to the rumours, circulated by the Hitlerites, that a new Polish Government is being formed in the U.S.S.R., there is hardly any need to deny this fabrication. Our Ambassador has already told you so. This does not rule out Great Britain, and the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. taking measures to improve the composition of the present Polish Government in terms of consolidating the Allied united front against Hitler. The sooner this is done, the better. Upon his return from the U.S.A. Mr Eden told Maisky that President Roosevelt's adherents in the U.S.A. thought that the present Polish Government had no prospects for the future and doubted whether it had any chance of returning to Poland and assuming power, although they would like to retain Sikorski. I think the Americans are not so very far from the truth as regards the prospects of the present Polish Government.

As regards the Polish citizens in the U.S.S.R., whose number is not great, and the families of the Polish soldiers evacuated to Iran, the Soviet Government has never raised any obstacles to their departure from the U.S.S.R.

2. I have received your message on the latest events in Tunisia. Thank you for the information. I am glad of the success of the Anglo-American troops and wish them still greater success.

Sent on May 8, 1943

FOR PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

Washington

I congratulate you and the gallant U.S. and British troops on the brilliant victory which has resulted in the liberation of Bizerta and Tunis from Hitler tyranny. I wish you further success.

J. STALIN

J. V. STALIN TO F. ROOSEVELT

My dear Mr Roosevelt,

Mr Davies has delivered your message to me.

I agree that this summer—possibly as early as June—we should expect the Hitlerites to launch a new major offensive on the Soviet-German front. Hitler has already concentrated about 200 German divisions and up to 30 divisions of his allies for use against us. We are getting ready to repel the new German offensive and to launch counter-attacks, but we are short of aircraft and aircraft fuel. Of course, it is at the moment impossible to foresee all the military and other steps that we may have to take. That will depend on the course of events on our front. A good deal will also depend on the speed and vigour with which Anglo-American military operations are launched in Europe.

I have mentioned these important circumstances to explain why my reply to your suggestion for a meeting between us cannot be quite specific as yet.

I agree that the time is ripe for such a meeting and that it should not be delayed. But I beg you to assess properly the importance of the circumstances I have referred to, because the summer months will be exceedingly trying for the Soviet armies. As I do not know how events will develop on the Soviet-German front in June, I shall not be able to leave Moscow during that month. I therefore suggest holding the meeting in July or August. If you agree, I shall let you know two weeks before the date of the meeting just when it could be held in July or August.

If, after being notified by me, you agree to the date suggested, I could arrive in time.

Mr Davies will personally inform you of the meeting place.

I agree with you about cutting down the number of your advisers and mine.

Thank you for sending Mr Davies to Moscow, a man familiar with the Soviet Union and who can pass impartial judgment on things.

Yours very sincerely,

J. STALIN

May 26, 1943

Sent on June 11, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr CHURCHILL**

I am sending you the text of my personal message in reply to the President's message about the decisions on strategic matters which you and Mr Roosevelt adopted in May.

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr ROOSEVELT**

Your message informing me of certain decisions on strategic matters adopted by you and Mr Churchill reached me on June 4. Thank you for the information.

It appears from your communication that the decisions run counter to those reached by you and Mr Churchill earlier this year concerning the date for a second front in Western Europe.

You will doubtless recall that the joint message of January 26, sent by you and Mr Churchill, announced the decision adopted at that time to divert considerable German ground and air forces from the Russian front and bring Germany to her knees in 1943.

Then on February 12 Mr Churchill communicated on his own behalf and yours the specified time of the Anglo-American operation in Tunisia and the Mediterranean, as well as on the west coast of Europe. The communication said that Great Britain and the United States were vigorously preparing to cross the Channel in August 1943 and that if the operation were hindered by weather or other causes, then it would be prepared with an eye to being carried out in greater force in September 1943.

Now, in May 1943, you and Mr Churchill have decided to postpone the Anglo-American invasion of Western Europe until the spring of 1944. In other words, the opening of the second front in Western Europe, previously postponed from 1942 till 1943, is now being put off again, this time till the spring of 1944.

Your decision creates exceptional difficulties for the Soviet Union, which, straining all its resources, for the past two years, has been engaged against the main forces of Germany and her satellites, and leaves the Soviet Army, which is fighting not only for its country, but also for its Allies, to do the job alone, almost single-handed, against an enemy that is still very strong and formidable.

Need I speak of the dishearteningly negative impression that this fresh postponement of the second front and the withholding from our Army, which has sacrificed so much, of the anticipated substantial support by the Anglo-American armies, will produce in the Soviet Union—both among the people and in the Army?

As for the Soviet Government, it cannot align itself with this decision, which, moreover, was adopted without its participation and without any attempt at a joint discussion of this highly important matter and which may gravely affect the subsequent course of the war.

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr ROOSEVELT**

I am sending you the text of my reply to a message from Mr Churchill, with which you are in full accord, as stated in the message delivered to me by Mr Standley on June 20.²¹

June 24, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your message of June 19 received.

I fully realise the difficulty of organising an Anglo-American invasion of Western Europe, in particular, of transferring troops across the Channel. The difficulty could also be discerned in your communications.

From your messages of last year and this I gained the conviction that you and the President were fully aware of the difficulties of organising such an operation and were preparing the invasion accordingly, with due regard to the difficulties and the necessary exertion of forces and means. Even last year you told me that a large-scale invasion of Europe by Anglo-American troops would be effected in 1943. In the Aide-Mémoire handed to V. M. Molotov on June 10, 1942, you wrote:

"Finally, and most important of all, we are concentrating our maximum effort on the organisation and preparation of a large-scale invasion of the Continent of Europe by British and American forces in 1943. We are setting no limit to the scope and objectives of this campaign, which will be carried out in the first instance by over a million men, British and American, with air forces of appropriate strength."

Early this year you twice informed me, on your own behalf and on behalf of the President, of decisions concerning an Anglo-American invasion of Western Europe intended to "divert strong German land and air forces from the Russian front." You had set

yourself the task of bringing Germany to her knees as early as 1943, and named September as the latest date for the invasion.

In your message of January 26 you wrote:

"We have been in conference with our military advisers and have decided on the operations which are to be undertaken by the American and British forces in the first nine months of 1943. We wish to inform you of our intentions at once. We believe that these operations, together with your powerful offensive, may well bring Germany to her knees in 1943."

In your next message, which I received on February 12, you wrote, specifying the date of the invasion of Western Europe decided on by you and the President:

"We are also pushing preparations to the limit of our resources for a cross-Channel operation in August, in which British and United States units would participate. Here again, shipping and assault-landing craft will be the limiting factors. If the operation is delayed by the weather or other reasons, it will be prepared with stronger forces for September."

Last February, when you wrote to me about those plans and the date for invading Western Europe, the difficulties of that operation were greater than they are now. Since then the Germans have suffered more than one defeat: they were pushed back by our troops in the South, where they suffered appreciable loss; they were beaten in North Africa and expelled by the Anglo-American troops; in submarine warfare, too, the Germans found themselves in a bigger predicament than ever, while Anglo-American superiority increased substantially; it is also known that the Americans and British have won air superiority in Europe and that their navies and mercantile marines have grown in power.

It follows that the conditions for opening a second front in Western Europe during 1943, far from deteriorating, have, indeed, greatly improved.

That being so, the Soviet Government could not have imagined that the British and U.S. Governments would revise the decision to invade Western Europe, which they had adopted early this year. In fact, the Soviet Government was fully entitled to expect that the Anglo-American decision would be carried out, that appropriate preparations were under way and that the second front in

Western Europe would at last be opened in 1943.

That is why, when you now write that "it would be no help to Russia if we threw away a hundred thousand men in a disastrous cross-Channel attack," all I can do is remind you of the following:

First, your own Aide-Mémoire of June 1942 in which you declared that preparations were under way for an invasion, not by a hundred thousand, but by an Anglo-American force exceeding one million men at the very start of the operation.

Second, your February message, which mentioned extensive measures preparatory to the invasion of Western Europe in August or September 1943, which, apparently, envisaged an operation, not by a hundred thousand men, but by an adequate force.

So when you now declare: "I cannot see how a great British defeat and slaughter would aid the Soviet armies," is it not clear that a statement of this kind in relation to the Soviet Union is utterly groundless and directly contradicts your previous and responsible decisions, listed above, about extensive and vigorous measures by the British and Americans to organise the invasion this year, measures on which the complete success of the operation should hinge?

I shall not enlarge on the fact that this responsible decision, revoking your previous decisions on the invasion of Western Europe, was reached by you and the President without Soviet participation and without inviting its representatives to the Washington conference, although you cannot but be aware that the Soviet Union's role in the war against Germany and its interest in the problems of the second front are great enough.

There is no need to say that the Soviet Government cannot become reconciled to this disregard of vital Soviet interests in the war against the common enemy.

You say that you "quite understand" my disappointment. I must tell you that the point here is not just the disappointment of the Soviet Government, but the preservation of its confidence in its Allies, a confidence which is being subjected to severe stress. One should not forget that it is a question of saving millions of lives in the occupied areas of Western Europe and Russia and of reducing the enormous sacrifices of the Soviet armies, compared with which the sacrifices of the Anglo-American armies are insignificant.

June 24, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr WINSTON CHURCHILL**

I have received your message of June 23, 1943, in which you point out that for the present the Governments of Great Britain and the United States of America will refrain from recognising the French National Committee of Liberation. In support of your attitude you say that Headquarters cannot be sure what action General de Gaulle may undertake or of his friendly feelings for the Allies.

We had the impression that the British Government had thus far supported General de Gaulle, which seemed only natural, since from the moment of the French surrender General de Gaulle had headed the anti-Hitler forces of France and the struggle of the French patriots united around Fighting France. Subsequent developments in North Africa, beginning with November 1942, and the part played by French armed forces under Generals Giraud and de Gaulle in the operations carried out by the Anglo-American troops provided the conditions for their union. All the Allies concurred that this union was advisable, and there were no doubts as to this point. Recognition of the existing united agency in the form of the French National Committee of Liberation was to be a result of the aspirations displayed and the efforts made in this matter. All the more so because, after the French National Committee in the persons of Giraud and de Gaulle officially requested Allied recognition of the Committee, the Soviet Government felt that refusal to grant the request would be incomprehensible to French public opinion.

At the moment the Soviet Government has no information that could support the British Government's present attitude to the French National Committee of Liberation and, in particular, to General de Gaulle.

Since, however, the British Government requests that the recognition of the French Committee be postponed and through its Ambassador has given the assurance that no steps will be taken in this matter without consulting the Soviet Government, the Soviet Government is prepared to meet the British Government half-way.

I hope you will take cognisance of the Soviet interest in French affairs and not deny the Soviet Government timely information, which is indispensable for the adoption of appropriate decisions.
June 26, 1943

Sent on June 26, 1943

**TO Mr FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

Washington

Thank you for your high commendation of the resolve and bravery of the Soviet people and Armed Forces in fighting the Hitler invaders.

As a result of the two years of the Soviet Union's struggle against Hitler Germany and her vassals and of the telling blows delivered by the Allies to the Italo-German armies in North Africa, conditions have been created for the final defeat of our common enemy.

I have no doubt that the sooner we strike from east and west our joint, combined blows at the enemy, the sooner victory will come.

J. STALIN

**SECRET AND PERSONAL MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT**

I can answer your latest message—that of July 16—now that I am back from the front. I have no doubt that you are aware of our military position and will appreciate the delay.

Contrary to our expectations, the Germans launched their offensive in July, not in June, and now fighting is in full swing on the Soviet-German front. The Soviet armies have, as you

know, repulsed the July offensive of the Hitlerites, switched to the offensive, taking Orel and Belgorod, and are still pressing the enemy.

It will be readily seen that in the present crucial situation on the Soviet-German front the Soviet Command has to exert great efforts and display the utmost vigilance towards the enemy's activities. For this reason I, too, am compelled to put aside other problems and my other duties, to a certain degree, except my chief duty, that of directing the front. I have to go to the various front sectors more frequently and to subordinate all else to the interests of the front.

I hope you will appreciate that in these circumstances I cannot start on a distant journey and shall unfortunately be unable during the summer and autumn to make good the promise I gave you through Mr Davies.

I am very sorry about this, but circumstances, as you know, are stronger than people, and so we must bow to them.

I consider it highly advisable for responsible representatives of our two countries to meet. In the present military situation the meeting could be held either in Astrakhan or in Archangel. If that does not suit you personally, then you might send a fully authorised man of confidence to one of these two towns. If you accept, we should specify beforehand the range of problems to be discussed at the conference and draft appropriate proposals.

I have already told Mr Davies that I have no objection to Mr Churchill attending the conference and to the bipartite conference being turned into a tripartite one. I still hold this view provided you have no objections.

2. I take this opportunity to congratulate you and the Anglo-American forces on their outstanding success in Sicily, which has led to the fall of Mussolini and his gang.

3. Thank you for congratulating the Red Army and the Soviet people on their success at Orel.

August 8, 1943

PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL

I have just come back from the front and have read the British Government's message of August 7.

I agree that a meeting of the three heads of the Governments is highly desirable. The meeting should be arranged at the earliest opportunity and the place and time of the meeting coordinated with the President.

At the same time I must say that, the situation on the Soviet-German front being what it is, I am, unfortunately, unable to leave and lose touch with the front even for one week. Although we have had certain successes at the front lately, it is now that the Soviet troops and the Soviet Command must exert the utmost effort and show particular vigilance towards the new actions which the enemy may undertake. In view of this I am obliged to be with the troops and visit this or that sector of our front more often than usual. Hence I cannot at the moment travel to meet you and the President at Scapa Flow or any other distant point.

Nevertheless, in order not to put off elucidation of the problems which interest our countries, it would be advisable to hold a meeting of authorised representatives of our states, and we could agree on the place and time of meeting in the near future.

Besides, we should agree beforehand on the range of problems to be discussed and on the draft proposals to be approved. Unless this is done the meeting can hardly yield tangible results.

2. I take this opportunity to congratulate the British Government and the Anglo-American troops on their highly successful operations in Sicily, which have already led to the fall of Mussolini and the collapse of his gang.

August 9, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. D. ROOSEVELT,
AND THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

I have received your message on the negotiations with the Italians and on the new armistice terms for Italy. Thank you for the information.

Mr Eden advised Sobolev that Moscow had been kept fully informed of the negotiations with Italy. I must say, however, that Mr Eden's statement is at variance with the facts, for I received your message with large omissions and without the closing paragraphs. It should be said, therefore, that the Soviet Government has not been kept informed of the Anglo-American negotiations with the Italians. Mr Kerr assures me that he will shortly receive the full text of your message, but three days have passed and Ambassador Kerr has yet to give it to me. I cannot understand how this delay could have come about in transmitting information on so important a matter.

2. I think the time is ripe for us to set up a military-political commission of representatives of the three countries—the U.S.A., Great Britain and the U.S.S.R.—for consideration of problems related to negotiations with various Governments falling away from Germany. To date it has been like this: the U.S.A. and Britain reach agreement between themselves while the U.S.S.R. is informed of the agreement between the two Powers as a third party looking passively on. I must say that this situation cannot be tolerated any longer. I propose setting up the commission and making Sicily its seat for the time being.

3. I am looking forward to receiving the full text of your message on the negotiations with Italy.

August 22, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL,
AND THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. D. ROOSEVELT**

Your joint message of August 19 has reached me.

I fully share your opinion and that of Mr Roosevelt concerning the importance of a meeting between the three of us. At the same time I earnestly request you to appreciate my position at a moment when our armies are exerting themselves to the utmost against the main forces of Hitler and when Hitler, far from having withdrawn a single division from our front, has already moved, and keeps moving, fresh divisions to the Soviet-German front. At a moment like this I cannot, in the opinion of all my colleagues, leave the front without injury to our military operations to go to so distant a point as Fairbanks, even though, had the situation on our front been different, Fairbanks would doubtless have been a perfectly suitable place for our meeting, as I indeed thought before.

As to a meeting between representatives of our states, and perhaps representatives in charge of foreign affairs, I share your view of the advisability of such a meeting in the near future. However, the meeting should not be restricted to the narrow bounds of investigation, but should concern itself with practical preparations so that after the conference our Governments might take specific decisions and thus avoid delay in reaching decisions on urgent matters.

Hence I think I must revert to my proposal for fixing beforehand the range of problems to be discussed by the representatives of the three states and drafting the proposals they will have to discuss and submit to our Governments for final decision.

2. Yesterday we received from Mr Kerr the addenda and corrections to the joint message in which you and Mr Roosevelt informed me of the instructions sent to General Eisenhower in connection with the surrender terms worked out for Italy during the discussions with General Castellano. I and my colleagues believe that the instructions given to General Eisenhower follow entirely from the thesis on Italy's unconditional surrender and hence cannot give rise to any objections.

Still, I consider the information received so far insufficient

for judging the steps that the Allies should take in the negotiations with Italy. This circumstance confirms the necessity of Soviet participation in reaching a decision in the course of the negotiations. I consider it timely, therefore, to set up the military-political commission representing the three countries, of which I wrote to you on August 22.

August 24, 1943

PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE

FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN

TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr WINSTON CHURCHILL

I am for having the French National Committee of Liberation represented on the commission for negotiations with Italy. If you consider it advisable you may say so on behalf of our two Governments.

August 31, 1943

PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE

FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN

**TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
AND THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr WINSTON CHURCHILL**

I have received your message of September 4. The question which you ask me, namely, whether the Soviet Government would agree to General Eisenhower signing on its behalf the short armistice terms for Italy, should be considered as having been answered in the letter which V. M. Molotov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, wrote to Mr Kerr, the British Ambassador, on September 2. The letter said that the powers which the Soviet Government entrusted to General Eisenhower also extended to his signing the short armistice terms.

September 7, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. D. ROOSEVELT**

I received on September 6 your message dealing with a number of important subjects.

I still think that the most pressing problem is to set up a three-Power military-political commission, with headquarters in Sicily, or in Algiers to begin with. The despatch of a Soviet officer to Gen. Eisenhower's headquarters can in no way replace the military-political commission, which is required to direct on the spot negotiations with Italy and with the Governments of other countries falling away from Germany. Much time has passed without things making the slightest headway.

As to French participation in the commission, I have already stated my opinion. However, if you have any doubts we can naturally discuss the matter after the three-Power commission is set up.

2. The time suggested by the Prime Minister for the meeting of our three representatives—early October—would be suitable; as to the place, I suggest Moscow. By that time the three Governments could agree on the range of subjects to be discussed, as well as on proposals relating to those problems, otherwise the conference will not yield the results which our Governments want.

3. As regards a personal meeting between us with Mr Churchill participating, I, too, desire this as early as possible. The date suggested by you is acceptable to me. It would be advisable to select a country where all the three countries are represented, such as Iran. I should add, however, that we shall yet have to specify the date of meeting with due regard to the situation on the Soviet-German front, where more than 500 divisions are engaged on both sides and where supervision by the Supreme Command of the U.S.S.R. is required almost daily.

4. Thank you for your congratulations on the successes of the Soviet armies. I take the occasion to congratulate you and the Anglo-American forces on their latest brilliant successes in Italy.

September 8, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr. W. CHURCHILL**

I have received your messages of September 5.

As I am writing simultaneously to the President, I think the most pressing problem is that of the military-political commission concerning which I wrote on August 22 and 24. After receiving your previous messages I expected the matter of setting up the tripartite military-political commission to be settled positively and without delay. But the solution of this very urgent problem has been delayed. The point is not, of course, this or that detail, which we could easily dispose of. The sending of a Soviet officer to General Eisenhower cannot in any way substitute the military-political commission which should already be at work, whereas it does not yet exist.

I have already informed you of my opinion on having a French representative. However, if the President is doubtful the question of French participation might be postponed.

2. The proposed date for the meeting of the three heads of the Governments—early October—suits me. I suggest that it be held in Moscow. The thing now is for us to agree beforehand on the range of problems and the proposals concerning those problems, in which our Governments are interested. I still think that this is essential for the success of the meeting, which should draft agreed decisions for subsequent adoption by the Governments. As for other matters relating to the convening of the conference, I think there will be no difficulty in reaching agreement.

3. About a personal meeting of the heads of the three Governments—I have informed the President that I, too, am anxious for it to be held as early as possible, that the date suggested by him—November or December—suits me, but that it would be advisable to hold it in a country where all three are represented, such as Iran. I made the reservation that the actual date would have to be specified later, with due account to the situation on the Soviet-German front, where more than 500 divisions are engaged on both sides and where the supervision of the Supreme Command of the U.S.S.R. is required almost daily.

4. Thank you for your congratulations on the victories won by the Soviet armies. Please accept my congratulations on the

splendid successes of the Anglo-American troops in Italy and my good wishes for further success in fulfilling the plans made for further operations.

September 8, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr. W. CHURCHILL**

I have received your message of September 8, advising me of the directions which you and the President have given to General Eisenhower to warn the Germans of the retaliation they must expect should they venture on gas warfare against Italy.

For my part I think it was the right thing to do and have no objection to appropriate instructions having already been given by you and the President.

September 8, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr. W. CHURCHILL**

Your message of September 8 reached me on September 9. Apparently you had not received my message of September 8 when you wrote yours.

I hope you will have read it by now, for it answers the questions that interest you concerning the meeting of the three Foreign Ministers and the tripartite commission.

September 9, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr ROOSEVELT,
AND THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr CHURCHILL**

I have received your message of September 10. I congratulate you on your latest success, particularly the landing in the Naples area. There can be no doubt that the landing in the Naples area and Italy's break with Germany will be yet another blow to Hitler Germany and considerably facilitate the Soviet armies' operations on the Soviet-German front.

So far the offensive of the Soviet troops is making good progress. I think we shall have further success in the next two or three weeks. It may be that we shall take Novorossiisk in a day or two.

September 10, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. D. ROOSEVELT,
AND THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Basically, the point about the military-political commission can be regarded as settled. We have appointed as the Soviet Ambassador A. Y. Vyshinsky, Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, whom you know. A. Y. Bogomolov, the Soviet Ambassador to the Allied Governments in London, has been appointed his deputy. In addition, we are sending a group of responsible military and political experts and a small technical staff.

I think that the date September 25-30 should be fixed for the military-political commission getting down to work. I have nothing against the commission functioning in Algiers for a start and later deciding whether it should move to Sicily or elsewhere in Italy.

The Prime Minister's considerations regarding the functions of the commission are correct in my view, but I think that later,

taking into account the initial experience of the commission, we shall be able to specify its functions in respect of both Italy and other countries.

2. Concerning the meeting of our three representatives I suggest that we consider it agreed that Moscow be the place, and the date, October 4, as suggested by the President.

As stated in previous messages, I still believe that for the conference to be a success it is essential to know in advance the proposals that the British and U.S. Governments intend to submit to it. I do not, however, suggest any restriction as far as the agenda is concerned.

3. As regards the meeting of the three heads of the Governments, I have no objection to Tehran, which, I think, is a more suitable place than Egypt where the Soviet Union is not yet represented.

September 12, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your message of September 21 received.

I agree with your proposal for a radio address to the people by the King of Italy. But I think it is absolutely essential that the King's address should clearly say that Italy, which has surrendered to Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union, will fight against Germany together with Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union.

2. I also agree with your proposal for signing the comprehensive armistice terms. Concerning your reservation that some of the conditions cannot become effective at present, I take this to mean that they cannot be carried out in a territory still under German control. In any case I should like to get confirmation of this from you or the necessary explanation.

September 22, 1943

**PERSONAL MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN TO THE PRIME MINISTER,
Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Many thanks to you and Mr Eden for the congratulations on the capture of Smolensk.

September 26, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN**

Your message of September 27 reached me today.

I agree on the desirability of the Secretary of State, Mr Hull, being present at the forthcoming conference of the representatives of the three Governments.

At the same time I must call your attention to the great difficulties we should encounter if the agreed decision to hold the conference in Moscow were revised. If the conference were convened, not in Moscow, but in Britain, as you now suggest, V. M. Molotov, who I think should attend the three-Power conference as the representative of the Soviet Government, would be unable to get there in time. Molotov will not be able to leave the U.S.S.R.—at least in the immediate future—because A. Y. Vyshinsky, who is his first deputy in the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, is expected, as you know, to leave for Algiers shortly.

Moreover, as you are aware, the U.S. and British press has been announcing for a long time that the forthcoming meeting will be held in Moscow, and a change of place might give rise to undesirable comments.

I have no objection to October 15 as the date of meeting. Presumably by that time the three Governments will have reached final agreement on the conference agenda.

September 28, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. D. ROOSEVELT**

I have no objection to you and the British Prime Minister having approved General Eisenhower's suggestion that the long-term surrender document be kept secret after the Italian Government has signed it and not published for the time being.

October 2, 1943

**PERSONAL AND MOST SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your message of October 2 received.

The Soviet Government is prepared to participate in a tripartite declaration to be made public immediately after Italy has declared war on Germany. The text of the declaration proposed by you seems acceptable to me. For my part I suggest that the declaration be published simultaneously in London, Moscow and Washington.

Please be advised that I have not yet received the President's telegram conveying General Eisenhower's proposals, sent, as you write, on October 1.

October 2, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO PRIME MINISTER W. CHURCHILL**

I have received your message of September 27 on the forthcoming meeting of the three heads of the Governments. I have no objection to the diversive preparations which you intend to carry out in Cairo. Concerning your proposal to throw a British and a Russian brigade round a suitable area in Cairo 3 several days

in advance of our meeting in that city, I do not think the measure advisable—it could lead to undue commotion and exposure. I suggest that each take a strong police force with him. I think that would be adequate for security.

I have no objection to the other proposals for the coming meeting, and I agree to the code names suggested for correspondence on the meeting.

October 3, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT**

I received your message of October 1 only today, October 5. I have no objection to the changes you suggest making in the "Instrument of Surrender of Italy."

October 5, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT**

Your message of October 4 received.

Regarding military matters, that is, Anglo-American measures to shorten the war, you already know the Soviet Government's point of view from my previous message. It is still my hope that in this respect a preliminary three-Power conference will be useful and clear the ground for further important decisions.

If I have understood you aright, the Moscow conference will confine itself to discussing matters bearing on our three countries only, hence we can take it as agreed that a four-Power declaration is not to be on the agenda.

Our representatives should do their best to overcome the difficulties that may arise in their responsible work. As to decisions, they can, of course, only be taken by our Governments—I hope when you, Mr Churchill and myself meet in person.

I wish the U.S. and British armies successful fulfilment of their mission and entry into Rome, which will be another blow to Mussolini and Hitler.

October 6, 1943

**PERSONAL AND MOST SECRET
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

I have received your message of October 1 informing me of your intention to send four convoys to the Soviet Union by the northern route in November, December, January and February. However, the information is depreciated by your further statement that the intention to send northern convoys to the U.S.S.R. is "not a contract or bargain," but merely a declaration which, I take it, may be renounced by the British side at any moment regardless of the effect on the Soviet armies at the front. I must say I cannot agree to this approach to the matter. The British Government's deliveries of munitions and other war cargoes to the U.S.S.R. cannot be treated other than as an obligation assumed by the British Government, in accordance with the terms of a special agreement between our two countries, in relation to the U.S.S.R., which for more than two years has borne the tremendous burden of the struggle against Hitler Germany, the common enemy of the Allies.

Nor can the fact be ignored that the northern route is the shortest, ensuring quickest delivery to the Soviet-German front of the munitions supplied by the Allies, and that unless that route is properly used the U.S.S.R. cannot get supplies on the required scale. As I have told you before, and as borne out by experience, shipment of munitions and other war materials to the U.S.S.R. through Persian ports simply cannot make up for the shortage, arising from non-shipment via the northern route, of munitions and materials which, it will be readily understood, are needed to fully meet the requirements of the Soviet armies. This year, however, the shipment of war cargoes by the northern route has, for some reason or other, decreased considerably compared with last year, thus making it impossible to fulfil the plan

for military deliveries and running counter to the appropriate Anglo-Soviet protocol on war supplies. And so at the present time, when the Soviet Union is straining its forces to the limit in order to meet the needs of the front and ensure the success of the struggle against the main forces of our common enemy it would be impermissible to make supplies to the Soviet armies conditional on the arbitrary judgment of the British side. Such an approach cannot but be regarded as renunciation by the British Government of its obligations, as something in the nature of a threat to the U.S.S.R.

2. Concerning what you describe as controversial points in V. M. Molotov's communication, I must say that I see no grounds whatever for this comment. In my view the principle of reciprocity and equality, advanced by the Soviet side for settling all visa matters affecting the personnel of the Military Missions,⁵⁰ is sound and really just. I am not convinced by the point that the difference in the functions of the British and Soviet Military Missions precludes the application of the above principle and that the numerical strength of the British Military Mission should be determined solely by the British Government. This matter has already been dealt with in sufficient detail in the appropriate aide-mémoires of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.

3. I see no need for increasing the numbers of the British military personnel in the Soviet North, for the overwhelming majority of the British military personnel there now are not being used properly and have for months been doomed to idleness, something repeatedly pointed out by the Soviet side. As an example Base No. 126 at Archangel can be given, the abolition of which in view of its uselessness had been suggested more than once and to which abolition the British Government has only now agreed. I regret to say there are also instances of impermissible behaviour on the part of individual British servicemen, who in a number of cases resorted to corruption in their efforts to recruit certain Soviet citizens for intelligence purposes. Facts such as these, which offend Soviet citizens, naturally, give rise to incidents with undesirable complications.

4. With regard to the formalities and certain restrictions imposed in our northern ports, mentioned by you, it should be borne in mind that in a zone adjoining the front these formalities and

restrictions are inevitable in view of the military situation in which the U.S.S.R. now finds itself. Besides, they apply in equal measure to British and other foreign citizens as well as to Soviet citizens. Nevertheless, in this respect too, the Soviet authorities have granted British servicemen and seamen a number of privileges, of which the British Embassy was informed in March. It follows that your reference to numerous formalities and restrictions is based on inaccurate information.

As regards censorship and penalties in relation to British Service personnel, I have no objection to the censorship of private mail for the British personnel in our northern ports being handled, on a reciprocal basis, by the British authorities, nor to British personnel who have committed minor offences that do not involve judicial investigation being dealt with by the appropriate military authorities.

October 13, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT**

Your message of October 13 received. Thank you for the news. All success to the armed forces of the United States of America and Great Britain.

October 14, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO PRESIDENT F. D. ROOSEVELT**

I have received your two messages of October 14.

Thank you for the news about the Secretary of State and his staff who are on their way. I hope they will soon arrive safely in Moscow.

As regards the subject raised in your second message, I shall send you a reply after I have conferred with my Government colleagues.

October 17, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET
TO PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN**

With regard to the place for the meeting of the three heads of the Governments I should like to inform you of the following.

I am afraid I cannot accept as suitable any one of the places suggested by you as against Tehran. It is not a matter of security, for that does not worry me.

In the course of the Soviet troops' operations in the summer and autumn of this year it became evident that our forces would be able to continue their offensive operations against the German Army and that the summer campaign would thus continue into winter. My colleagues hold that the operations necessitate day-to-day guidance by the Supreme Command and my personal contact with the Command. In Tehran, unlike the other places, these requirements can be met by communicating directly with Moscow by telegraph or telephone. For this reason my colleagues insist on Tehran.

I agree that the press should be barred. I also accept your proposal for fixing November 20 or 25 as possible dates for the meeting.

Mr Hull has arrived safely in Moscow, and I hope his attendance at the Moscow three-Power conference³⁹ will be very useful.

October 19, 1943

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT**

Your message of October 17 received. I have nothing against your suggestion for the powers to be accorded the French rep-

representatives on the Allied military-political commission.

October 21, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT**

Mr Hull delivered your latest message to me on October 25, and I discussed it with him. I did not reply at once, being certain that Mr Hull had informed you of our talk and of my considerations as to the meeting with you and Mr Churchill.

I cannot but take into account the circumstances which you say prevent you from going to Tehran. It is for you alone, of course, to decide whether you can go there.

As far as I am concerned, there is no city more suitable than the one mentioned.

I have been entrusted with the Supreme Command of the Soviet forces, which obliges me to direct military operations day in and day out. This is particularly essential now, when the continuous four-month summer campaign is developing into a winter campaign and when military operations are getting under way practically along the entire 2,600-kilometre front. In this situation I, as Supreme Commander, cannot possibly go any farther than Tehran. My Government colleagues tend to the view that at present I cannot leave the U.S.S.R. at all in view of the exceedingly complicated situation at the front.

That accounts for the idea which has occurred to me and which I have already mentioned to Mr Hull. I could be fully replaced at that meeting by my First Deputy in the Government, V. M. Molotov, who during the discussions will enjoy, in keeping with our Constitution, the rights of head of the Soviet Government. In that case the difficulties of choosing a place would disappear. I hope this suggestion will at the moment be found suitable.

November 5, 1943

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT**

I am in receipt of yours of November 8. Thank you for your reply.

I agree with your plan for our meeting in Iran and hope Mr Churchill will do likewise.

V. M. Molotov and our military representative will arrive in Cairo on November 22, and there work out with you everything about our meeting in Iran.

November 10, 1943

**PERSONAL AND MOST SECRET
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT**

I feel that I must inform you that today I sent a message to Mr Churchill which reads as follows:

"Today I received two messages from you.

"Although I had written to the President that V. M. Molotov would arrive in Cairo on November 22, I must say that, owing to reasons of a serious nature, Molotov will not, unfortunately, be able to go to Cairo. He will travel with me to Tehran towards the end of November. A number of military officers will also accompany me.

"It goes without saying that the Tehran meeting should involve only the three heads of the Governments as agreed. Participation of representatives of any other Powers should be absolutely ruled out.

"I wish you success in your conference with the Chinese on Far Eastern affairs.

"November 12, 1943."

**PERSONAL AND MOST SECRET
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT**

It now turns out that reasons of a serious nature will prevent V. M. Molotov from reaching Cairo on November 22. He will accompany me to Iran towards the end of the month. I am simultaneously advising Mr Churchill of this, as you will be informed.

P.S. Despatch of this message was, unfortunately, held up through the fault of some members of the staff, but I hope it will arrive in time just the same.

November 12, 1943

**PERSONAL AND MOST SECRET
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your reply reached me on November 15. Thank you for your congratulations on the offensive of the Soviet troops who are now having to withstand strong pressure west of Kiev, whither the Germans have rushed up fresh forces and armour.

November 17, 1943

**PERSONAL AND MOST SECRET
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your Cairo message received. I shall be at your service in Tehran in the evening of November 28.

November 25, 1943

**PERSONAL AND SECRET TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT
FROM PREMIER STALIN**

Thank you for your telegram.

I agree that the Tehran Conference was a great success and that our personal meetings were of great importance in many respects. I hope the common enemy of our peoples—Hitler Germany—will soon feel this. Now there is certainty that our peoples will cooperate harmoniously, both at present and after the war.

I wish you and your armed forces the best of success in the coming momentous operations.

I also hope that our meeting in Tehran will not be the last and that we shall meet again.

December 6, 1943

**SECRET AND PERSONAL TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT
AND PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL
FROM PREMIER STALIN**

Thank you for your joint message informing me of additional decisions on waging the war against Germany in 1944. Best regards.

December 10, 1943

**SECRET AND PERSONAL
TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT
FROM PREMIER STALIN**

I have received your message about the appointment of General Eisenhower. I welcome it. I wish him success in preparing and carrying out the forthcoming decisive operations.

December 10, 1943

**SECRET AND PERSONAL
TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT
FROM PREMIER STALIN**

Thank you for your letter, which reached me through your Ambassador on December 18.

I am glad that chance enabled me to render you a service in Tehran. I, too, attach great importance to our meeting and to the talks we had on the vital problem of accelerating our common victory and establishing lasting peace among the nations.

December 20, 1943

Sent on December 22, 1943

**MESSAGE FROM MARSHAL STALIN
TO PRIME MINISTER W. CHURCHILL**

Please accept my heartfelt thanks for your friendly greetings on the occasion of my birthday. With all my heart I wish you speedy recovery and return to complete health, which is so essential for delivering the decisive blow to the enemy.

**MESSAGE FROM MARSHAL STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Thank you for the message about the *Scharnhorst*.

To you, Admiral Fraser and the gallant men of the *Duke of York*, congratulations on a masterly blow and the sinking of the German battle cruiser *Scharnhorst*.

I am glad you have recovered from your illness.

I firmly shake your hand.

December 27, 1943

**PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM
PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr WINSTON CHURCHILL**

I shall send you the music of the new Soviet Anthem by the next post. V. M. Molotov has asked me to thank you on his behalf for your greetings and to transmit his best wishes. I fully agree with you about frequent meetings.

January 2, 1944

**MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO PRESIDENT F. D. ROOSEVELT**

I am glad to learn from the press that your health is improving. I send you best regards and, more important, wish you speedy and complete recovery.

January 4, 1944

**PERSONAL AND SECRET
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr WINSTON CHURCHILL**

Your message of January 5 received. I am glad to learn from you that the preparations for "Overlord"³⁶ are in full swing and that you will take other measures before the month is out.

2. I must say, since you have brought up the matter, that if we are to judge by the latest declaration of the Polish émigré Government and other statements by Polish leaders, we will see that there are no grounds for thinking that these circles can be made to see reason. They are incorrigible.

3. Please convey my thanks and good wishes to Lord Beaverbrook.

4. Our offensive is still making headway, particularly in the South, although the Germans are resisting desperately wherever they can.

January 7, 1944

**PERSONAL AND SECRET
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your message of January 12 received. Our armies have indeed achieved success of late, but we are still a long way from Berlin. What is more, the Germans are now launching rather serious counter-attacks, particularly east of Vinnitsa. There is no danger in that, of course, but they have succeeded in pushing back our advanced units there and in temporarily checking our progress. Hence you should not slacken, but intensify the bombing of Berlin as much as possible. By the time we all arrive in Berlin the Germans will have had a chance to rebuild certain premises that you and we here shall need.

Your message to Tito, whom you are encouraging so much with your support, will be of great importance.

I hope your preparations jointly with the Americans for "Overlord" are making good progress.

January 14, 1944

**PERSONAL AND SECRET
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO PRIME MINISTER W. CHURCHILL**

Thank you for informing me of your decision to send an additional convoy of 20 ships to the Soviet Union in mid-March over and above those provided for earlier. They will be of great value to our front.

January 20, 1944

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr WINSTON CHURCHILL,
AND THE PRESIDENT, Mr FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT**

The joint messages signed by you, Mr Prime Minister, and you, Mr President, concerning the transfer of Italian vessels to the Soviet Union, arrived on January 23.

I must say that after getting your joint favourable reply to my question in Tehran about transferring Italian ships to the Soviet Union before the end of January 1944 I had considered the matter settled; it never occurred to me that that decision reached and agreed to by the three of us could be revised in any way. All the more so because we agreed at the time that the matter would be fully settled with the Italians during December and January. Now I see that this is not the case and that nothing has been said to the Italians on this score.

However, in order not to delay settlement of this matter, which is so vitally important to our common fight against Germany, the Soviet Union is willing to accept your proposal for the battleship *Royal Sovereign* and one cruiser being transferred from British ports to the U.S.S.R. and for the Soviet Naval Command using the two ships temporarily, until corresponding Italian ships can be made available to the Soviet Union. In the same way we are ready to accept from the U.S.A. and Britain 20,000 tons of merchant shipping apiece, which we shall likewise use until we are provided with the same amount of Italian shipping. The important thing is that there should no longer be any delay in the matter and that the ships mentioned above be handed over to us before the end of February.

However, there is no mention in your reply of the transfer to the Soviet Union at the end of January of the eight Italian destroyers and four submarines to which you, Mr Prime Minister, and you, Mr President, consented in Tehran. Yet this question of destroyers and submarines is of paramount importance to the Soviet Union, for without them the transfer of one battleship and one cruiser would be pointless. You will agree that cruisers and battleships are powerless unless accompanied by destroyers. As the whole of the Italian Navy is at your disposal, it should not be difficult for you to carry out the Tehran decision for the transfer of eight destroyers and four submarines from the Navy to the Soviet Union. I also agree to accept, instead of Italian destroy-

ers and submarines, as many U.S. or British destroyers and submarines for the Soviet Union. The transfer of the destroyers and submarines should not be delayed, it should be effected simultaneously with the transfer of the battleship and cruiser, as the three of us agreed in Tehran.

January 29, 1944

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr WINSTON CHURCHILL**

I have received your message of January 24.

I am a little late with this reply due to the pressure of front affairs.

As regards the *Pravda* report, its significance should not be overrated, nor is there any reason to question the right of a newspaper to carry reports or rumours received from tried and tested correspondents. In any case we Russians have never laid claim to that kind of interference in the affairs of the British press, even though we have had, and still have, far more reasons for doing so. Our TASS denies only a very small part of the reports printed in British newspapers and deserving to be denied.

To come to the gist of the matter, I cannot agree with you that Britain could easily have made a separate peace with Germany, largely at the expense of the U.S.S.R. and without serious loss to the British Empire. I think that that was said rashly, for I recall statements of a different nature made by you. I recall, for example, that when Britain was in difficulties, before the Soviet Union became involved in the war against Germany, you believed that the British Government might have to move to Canada and fight Germany across the ocean. On the other hand, you admitted that it was the Soviet Union which, by engaging Hitler, eliminated the danger which undoubtedly threatened Great Britain on the part of Germany. But if, nevertheless, we grant that Britain could have managed without the U.S.S.R., exactly the same could be said about the Soviet Union. I should have preferred not to bring this up, but I had to do so to remind you of the facts.

Concerning *War and the Working Class* all I can say is that it is a trade-union magazine for whose articles the Government cannot be held responsible. However, this magazine, like our other magazines, is loyal to the fundamental principle—closer friendship with the Allies—which does not preclude but presupposes friendly criticism as well.

Like you I was favourably impressed by our meetings in Tehran and our joint work.

I will certainly see Mr Kerr when he arrives.

January 29, 1944

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr WINSTON CHURCHILL**

Your message on the Polish question has reached me through Mr Kerr who arrived in Moscow a few days ago and with whom I had a useful talk.

I see you are giving a good deal of attention to the problem of Soviet-Polish relations. All of us greatly appreciate your efforts.

I have the feeling that the very first question which must be completely cleared up even now is that of the Soviet-Polish frontier. You are right, of course, in noting that on this point Poland should be guided by the Allies. As for the Soviet Government, it has already stated, openly and clearly, its views on the frontier question. We have stated that we do not consider the 1939 boundary final, and have agreed to the Curzon Line, thereby making very important concessions to the Poles. Yet the Polish Government has evaded our proposal for the Curzon Line and in its official statements continues to maintain that the frontier imposed upon us under the Riga Treaty is final. I infer from your letter that the Polish Government is prepared to recognise the Curzon Line, but, as is known, the Poles have not made such a statement anywhere.

I think the Polish Government should officially state in a declaration that the boundary line established by the Riga Treaty shall be revised and that the Curzon Line is the new boundary

line between the U.S.S.R. and Poland. It should state that as officially as the Soviet Government has done by declaring that the 1939 boundary line shall be revised and that the Soviet-Polish frontier should follow the Curzon Line.

As regards your statement to the Poles that Poland could considerably extend her frontiers in the West and North, we are in agreement with that with, as you are aware, one amendment. I mentioned the amendment to you and the President in Tehran. We claim the transfer of the north-eastern part of East Prussia, including the port of Königsberg as an ice-free one, to the Soviet Union. It is the only German territory claimed by us. Unless this minimum claim of the Soviet Union is met, the Soviet Union's concession in recognising the Curzon Line becomes entirely pointless, as I told you in Tehran.

Lastly, about the composition of the Polish Government. I think you realise that we cannot re-establish relations with the present Polish Government. Indeed, what would be the use of re-establishing relations with it when we are not at all certain that tomorrow we shall not be compelled to sever those relations again on account of another fascist provocation on its part, such as the "Katyn affair"? Throughout the recent period the Polish Government, in which the tone is set by Sosnkowski, has not desisted from statements hostile to the Soviet Union. The extremely anti-Soviet statements of the Polish Ambassadors in Mexico and Canada and of Gen. Anders in the Middle East, the hostility displayed towards the Soviet Union by Polish underground publications in German-occupied territory, a hostility which transcends all bounds, the annihilation, on directions from the Polish Government, of Polish guerrillas fighting the Hitler invaders, these and many other pro-fascist actions of the Polish Government are known. That being so, no good can be expected unless the composition of the Polish Government is thoroughly improved. On the other hand, the removal from it of pro-fascist imperialist elements and the inclusion of democratic-minded people would, one is entitled to hope, create the proper conditions for normal Soviet-Polish relations, for solving the problem of the Soviet-Polish frontier and, in general, for the rebirth of Poland as a strong, free and independent state. Those interested in improving the composition of the Polish Government along these lines are primarily the Poles themselves, the broad sections

of the Polish people. By the way, last May you wrote to me saying that the composition of the Polish Government could be improved and that you would work towards that end. You did not at that time think that this would be interference in Poland's internal sovereignty.

With reference to the questions posed by the Polish Ministers and mentioned in paragraph 4 of your letter I think there will be no difficulty in reaching agreement on them.

February 4, 1944

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

I received your message on February 9.

Thank you for your congratulations. Our troops are still pushing on in some sectors, but the Germans are doggedly counter-attacking.

I have read your communication on Italy. I hope for an improvement in the Allies' position in the near future.

The Soviet Government is grateful to you for the information on the despatch of another additional convoy to the U.S.S.R. in March.

Please accept my best wishes.

February 11, 1944

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT**

Your message on the Polish question to hand. It goes without saying that a correct solution of this problem is of great importance both to the U.S.S.R. and to our common cause.

There are two major points to be considered: first, the Soviet-Polish frontier and, second, the composition of the Polish Government. The Soviet Government's point of view is familiar to you

from its recently published statements and from V. M. Molotov's letter in reply to Mr Hull's Note, received in Moscow through the Soviet Ambassador, Gromyko, on January 22.

First of all, about the Soviet-Polish frontier. As you know, the Soviet Government has officially declared that it does not consider the 1939 boundary final, and has agreed to the Curzon Line. In stating this we have made quite important concessions to the Poles on the frontier question. We had grounds for anticipating an appropriate declaration on the part of the Polish Government. It should have officially declared that the frontier established by the Riga Treaty would be revised and that it accepts the Curzon Line as the new frontier line between the U.S.S.R. and Poland. It should have made an official declaration on recognition of the Curzon Line just as the Soviet Government has done. But the Polish Government in London refused to budge, and continued to insist in official statements that the frontier imposed upon us under the Riga Treaty at a difficult moment should be left unchanged. Hence, there is no basis for agreement, for the standpoint of the present Polish Government, as we see, precludes agreement.

In view of this circumstance the question of the composition of the Polish Government has likewise become more acute. It is clear that the Polish Government, in which the main role is played by pro-fascist, imperialist elements hostile to the Soviet Union, such as Sosnkowski, and in which there are hardly any democratic elements, can have no basis in Poland, nor, as experience has shown, can it establish friendly relations with democratic neighbouring countries. Clearly, such a Polish Government is incapable of establishing friendly relations with the Soviet Union and it cannot be anticipated that it will not sow discord among the democratic countries which, on the contrary, would like to strengthen their unity. It follows that a radical improvement in the composition of the Polish Government is an urgent matter.

I had to delay reply, being busy at the front.

February 16, 1944

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO PRIME MINISTER W. CHURCHILL**

Your message of February 19 received. Thank you for the communications.

I must at the same time point out that so far I have had no reply on the eight British and U.S. destroyers and other ships, which were to be put at Soviet disposal temporarily in exchange for Italian warships and merchant vessels, as agreed in Tehran by you, the President and myself. I cannot understand the long delay.

I await a reply to my message of January 29.

February 21, 1944

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO PRESIDENT F. D. ROOSEVELT**

I am in receipt of your message of February 18. Thank you for the news.

It does not, however, exhaust the matter as it says nothing about Anglo-American destroyers and submarines in lieu of the Italian ones—eight destroyers and four submarines—as decided at Tehran. I look forward to an early reply on these points, mentioned in my message of January 29.

February 21, 1944

**PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT**

I have received your message with congratulations on the latest successes of the Soviet forces. Please accept my thanks for your friendly wishes.

February 23, 1944

SECRET AND PERSONAL

**FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL,
AND THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT**

I received on February 24 your two messages, including the one of February 7 concerning the Italian ships. I have also read Mr Kerr's letter on the matter, addressed to V. M. Molotov.

My thanks to you and the President for the news about the temporary transfer to the Soviet Union of eight destroyers and four submarines, as well as a battleship and 20,000 tons of merchant shipping by Great Britain and a cruiser and 20,000 tons of merchant shipping by the United States. Mr Kerr has expressly warned us that all the destroyers are old ones so that I have misgivings about their combat qualities. It seems to me that the British and U.S. Navies should find no difficulty in assigning, out of the eight destroyers, at least four modern, not old, ones. I still hope that you and the President will find it possible to transfer at least four modern destroyers. As a result of military operations by Germany and Italy we have lost a substantial part of our destroyers. It is, therefore, very important for us to have that loss repaired at least in part.

February 26, 1944

Sent on February 28, 1944

**TO Mr FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA**

The White House, Washington

Please accept my heartfelt gratitude for your friendly congratulations on the 26th anniversary of the Red Army and the successes achieved by the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union in the struggle against the Hitler invaders.

I am firmly convinced that the day is not far off when the successful struggle of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union jointly with the Armies of the United States and Great Britain will, on the basis of the agreements reached at Moscow and Tehran, result in the final defeat of our common foe, Hitler Germany.

J. STALIN

Sent on February 29, 1944

**MESSAGE FROM MARSHAL J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Please accept my thanks and the thanks of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union for your congratulations on the 26th anniversary of the Red Army and for your high praise of its achievements in the struggle against our common foe, Hitler Germany.

SECRET AND PERSONAL

**FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT**

Much as I should like to react favourably to Mr Churchill's message about the Poles—a message you are familiar with—I feel obliged to say that the Polish émigré Government does not want normal relations with the U.S.S.R. Suffice it to say that the Polish émigrés in London not only reject the Curzon Line, they also claim Lvov, and Vilna, the Lithuanian capital.

All I can say is that the time is not yet ripe for a solution of the problem of Polish-Soviet relations. For your information I enclose my reply to Mr Churchill on this matter.

March 3, 1944

SECRET AND PERSONAL

**FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Both messages of February 20 on the Polish question reached me through Mr Kerr on February 27.

Now that I have read the detailed record of your conversations with the leaders of the Polish émigré Government, I am more convinced than ever that men of their type are incapable of establishing normal relations with the U.S.S.R. Suffice it to point out that they, far from being ready to recognise the Curzon Line, claim both Lvov and Vilna. As regards the desire to place certain Soviet territories under foreign control, we cannot agree to discuss such encroachments, for, as we see it, the mere posing of the question is an affront to the Soviet Union.

I have already written to the President that the time is not yet ripe for a solution of the problem of Soviet-Polish relations. I am compelled to reaffirm the soundness of this conclusion.

March 3, 1944

SECRET AND PERSONAL

**FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Both messages of February 20 on the Polish question reached me through Mr Kerr on February 27.

Now that I have read the detailed record of your conversations with the leaders of the Polish émigré Government, I am more convinced than ever that men of their type are incapable of establishing normal relations with the U.S.S.R. Suffice it to point out that they, far from being ready to recognise the Curzon Line, claim both Lvov and Vilna. As regards the desire to place certain Soviet territories under foreign control, we cannot agree to discuss such encroachments, for, as we see it, the mere posing of the question is an affront to the Soviet Union.

I have already written to the President that the time is not yet ripe for a solution of the problem of Soviet-Polish relations. I am compelled to reaffirm the soundness of this conclusion.

March 3, 1944

**PERSONAL AND SECRET
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT,
Mr F. D. ROOSEVELT**

I am in receipt of your communication on the statement made at the press conference in Washington concerning the transfer of a number of Italian vessels or their equivalent of U.S. and British shipping to the Soviet Union. Thank you.

March 6, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr ROOSEVELT**

Your message on post-war economic cooperation to hand. The problems of international economic cooperation, raised in Mr Hull's Memorandum, are undoubtedly of great importance and merit attention. I think it quite timely to set up a United Nations staff to study them and to specify ways and means of examining the various aspects of international economic cooperation in keeping with the decisions of the Moscow and Tehran conferences.

March 10, 1944

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Thank you for your information about the latest convoy, which has delivered badly needed cargoes to the Soviet Union. I was deeply satisfied to learn from your telegram that the convoy sunk four enemy U-boats en route.

March 13, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your message on the Polish question, dated March 7, reached me through Mr Kerr on March 12.

Thank you for the elucidations you offer in the message.

Although our correspondence is considered secret and personal, for some time past the contents of my messages to you have been getting into the British press and with serious distortions at that, distortions which I am not in a position to rebut. That, as I see it, is a violation of secrecy. This circumstance makes it difficult for me to speak my mind freely. You will, I hope, appreciate the point.

March 16, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL,
AND THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT**

I have received your message concerning the transfer of eight destroyers to the Soviet Union by the British Government. I am ready to agree that the said destroyers are quite fit for escort service, but surely you realise that the Soviet Union also needs

destroyers fit for other combat operations. The Allies' right to dispose of the Italian Navy is absolutely beyond question, of course, and this should be made clear to the Italian Government, especially as regards the Italian ships which are to be transferred to the Soviet Union.

March 17, 1944

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT**

I have received your message setting forth the draft of your letter to the President of Turkey about Turkish deliveries of chrome to Germany.

The representation you suggest making to the Turks is, I think, most timely, although I must say that I have little hope of positive results.

March 20, 1944

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT**

Since Mr Churchill has sent you, as he tells me, a copy of his March 21 message to me on the Polish question, I think it proper to send, for your information, a copy of my reply to his message.

Copy enclosed.

March 23, 1944

**PERSONAL AND SECRET
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER,
Mr W. CHURCHILL**

I have lately received two messages from you on the Polish question and have read the statement made by Mr Kerr on the question to V. M. Molotov on instructions from you. I have not been able to reply earlier as front affairs often keep me away from non-military matters.

I shall now answer point by point.

I was struck by the fact that both your messages and particularly Kerr's statement bristle with threats against the Soviet Union. I should like to call your attention to this circumstance because threats as a method are not only out of place in relations between Allies, but also harmful, for they may lead to opposite results.

The Soviet Union's efforts to uphold and implement the Curzon Line are referred to in one of your messages as a policy of force. This implies that you are now trying to describe the Curzon Line as unlawful and the struggle for it as unjust. I totally disagree with you. I must point out that at Tehran you, the President and myself were agreed that the Curzon Line was lawful.

At that time you considered the Soviet Government's stand on the issue quite correct, and said it would be crazy for representatives of the Polish émigré Government to reject the Curzon Line. But now you maintain something to the contrary.

Does this mean that you no longer recognise what we agreed on in Tehran and are ready to violate the Tehran agreement? I have no doubt that had you persevered in your Tehran stand the conflict with the Polish émigré Government could have been settled. As for me and the Soviet Government, we still adhere to the Tehran standpoint, and we have no intention of going back on it, for we believe implementation of the Curzon Line to be evidence, not of a policy of force, but of a policy of re-establishing the Soviet Union's legitimate right to those territories, which even Curzon and the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers recognised as non-Polish in 1919.

You say in your message of March 7 that the problem of the Soviet-Polish frontier will have to be put off till the armistice conference is convened. I think there is a misunderstanding here. The Soviet Union is not waging nor does it intend to wage war against Poland. It has no conflict with the Polish people and considers itself an ally of Poland and the Polish people. That is why it is shedding its blood to free Poland from German oppression. It would be strange, therefore, to speak of an armistice between the U.S.S.R. and Poland. But the Soviet Union is in conflict with the Polish émigré Government, which does not represent the interests of the Polish people or express their aspirations. It would be stranger still to identify Poland with the Polish émigré Government, in London, a government isolated from Poland. I even find it hard to tell the difference between Poland's émigré Government and the Yugoslav émigré Government, which is akin to it, or between certain generals of the Polish émigré Government and the Serb General Mihajlović.

In your message of March 21 you tell me of your intention to make a statement in the House of Commons to the effect that all territorial questions must await the armistice or peace conferences of the victorious Powers and that in the meantime you cannot recognise any *forcible* transferences of territory. As I see it you make the Soviet Union appear as being hostile to Poland, and virtually deny the liberation nature of the war waged by the Soviet Union against German aggression. That is tantamount to attributing to the Soviet Union something which is non-existent, and, thereby, discrediting it. I have no doubt that the peoples of the Soviet Union and world public opinion will evaluate your statement as a gratuitous insult to the Soviet Union.

To be sure you are free to make any statement you like in the House of Commons—that is your business. But should you make a statement of this nature I shall consider that you have committed an unjust and unfriendly act in relation to the Soviet Union.

In your message you express the hope that the break-down over the Polish question will not affect our cooperation in other spheres. As far as I am concerned, I have been, and still am, for cooperation. But I fear that the method of intimidation and defamation, if continued, will not benefit our cooperation.

March 23, 1944

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT**

I share your desire for cooperation between our two Governments in studying economic and social problems linked with improving the welfare of labour on an international scale. The Soviet Union cannot, however, send representatives to the International Labour Organisation conference in Philadelphia for the reasons set forth in the letter to Mr Harriman, because the Soviet trade unions are opposed to participation in it, and the Soviet Government cannot but take account of the opinion of the trade unions.

It goes without saying that if the International Labour Organisation were to become an agency of the United Nations, not of the League of Nations with which the Soviet Union cannot associate itself, Soviet participation would be possible. I hope that this will become feasible and the appropriate steps taken in the near future.

March 25, 1944

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

I have had a rigorous check made on your communication that correspondence between you and me had been divulged through the fault of the Soviet Embassy in London, in particular Ambassador F. T. Gusev. The verification showed that neither the Embas-

sy as such nor F. T. Gusev personally. is to blame in the least and, in fact, does not even have some of the documents the contents of which were divulged by British newspapers. In other words, the leak came from the British, not the Soviet side. Gusev is willing for any investigation to prove that neither he nor any member of his staff has had anything to do with divulging the contents of our correspondence. It appears that you have been misled as to Gusev and the Soviet Embassy.

March 25, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT**

I am in receipt of your message advising me that passports have been issued to Dr. Lange and Father Orlemański. Although Soviet transport facilities are greatly overtaxed, we shall make transport available for Lange and Orlemański. The Soviet Government regards the Lange and Orlemański visit to the Soviet Union as a visit by two private persons.

March 28, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT**

Your message about the International Labour Organisation reached me on April 4. Thank you for your reply. I believe that implementation of measures for reconstructing the International Labour Organisation will pave the way for future Soviet participation in its work.

April 6, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT,
AND THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your message of April 18 received.

The Soviet Government is gratified to learn that in accordance with the Tehran agreement the sea crossing will take place at the appointed time, which Generals Deane and Burrows have already imparted to our General Staff, and that you will be acting at full strength. I am confident that the planned operation will be a success.

I hope that the operations you are undertaking in Italy will likewise be successful.

As agreed in Tehran, the Red Army will launch a new offensive at the same time so as to give maximum support to the Anglo-American operations.

Please accept my thanks for the good wishes you have expressed on the occasion of the Red Army's success. I subscribe to your statement that your armies and our own, supporting each other, will defeat the Hitlerites and thus fulfil their historic mission.

April 22, 1944

**TO Mr FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA**

The White House, Washington

Please accept the sincere condolences of the Soviet Government on the occasion of the grievous loss suffered by the United States through the death of Franklin Knóx, U.S. Secretary of the Navy.

April 29, 1944

J. STALIN

Sent on May 6, 1944

**TO FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT,
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

Dear friend,

Thank you very much for helping Father Stanislaw Orlemański to obtain permission to come to Moscow.

I wish you good health and success.

Sincerely yours,

STALIN

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your message of May 3 received.

The organisation of the convoys which delivered their cargoes to Soviet northern ports is indeed worthy of recognition and approval. I thank you for the exceptional attention you have devoted to this matter. Would you mind if the Soviet Government were to confer an Order on Mr Lyttelton for his great services? We would gladly award decorations to others as well, who have distinguished themselves in organising and sailing convoys.

I am pleased to learn from your communication that you have issued instructions to study the question of sending the further convoys of which we are still badly in need.

I realise how much your attention is now riveted to "Overlord," which is bound to call for tremendous exertion, but which also holds out the promise of tremendous gains for the entire course of the war.

Best wishes.

May 8, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT,
AND THE PRIME MINISTER,
Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your joint message received. You can best decide how and in what way to allocate your forces. The important thing, of course, is to ensure complete success for "Overlord." I express confidence also in the success of the offensive launched in Italy.

May 15, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your message of May 19 has reached me.

As you say, I shall await your final communication with regard to Mr Lyttelton and the other persons eligible for decoration.

Congratulations on the successful Allied offensive in Italy, under Gen. Alexander. The important thing now is to ensure that the Allied operations against the German forces in Italy should indeed keep considerable German forces away from "Overlord."

I have read your telegram to Marshal Tito. I, too, welcome the good relations between our Missions in Yugoslavia, and I hope they will continue so.

May 22, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT**

Your communication on a statement to the people of Germany has reached me.

In view of the experience of the war against the Germans and the German character I do not think that your suggested statement would have a positive effect, seeing that it is to be synchronised with the beginning of the landing and not with the moment when the Anglo-American landing and the forthcoming offensive of the Soviet armies will have registered notable success.

As to the nature of the statement, we can return to this when circumstances favour publication.

May 26, 1944

PERSONAL AND SECRET

**FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

I am obliged to you for the information on the battle in Italy, contained in your latest message. We are watching your successes with admiration.

We are greatly encouraged by your news on the "Overlord"³⁶ preparations now in full swing. What is most important is that the British and U.S. troops are so full of resolve.

I welcome your readiness to resume later the programme for Arctic convoys.

Thank you for your congratulations. We are preparing might and main for new major operations.

May 26, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Thank you for your latest message on the battle in Italy. We, too, hope for its successful conclusion, which is bound to facilitate the efforts involved in "Overlord."

We wish you further success.

May 30, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT**

Your message informing me that you have decided not to do anything in the way of a statement to the German people at the present time has reached me.

Thank you for the communication.

May 30, 1944

**FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

I congratulate you on the taking of Rome—a grand victory for the Allied Anglo-American troops.

The news has caused deep satisfaction in the Soviet Union.

June 5, 1944

**FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.A.,
Mr ROOSEVELT**

I congratulate you on the taking of Rome—a grand victory for the Allied Anglo-American troops.

The news has caused deep satisfaction in the Soviet Union.

June 5, 1944

Sent on June 7, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT,
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN**

I feel it necessary to let you know that on June 6, in reply to a message from Mr Churchill I sent the following personal message about the plan for a Soviet summer offensive.

"Your communication on the successful launching of 'Overlord'⁴⁵ has reached me. It is a source of joy to us all and of hope for further successes.

"The summer offensive of the Soviet troops, to be launched in keeping with the agreement reached at the Tehran Conference, will begin in mid-June in one of the vital sectors of the front. The general offensive will develop by stages, through consecutive engagement of the armies in offensive operations. Between late June and the end of July the operations will turn into a general offensive of the Soviet troops.

"I shall not fail to keep you posted about the course of the operations.

"June 6, 1944."

**. SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your communication on the successful launching of "Overlord" has reached me. It is a source of joy to us all and of hope for further successes.

The summer offensive of the Soviet troops, to be launched in keeping with the agreement reached at the Tehran Conference, will begin in mid-June in one of the vital sectors of the front. The general offensive will develop by stages, through consecutive engagement of the armies in offensive operations. Between late June and the end of July the operations will turn into a general offensive of the Soviet troops.

I shall not fail to keep you posted about the course of the operations.

June 6, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

I have received your message of June 7 informing me of the successful development of "Overlord." We all salute you and the gallant British and U.S. troops and sincerely wish you further success.

Preparations for the summer offensive of the Soviet troops are nearing completion. Tomorrow, June 10, we begin the first round on the Leningrad front.

June 9, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

I have received your message on the resignation of Badoglio. To me, too, his resignation came as a surprise. I thought that without the consent of the Allies—the British and Americans—Badoglio could not be removed and replaced by Bonomi. However, it appears from your message that this has happened against the will of the Allies. It is to be expected that certain Italian circles will try to change the armistice terms in their favour. Be that as it may, if circumstances suggest to you and the Americans that Italy should have a Government different from that of Bonomi, you may rest assured that the Soviet side will raise no obstacles.

2. I have also received your message of June 10. Thank you for the information. It appears that the landing, planned on a tremendous scale, has been crowned with success. I and my colleagues cannot but recognise that this is an enterprise unprecedented in military history as to scale, breadth of conception and masterly execution. As is known, Napoleon's plan for crossing the Channel failed disgracefully. Hitler the hysteric, who for two years had boasted that he would cross the Channel, did not venture even to make an attempt to carry out his threat. None but our Allies have been able to fulfil with flying colours the grand plan for crossing the Channel. History will record this as a feat of the highest order.

June 11, 1944

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your message of June 14 received.

I think you are right in proposing that the question of a new Italian Cabinet be examined preliminarily by the Advisory Council for Italy so that our three Governments can arrive at a common view on the matter.

I have read with great interest your news about the military operations in Northern France. All success to the planned encirclement of Caen and to the further development of the operations in Normandy.

Thank you for your good wishes for the success of our offensive. Our operations are developing according to plan and will be of vital importance to the whole of our common Allied front.

June 15, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Thank you for the news that you and the President plan to resume northern convoys to the Soviet Union about August 10. This will help us considerably.

As regards Italian affairs, I presume that you are already familiar with the Advisory Council resolution on the new Italian Government. The Soviet Government has no objection to the resolution.

We are all happy about the progress of the operations by the British and U.S. troops in Normandy, which have already assumed such a vast scale. With all my heart I wish your troops further success.

2. The second round of the summer offensive of the Soviet forces will begin within a week. The offensive will involve 130 divisions, including armoured ones. I and my colleagues expect important success from it and I hope it will be a substantial help to the Allied operations in France and in Italy.

June 21, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL TO THE PRESIDENT,
Mr F. ROOSEVELT, FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN**

I am in a position to inform you that not later than a week from now the Soviet armies will start the second round of their offensive. It will involve 130 divisions, including armoured ones. I and my colleagues anticipate important success. I hope that it will be a substantial help to the Allied operations in France and Italy.

June 21, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL TO THE PRESIDENT,
Mr F. ROOSEVELT, FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN**

Thank you for informing me of your meeting with Mr Mikolajczyk.

If we have in view military cooperation between the Red Army and the Polish underground forces fighting the Hitler invaders, that, undoubtedly, is vital to the final defeat of our common enemy. Certainly, the proper solution of the problem of Soviet-Polish relations is of great importance in this respect. You are aware of the Soviet Government's point of view and of its desire to see Poland strong, independent and democratic, and Soviet-Polish relations good-neighbourly and based on lasting friendship. A vital condition for this, in the view of the Soviet Government, is a reconstruction of the Polish émigré Government that would ensure participation of Polish leaders in Britain, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., and more particularly of Polish democratic leaders inside Poland, plus recognition by the Polish Government of the Curzon Line as the new frontier between the U.S.S.R. and Poland.

I must say, however, that Mr Mikolajczyk's Washington statement makes it appear that he has not made a step forward on this point. Hence at the moment I find it hard to express an opinion about a visit to Moscow by Mr Mikolajczyk.

We all greatly appreciate your attention to Soviet-Polish relations and your efforts in this field.

Moscow, June 24, 1944

**PERSONAL FOR THE PRIME MINISTER,
Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Please accept my warmest congratulations on the liberation of Cherbourg from the German invaders. I salute the valiant British and U.S. troops on the occasion of their brilliant success.

J. STALIN

June 27, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your message of June 25 received.

Meanwhile the Allied troops have liberated Cherbourg, thus crowning their efforts in Normandy with another major victory. I welcome the continuing success of the gallant British and U.S. troops who are developing their operations both in Northern France and in Italy.

While the scale of the operations in Northern France is becoming more and more powerful and menacing for Hitler, the successful development of the Allied offensive in Italy, too, is worthy of the greatest attention and praise. We wish you further success.

With regard to our offensive I may say that we shall give the Germans no respite, but shall go on extending the front of our offensive operations, increasing the force of our drive against the German armies. You will agree, I suppose, that this is essential for our common cause.

As to Hitler's flying bomb, this weapon, as we see, cannot seriously affect either the operations in Normandy or the population of London whose courage is a matter of record.

June 27, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL TO THE PRESIDENT,
Mr F. D. ROOSEVELT, FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN**

Your message about the two scrolls for Stalingrad and Leningrad has reached me. They were handed to me by Ambassador Harriman and will be forwarded to their destinations. Upon receiving the scrolls I made the following statement:

"I accept President Roosevelt's scrolls as a symbol of the fruitful cooperation between our two countries in the name of the freedom of our nations and of human progress.

"The scrolls will be handed to the representatives of Leningrad and Stalingrad."

2. Please accept my heartfelt gratitude for your high commendation of the efforts exerted by Stalingrad and Leningrad in the struggle against the German invaders.

June 27, 1944

PERSONAL FOR THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. D. ROOSEVELT

Please accept my warm congratulations on the liberation of Cherbourg from the German invaders. I salute the valiant U.S. and British troops on the occasion of their splendid success.

J. STALIN

June 27, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL TO THE PRESIDENT,
Mr F. ROOSEVELT, FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN**

I thank you on my own behalf and on behalf of the Red Army for your congratulations on the liberation of Vitebsk by Soviet troops.

June 30, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your message of July 1 received.

I am grateful for your high praise of the successes of the Red Army, which is now fighting the second round of its summer offensive.

We are all confident that the temporary difficulties in Normandy of which you write will not prevent the British and U.S. forces from making good use of their superiority over the enemy in aircraft and armour, from further exploiting the success of their offensive operations.

Regards and best wishes from us all.

July 4, 1944

**PERSONAL
FOR THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL,
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN**

Thank you for your warm greetings on the occasion of the capture of Minsk by the Soviet troops.

July 7, 1944

PERSONAL
FOR THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL,
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN

I congratulate you on the glorious victory of the British troops who have liberated Caen.

July 11, 1944

SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL

Your message of July 12 received.

With regard to the question of Roumania and Greece there is no need to repeat what you already know from correspondence between our Ambassador in London and Mr Eden. One thing is clear to me, that the U.S. Government has certain doubts about this matter, and we shall do well to return to the matter when we get the U.S. reply. I shall write to you on the subject again the moment we get the U.S. Government's comments.

2. The question of Turkey should be examined in the light of the facts with which the Governments of Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. have been familiar since the negotiations with the Turkish Government at the end of last year. You will no doubt recall how insistently the Governments of our three countries proposed that Turkey should enter the war against Hitler Germany on the side of the Allies as early as November and December 1943. But nothing came of this. As you know, on the initiative of the Turkish Government we resumed negotiations with it last May and June, and twice made the same proposal that the three Allied Governments made at the end of last year. Nothing came of that, either. As regards any half-hearted step by Turkey I do not at the moment see how it can benefit the Allies. In view of the evasive and vague attitude which the Turkish Government has assumed in relation to Germany, it is better to leave Turkey to herself and to refrain from any further pressure on her. This implies, of course, that the claims of Turkey, who has evaded fighting Germany, to special rights in post-war affairs will be disregarded.

3. We should like to comply with your request, stated in your message of July 13, concerning the experimental station at Debice in the event of it falling into our hands. Please specify which Debice you mean, for I understand there are several places with that name in Poland.

4. Thank you for the information on the situation in Normandy and Italy and for the congratulations on our advance in the Vilna area.

July 15, 1944

SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT

I share your opinion about the desirability of a meeting between you, Mr Churchill and myself.

I must say, however, that now, with the Soviet armies deeply involved in fighting along so vast a front, it is impossible for me to leave the country and withdraw myself for any length of time from direction of front affairs. My colleagues consider it absolutely impossible.

July 22, 1944

SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL

In connection with your latest message I have given proper instructions on the experimental station in Debice. General Slavin, a General Staff representative, will establish the necessary contact on this matter with Generals Burrows and Deane. I appreciate the British Government's great interest in this matter. I promise, therefore, to take personal care of the matter so as to do all that can be done according to your wishes.

I was deeply satisfied to learn from you that your troops in Normandy have broken into the German rear. I wish you further success.

July 22, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your message of July 20 received. I am now writing to you on the Polish question only.

Events on our front are going forward at a very rapid pace. Lublin, one of Poland's major towns, was taken today by our troops, who continue their advance.

In this situation we find ourselves confronted with the practical problem of administration on Polish territory. We do not want to, nor shall we, set up our own administration on Polish soil, for we do not wish to interfere in Poland's internal affairs. That is for the Poles themselves to do. We have, therefore, seen fit to get in touch with the Polish Committee of National Liberation, recently set up by the National Council of Poland, which was formed in Warsaw at the end of last year, and consisting of representatives of democratic parties and groups, as you must have been informed by your Ambassador in Moscow. The Polish Committee of National Liberation intends to set up an administration on Polish territory, and I hope this will be done. We have not found in Poland other forces capable of establishing a Polish administration. The so-called underground organisations, led by the Polish Government in London, have turned out to be ephemeral and lacking influence. As to the Polish Committee, I cannot consider it a Polish Government, but it may be that later on it will constitute the core of a Provisional Polish Government made up of democratic forces.

As for Mikolajczyk, I shall certainly not refuse to see him. It would be better, however, if he were to approach the Polish National Committee, who are favourably disposed towards him.

July 23, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT**

I am sending you for your information the text of my message to the Prime Minister, Mr Churchill, on the Polish question.

July 23, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

I fully agree with you about decorating, besides Mr Lyttelton, Lord Beaverbrook who has contributed so much to the successful running of the convoys and indeed deserves a high reward. The Soviet Government will propose to the Supreme Soviet that Lord Beaverbrook and Mr Lyttelton be decorated with the Order of Suvorov First Class. The Soviet Government shares your idea of decorating men of lower rank, who have distinguished themselves in organising and sailing the convoys, and has assigned for the purpose a hundred and twenty Orders and fifty medals. A specific communication on the matter will be sent through diplomatic channels.

2. I was pleased to learn from your message about the August convoy, to be followed, as you write, by a new cycle of convoys, which we need badly.

3. As regards a meeting between you, Mr Roosevelt and myself, also mentioned in your message of July 24, I rather think that a meeting is desirable. But now that the Soviet armies are fighting along so extended a front and expanding their offensive, I am unable to leave the Soviet Union, to relinquish the leadership of the armies, even for a short time. My colleagues think this absolutely impossible.

4. You tell me about the planned new offensive in Normandy. If launched it will be of tremendous importance in the situation in which Germany finds herself and will make Hitler's plight pretty sore indeed.

5. The success of "Anvil"⁵⁴ will hasten the defeat of Hitler or at least involve him in insurmountable difficulties. I hope you will cope with that task as successfully as you did with the invasion of Normandy.

Thank you for your friendly congratulations on the success of the Soviet armies.

July 26, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your messages of July 25 and 27 concerning the departure of Mikolajczyk have reached me. Mr Mikolajczyk and his companions will be given every help in Moscow.

You know our point of view on Poland, which is a neighbour of ours and relations with which are of special importance to the Soviet Union. We welcome the National Committee of the democratic forces on Polish soil, and I think that the formation of this Committee signifies a good beginning for the unification of those Poles who are friendly towards Great Britain, the U.S.S.R. and the United States, and for overcoming the resistance of those Polish elements who are incapable of uniting with the democratic forces.

I realise the importance of the Polish question to the common cause of the Allies, and that is why I am willing to help all Poles and to mediate in achieving understanding among them. The Soviet troops have done and are continuing to do all in their power to accelerate the liberation of Poland from the German invaders and to help the Polish people regain freedom and achieve prosperity for their country.

July 28, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

It goes without saying that with regard to decorating those who have distinguished themselves in organising and manning the convoys, we have not forgotten the Americans. Thank you for your friendly advice.

Concerning the impracticability of a meeting between you, the President and myself at the moment, I notified the President at the same time as I did you, giving him the reasons.

Please accept my thanks for your good wishes.

August 1, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT**

I have received your messages of July 28.

I share your opinion concerning the importance of a meeting, but circumstances connected with the operations on our front, of which I apprised you last time, prevent me, unfortunately, from reckoning on the possibility of a meeting in the immediate future.

As regards the Polish question, the matter hinges primarily on the Poles themselves and on the ability of members of the Polish émigré Government to cooperate with the Committee of National Liberation which is already functioning in Poland and to which the democratic forces of Poland are rallying more and more. For my part I am ready to render all Poles whatever assistance I can.

August 2, 1944

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your message of August 3 about the experimental station received. The Soviet Ambassador in Tehran has been instructed to issue entry visas right away to the British experts.

August 4, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

I am in receipt of your message about Warsaw.

I think that the information given to you by the Poles is greatly exaggerated and unreliable. I am impelled to this conclusion by the mere fact that the Polish émigrés claim that they have all but captured Vilna with Home Army units, and have even announced this on the radio. But, of course, that has nothing at all to do with the facts. The Home Army consists of a few detachments misnamed divisions. They have neither guns, aircraft nor tanks. I cannot imagine detachments like those taking Warsaw, which the Germans are defending with four armoured divisions, including the Hermann Goering Division.

August 5, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

With regard to sending six British submarines into the Baltic I must say this.

The White Sea-Baltic Canal has been heavily damaged by the Germans and cannot be used this year. But if the British submarines could make their way into the Baltic through the Skagerrak and Kattegat, as they did during the last world war, that would be a magnificent exploit and would be a fresh blow to the Germans.

August 5, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

I should like to inform you of my meeting with Mikolajczyk, Grabski and Romer. My talk with Mikolajczyk convinced me that he has inadequate information about the situation in Poland. At the same time I had the impression that Mikolajczyk is not against ways being found to unite the Poles.

As I do not think it proper to impose any decision on the Poles, I suggested to Mikolajczyk that he and his colleagues should meet and discuss their problems with representatives of the Polish Committee of National Liberation, first and foremost the matter of early unification of all democratic forces on liberated Polish soil. Meetings have already taken place. I have been informed of them by both parties. The National Committee delegation suggested the 1921 Constitution as a basis for the Polish Government and expressed readiness if the Mikolajczyk group acceded to the proposal, to give it four portfolios, including that of Prime Minister for Mikolajczyk. Mikolajczyk, however, could not see his way to accept. I regret to say the meetings have not yet yielded the desired results. Still, they were useful because they provided Mikolajczyk and Morawski, as well as Bierut who had just arrived from Warsaw, with the opportunity for an exchange of views and particularly for informing each other that both the Polish National Committee and Mikolajczyk are anxious to cooperate and to seek practical opportunities in that direction. That can be considered as the first stage in the relations between the Polish Committee and Mikolajczyk and his colleagues. Let us hope that things will improve.

August 8, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. D. ROOSEVELT**

I should like to inform you of my meeting with Mikolajczyk, Grabski and Romer. My talk with Mikolajczyk convinced me that he has inadequate information about the situation in Poland. At the same time I had the impression that Mikolajczyk is not against ways being found to unite the Poles.

As I do not think it proper to impose any decision on the Poles, I suggested to Mikolajczyk that he and his colleagues should meet and discuss their problems with representatives of the Polish Committee of National Liberation, first and foremost the matter of early unification of all democratic forces on liberated Polish soil. Meetings have already taken place. I have been informed of them by both parties. The National Committee delegation suggested the 1921 Constitution as a basis for the Polish Government and expressed readiness if the Mikolajczyk group acceded to the proposal, to give it four portfolios, including that of Prime Minister for Mikolajczyk. Mikolajczyk, however, could not see his way to accept. I regret to say the meetings have not yet yielded the desired results. Still, they were useful because they provided Mikolajczyk and Morawski as well as Bierut, who had just arrived from Warsaw, with the opportunity for an exchange of views and particularly for informing each other that both the Polish National Committee and Mikolajczyk are anxious to cooperate and to seek practical opportunities in that direction. That can be considered as the first stage in the relations between the Polish Committee and Mikolajczyk and his colleagues. Let us hope that things will improve.

I understand the Polish Committee of National Liberation in Lublin has decided to invite Professor Lange to join it and take charge of foreign affairs. If Lange, a well-known Polish democratic leader, were enabled to go to Poland in order to assume that office it would undoubtedly promote Polish unity and the struggle against our common enemy. I hope you share this view and will for your part not withhold your support in this matter, which is so very important to the Allied cause.

August 9, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

I read with the greatest interest your communication on the front situation in Northern France and acquainted myself with your plan for encircling and destroying the main German forces. I wish you all success in carrying out the plan.

Thank you for the good wishes and for the news about your forthcoming meeting with Marshal Tito.

August 14, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

After a talk with Mr Mikolajczyk I instructed the Red Army Command to drop munitions intensively into the Warsaw area. A liaison officer was parachuted, but headquarters report that he did not reach his objective, being killed by the Germans.

Now, after probing more deeply into the Warsaw affair, I have come to the conclusion that the Warsaw action is a reckless and fearful gamble, taking a heavy toll of the population. This would not have been the case had Soviet headquarters been informed beforehand about the Warsaw action and had the Poles maintained contact with them.

Things being what they are, Soviet headquarters have decided that they must dissociate themselves from the Warsaw adventure since they cannot assume either direct or indirect responsibility for it.

2. I have received your communication about the meeting with Marshal Tito and Prime Minister Subašić. Thank you for the information.

3. The successful Allied landing in Southern France is very heartening. I wish them every success.

August 16, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. D. ROOSEVELT**

I have received your message on Pacific affairs and I appreciate the importance you attach to them. We, too, attach considerable importance to your success there. At the same time I feel sure that you are well aware of the effort exerted by our forces in order to ensure success of the struggle that has now been joined in Europe. This gives us reason to hope that the day is not far off when we shall succeed in fulfilling our urgent task and be able to turn to other matters. It is my wish that General Deane will even now cooperate fruitfully with our Staff.

August 22, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT,
AND THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

The message from you and Mr Churchill about Warsaw has reached me. I should like to state my views.

Sooner or later the truth about the handful of power-seeking criminals who launched the Warsaw adventure will out. Those elements, playing on the credulity of the inhabitants of Warsaw, exposed practically unarmed people to German guns, armour and aircraft. The result is a situation in which every day is used, not by the Poles for freeing Warsaw, but by the Hitlerites, who are cruelly exterminating the civil population.

From the military point of view the situation, which keeps German attention riveted to Warsaw, is highly unfavourable both to the Red Army and to the Poles. Nevertheless, the Soviet troops, who of late have had to face renewed German counter-attacks, are doing all they can to repulse the Hitlerite sallies and go over to a new large-scale offensive near Warsaw. I can assure you that the Red Army will stint no effort to crush the Germans at Warsaw and liberate it for the Poles. That will be the best, really effective, help to the anti-Nazi Poles.

August 22, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

This morning, August 24, the squadron of one battleship and eight destroyers, transferred to the Soviet Union by Great Britain, arrived safely at the Soviet port of which you are aware.

I wish to convey to you and to the Government of Great Britain heartfelt thanks on my own behalf and on behalf of the Soviet Government for this vital aid to the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union.

August 24, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT**

I have received your message about participation of the Soviet Union Republics in the International Security Organisation.

I attach the utmost importance to the statement made by the Soviet Delegation on the subject. Since the constitutional changes in our country early this year the Governments of the Union Republics have been taking very careful note of the friendly countries' reaction to the extension of their rights in international relations, set down in the Soviet Constitution. You know, of course, that the Ukraine and Byelorussia, for instance, which are members of the Soviet Union, surpass some countries in population and political importance, countries which we all agree should be among the founders of the International Organisation. I hope, therefore, to have an opportunity of explaining to you the political importance of the question raised by the Soviet Delegation at Dumbarton Oaks.

September 7, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT**

I am in receipt of your message on the Dumbarton Oaks discussions.⁶⁴

It is my wish, too, that those important discussions be brought to a successful close. This may play a prominent part in furthering cooperation between our countries and promoting future peace and security as a whole.

The voting procedure in the Council will, I feel, be of appreciable importance to the success of the International Security Organisation because it is essential that the Council should base its work on the principle of agreement and unanimity between the four leading Powers on all matters, including those that directly concern one of these Powers. The original American proposal for establishing a special voting procedure in the event of a dispute directly involving one or several members of the Council who have the status of permanent members is, I think, sound. Otherwise the agreement we reached at the Tehran Conference, where we were guided by the desire to ensure above all the four-Power unity of action so vital to preventing future aggression, will be reduced to nought.

This unity implies, naturally, that there must be no suspicions among the Powers. As to the Soviet Union, it cannot very well ignore the existence of certain absurd prejudices which often hamper a genuinely objective attitude to the U.S.S.R. Furthermore, other countries should likewise weigh the likely consequences of lack of unity among the leading Powers.

I hope you will appreciate the importance of these considerations and that we shall arrive at an agreed decision on this matter.

September 14, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT**

I have received the message from you and Mr Churchill about the Quebec Conference, informing me of your future military plans. Your communication shows the important tasks ahead of the U.S. and British armed forces. Allow me to wish you and your armies every success.

At present Soviet troops are mopping up the Baltic group of German forces which threatens our right flank. Without wiping out this group we shall not be able to thrust deep into Eastern Germany. Besides, our forces have two immediate aims—to knock Hungary out of the war and to probe the German defences on the Eastern Front and, if the situation proves favourable, pierce them.

September 29, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

I have received the message from you and Mr Roosevelt about the Quebec Conference, informing me of your future military plans. Your communication shows the important tasks ahead of the U.S. and British armed forces.

Allow me to wish you and your armies every success.

At present Soviet troops are mopping up the Baltic group of German forces, which threatens our right flank. Without wiping out this group we shall not be able to thrust deep into Eastern Germany. Besides, our forces have two immediate aims—to knock Hungary out of the war and to probe the German defences on the Eastern Front and, if the situation proves favourable, pierce them.

September 29, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your message of September 27 received.

I share your conviction that stable harmony between the three leading Powers is an earnest of future peace and is in tune with the hopes cherished by all peace-loving nations. The consistency of our Governments in this policy in the post-war period, like that achieved during this great war, will, I believe, be the decisive thing.

Certainly I should like very much to meet you and the President. I think it very important to our common cause. I must, however, make a reservation as far as I am concerned: my doctors advise against undertaking long journeys. I shall have to bow to this for some time to come.

I wholeheartedly welcome your desire to come to Moscow in October. Military and other problems of great importance need to be discussed. Should anything keep you from coming, we should, naturally, be glad to see Mr Eden.

Your communication on the plans for the President's visit to Europe is very interesting. I, too, feel sure that he will win the election.

As regards Japan, our attitude remains the same as it was in Tehran.

I and Molotov send you our best wishes.

September 30, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your message of October 4 received.

Landing arranged at the Sarabuz air field near Simferopol. Direct your signal aircraft thither.

October 5, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT**

I was somewhat puzzled by your message of October 5. I had imagined that Mr Churchill was coming to Moscow in keeping with an agreement reached with you at Quebec. It appears, however, that my supposition is at variance with reality.

I do not know what points Mr Churchill and Mr Eden want to discuss in Moscow. Neither of them has said anything to me so far. In a message, Mr Churchill expressed the wish to come to Moscow if it was all right with me. I agreed, of course. That is how matters stand with the Churchill visit to Moscow.

I shall keep you informed, according as I clear up things with Mr Churchill.

October 8, 1944

**MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT
FROM MARSHAL STALIN
AND PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL**

In an informal discussion we have taken a preliminary view of the situation as it affects us and have planned out the course of our meetings, social and others. We have invited Messrs Mikolajczyk, Romer and Grabski to come at once for further conversations with us and with the Polish National Committee. We have agreed not to refer in our discussions to the Dumbarton Oaks issues, and that these shall be taken up when we three can meet together. We have to consider the best way of reaching an agreed policy about the Balkan countries, including Hungary and Turkey. We have arranged for Mr Harriman to sit in as an observer at all the meetings, where business of importance is to be transacted, and for General Deane to be present whenever military topics are raised. We have arranged for technical contacts between our high officers and General Deane on military aspects, and for any meetings which may be necessary later in our presence and that of the two Foreign Secretaries together with Mr Harriman. We shall keep you fully informed ourselves about the progress we make.

2. We take this occasion to send you our heartiest good wishes and to offer our congratulations on the prowess of the United States forces and upon the conduct of the war in the West by General Eisenhower.

CHURCHILL
STALIN

October 10, 1944

October 12, 1944

TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr CHURCHILL

Dear Mr Churchill,

I am in receipt of your letter of October 12, in which you suggest holding the military talks on the 14th, at 10 p.m. I agree with the proposal and with your plan for the conference. I suggest that we hold the discussions in Molotov's office in the Kremlin.

Sincerely yours,

J. STALIN

TO Mr WINSTON CHURCHILL,
PRIME MINISTER OF GREAT BRITAIN

Moscow

Dear Mr Churchill,

On the occasion of your departure from Moscow please accept from me two modest gifts as souvenirs of your sojourn in the Soviet capital: the vase "Man in a Boat" is for Mrs Churchill and the vase "With Bow Against Bear" for yourself.

Once again I wish you good health and good cheer.

J. STALIN

October 19, 1944

SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT

During the stay of Mr Churchill and Mr Eden in Moscow we exchanged views on a number of issues of common interest. Ambassador Harriman will assuredly have informed you of all the important talks. I also know that the Prime Minister intended sending you his appraisal of the talks. For my part I can say that they were very useful in acquainting us with each other's views on such matters as the future of Germany, the Polish question, policy on the Balkans and major problems of future military policies. The talks made it plain that we can without undue difficulty coordinate our policies on all important issues and that even if we cannot ensure immediate solution of this or that problem, such as the Polish question, we have, nevertheless, more favourable prospects in this respect as well. I hope that the Moscow talks will be useful also in other respects, that when we three meet we shall be able to take specific decisions on all the pressing matters of common interest to us.

2. Ambassador Gromyko has informed me of his recent talk with Mr Hopkins, who told him that you could arrive at the Black Sea late in November and meet with me on the Soviet Black Sea coast. I should very much welcome your doing so. My talk with the Prime Minister convinced me that he shares the idea. In other words, the three of us could meet late in November to examine the questions that have piled up since Tehran. I shall be glad to hear from you about this.

October 19, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr. F. ROOSEVELT**

I have received your message of October 21 concerning your intention to recognise the existing French authorities as the Provisional Government of France and to establish a zone of the interior under French administration. The British Government, too, has notified the Soviet Government of its desire to recognise the Provisional Government of France. As regards the Soviet Union, it welcomes the decision to recognise the French Provisional Government and has already given proper instructions to its representative in Paris.

October 22, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

I have received your message of October 24 informing me of the Norwegians' intention to send a token force of two hundred to Northern Norway. I must say that in a talk with Molotov the Norwegian Ambassador spoke of more substantial measures against the Germans on the part of the Norwegians.

If you could launch naval operations of some kind against the Germans in Norway they would be helpful.

Congratulations on your safe return to London and my best wishes.

October 24, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT,
Mr F. ROOSEVELT**

Your message of October 25 to hand.

If a meeting on the Soviet Black Sea coast, as suggested by you earlier, is all right with you, I should think it highly desirable to carry out that plan. Conditions are quite favourable for a meeting there. I hope the safe entry of your ship into the Black Sea will also be possible by that time. My doctors advise for the time being against long journeys so I must take their view into account.

I shall be glad to see you if you find it possible to make the voyage.

October 29, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your message of October 31 is to hand.

At the request of the Norwegian Government and in keeping with your previous message, I have instructed the Soviet military authorities to receive the Norwegian unit arriving at Murmansk from Britain and to send it to the liberated Norwegian territory, where it will be under the general guidance of the Soviet Command.

As for other Norwegian military groups, that, I think, is a matter for the Norwegian Government to decide.

I have no specific proposals for British naval forces taking part in liberating Norway. Any step you might take towards that end would be welcomed.

November 7, 1944

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Thank you for your message of November 5.

I was glad to learn that you now have effective control of the approaches to so important a port as Antwerp. I hope your preparations for a new offensive are making good progress and that soon the Germans will again experience the force of powerful Anglo-American blows.

With regard to Yugoslavia, I have been advised that the trend is favourable to the Allies. Dr. Subašić plans to come to Moscow to tell us about his latest meetings with Marshal Tito. It appears that we can count on the formation of a United Yugoslav Government before long.

As to Polish affairs, it must be admitted that Mr Mikolajczyk, to the detriment of his own chances, is wasting much valuable time.

Thank you for your congratulations on the Soviet forces' advance to Budapest. Our troops are pushing on in Hungary, though they are having to overcome numerous difficulties on the way. With regard to the 32 German divisions left in Latvia we are taking the necessary steps to accelerate their destruction. Rain and fog have greatly handicapped our operations in that area in the past few days. The delay, however, has enabled us to step up preparations for forthcoming decisive operations.

It is now safe to say that the President has won the election, and with a big majority. In the Soviet Union the news will be hailed as another victory for all of us.

November 9, 1944

FOR PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

Sent on November 9, 1944

Washington

I congratulate you on your re-election. I am confident that under your tried and tested leadership the American people will, jointly with the peoples of the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the other democratic countries, round off the struggle against the common foe and ensure victory in the name of liberating mankind from Nazi tyranny.

J. STALIN

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

The news of the sinking of the *Tirpitz* by British aircraft has greatly rejoiced us. The pilots have every reason to be proud of their feat.

Here's wishing you success in the large-scale operations of which you have apprised me.

Best wishes.

November 13, 1944

Sent on November 16, 1944

**TO THE PRIME MINISTER OF GREAT BRITAIN,
Mr CHURCHILL**

Thank you for your congratulations and good wishes for the anniversary of the Soviet State. I am confident that the growing alliance of our two countries will promote victory over our common foe and serve lasting peace throughout the world.

J. STALIN

November 20, 1944

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Thank you for keeping me posted about your talks with de Gaulle. I read your communications with interest. I have nothing against the proposal for an eventual meeting between the three of us and the French if the President is willing, but we must first reach final agreement on the time and place of the meeting of us three.

Recently General de Gaulle expressed the wish to come to Moscow to contact Soviet Government leaders. We told him we were willing, and we expect the French to reach Moscow by the end of the month. They have not yet specified the points they would like to discuss. Anyway, I shall inform you of them after the talks with de Gaulle.

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO PRESIDENT F. ROOSEVELT**

It is too bad that your naval authorities question the advisability of your original idea that the three of us should meet on the Soviet Black Sea coast. There is no objection, as far as I am concerned, to the time of meeting suggested by you—late January or early February; I expect, however, that we shall be able to select one of the Soviet sea ports. I still have to pay heed to my doctors' warning of the risk involved in long journeys.

Even so I hope that we shall be able to reach final agreement—a little later if not now—on a place acceptable to all of us.

Best wishes.

November 23, 1944

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Dr. Šubašić is leaving Moscow today after a brief visit. I had a talk with him, as well as with Kardelj, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee, and Simić, the Yugoslav Ambassador. The talk showed that the agreement reached by Marshal Tito and Šubašić about a United Yugoslav Government is likely to benefit Yugoslavia and that its implementation should not be delayed. You are probably aware of the agreement, and, I hope, will have no objection, especially after you talk with Šubašić who is now on his way to London. Now that Belgrade has been liberated and that the Yugoslavs—Serbs, Croats, Slovenes and others—are ready to unite and work together, support by our Governments for the joint efforts of the peoples of Yugoslavia will be another blow to the Hitlerites and will considerably further the common Allied cause.

November 24, 1944

Sent on November 29, 1944

**FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Heartfelt congratulations on your birthday. I send you my friendly wishes for long years of good health and good cheer for the benefit of our common cause.

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

As regards the Western bloc, so far I have little information about it, and the newspaper reports are contradictory. I am grateful to you for the promise to keep me informed about developments, and I myself am ready to reciprocate.

I read with interest your message on military operations in the West. True, weather is now a serious obstacle.

I shall not fail to profit by your kind advice and shall inform you of anything worthy of special attention.

December 1, 1944

**MOST SECRET AND PERSONAL
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

The indications are that de Gaulle and his friends, who have arrived in the Soviet Union, will raise two questions.

1. Concluding a Franco-Soviet pact of mutual aid similar to the Anglo-Soviet pact.

We shall find it hard to object. But I should like to know what you think. What do you advise.

2. De Gaulle will probably suggest revising the eastern frontier of France and shifting it to the left bank of the Rhine. There is talk, too, about a plan for forming a Rhine-Westphalian region under international control. Possibly French participation in the control is likewise envisaged. In other words, the French proposal for shifting the frontier line to the Rhine will compete with the plan for a Rhineland region under international control.

I would like your advice on this matter as well.

I have sent a similar message to the President.

December 2, 1944

**MOST SECRET AND PERSONAL
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO PRESIDENT F. ROOSEVELT**

The indications are that de Gaulle and his friends, who have arrived in the Soviet Union, will raise two questions.

1. Concluding a Franco-Soviet pact of mutual aid similar to the Anglo-Soviet pact.

We shall find it hard to object. But I should like to know what you think. What do you advise.

2. De Gaulle will probably suggest revising the eastern frontier of France and shifting it to the left bank of the Rhine. There is talk, too, about a plan for forming a Rhine-Westphalian region under international control. Possibly French participation in the control is likewise envisaged. In other words, the French proposal for shifting the frontier line to the Rhine will compete with the plan for a Rhineland region under international control.

I would like your advice on this matter as well.

I have sent a similar message to Mr Churchill.

December 2, 1944

**PERSONAL AND SECRET
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT,
Mr. F. ROOSEVELT**

The meeting with General de Gaulle provided the opportunity for a friendly exchange of views on Franco-Soviet relations. In the course of the talks General de Gaulle, as I had anticipated, brought up two major issues—the French frontier on the Rhine and a Franco-Soviet mutual aid pact patterned on the Anglo-Soviet Treaty.

As to the French frontier on the Rhine, I said, in effect, that the matter could not be settled without the knowledge and consent of our chief Allies, whose forces are waging a liberation struggle against the Germans on French soil. I stressed the difficulty of the problem.

Concerning the proposal for a Franco-Soviet mutual aid pact I pointed to the need for a thorough study of the matter and for clearing up the legal aspects, in particular the question of who in France in the present circumstances is to ratify such a pact. This means the French will have to offer a number of elucidations, which I have yet to receive from them.

I shall be obliged for a reply to this message and for your comments on these points.

I have sent a similar message to Mr Churchill.

Best wishes.

December 3, 1944

**PERSONAL AND SECRET
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr. W. CHURCHILL,
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN**

I have received your reply to my message about the Franco-Soviet pact and the French frontier on the Rhine. Thank you for your advice.

By the time your reply came we had begun talks on the pact with the French. I and my colleagues approve of your suggestion that a tripartite Anglo-Franco-Soviet pact, improved in comparison with the Anglo-Soviet one, would be preferable. We have suggested a tripartite pact to de Gaulle, but have had no reply so far.

I am behind in replying to the other messages I have had from you. I hope to be able to answer them soon.

December 7, 1944

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your message on Mikolajczyk received.

It has become obvious since my last meeting with Mr Mikolajczyk in Moscow that he is incapable of helping a Polish settlement. Indeed, his negative role has been revealed. It is now evident that his negotiations with the Polish National Committee are designed to cover up those who, behind his back, engaged in criminal terror acts against Soviet officers and Soviet people generally on Polish territory. We cannot tolerate this state of affairs. We cannot tolerate terrorists, instigated by the Polish émigrés, assassinating our people in Poland and waging a criminal struggle against the Soviet forces liberating Poland. We look on these people as allies of our common enemy, and as to their radio correspondence with Mr Mikolajczyk, which we found on émigré agents arrested on Polish territory, it not only exposes their treacherous designs, it also casts a shadow on Mr Mikolajczyk and his men.

Ministerial changes in the émigré Government no longer deserve serious attention. For these elements, who have lost touch with the national soil and have no contact with their people, are merely marking time. Meanwhile the Polish Committee of National Liberation has made substantial progress in consolidating its national, democratic organisations on Polish soil, in implementing a land reform in favour of the peasants and in expand-

ing its armed forces, and enjoys great prestige among the population.

I think that our task now is to support the National Committee in Lublin and all who want to cooperate and are capable of cooperating with it. This is particularly important to the Allies in view of the need for accelerating the defeat of the Germans.

December 8, 1944

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Both your messages of December 2 received. Of course, we must ensure complete coordination and effectiveness of our operations against the Germans in Yugoslavia. A report has been submitted to me concerning the proposal, received from the Combined Chiefs of Staff on November 29, for establishing a new boundary line for the operations of the Soviet and Allied air forces in Yugoslavia. You are probably aware that as early as December 3 our General Staff agreed that the boundary should be established along the line Sarajevo-Mokro-Sokolac-Babrun-Uvac-Prijepolje-Sjenica-Peć through Prilep to the southern frontier of Yugoslavia, it being understood that Peć and Prilep would remain in the sphere of operations of the Soviet air forces, and along the southern frontier of Bulgaria. I presume that that line meets your wishes.

As to the other questions, I hope our military representatives will be able to settle them.

December 8, 1944

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

I informed General de Gaulle of your opinion that an Anglo-Franco-Soviet mutual aid pact was preferable and declared for your proposal. General de Gaulle, however, insisted on a Franco-Soviet pact, suggesting that a tripartite pact be the next stage, because the matter required preparation. Meanwhile we received a message from the President, saying that he had no objection to a Franco-Soviet pact. As a result we agreed on a pact which was signed today. The text will be published when General de Gaulle reaches Paris.

I think de Gaulle's visit has yielded positive results; not only will it help strengthen Franco-Soviet relations, it will be a contribution to the common cause of the Allies.

December 10, 1944

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT**

Thank you for your communication on the subject of France. General de Gaulle and I have arrived at the conclusion that the Franco-Soviet mutual aid pact will benefit both Franco-Soviet relations and European security in general. The pact was signed today.

As to the post-war frontier of France, examination of this question has, as I informed you, been deferred.

December 10, 1944

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

I have received your message and the copy of your letter to Marshal Tito.

Before expressing an opinion on the issues raised in your message to Marshal Tito I should like to have the Marshal's views on these matters. I bear out your statement that the Soviet and British Governments agreed in Moscow on pursuing, as far as feasible, a joint policy on Yugoslavia. I hope you will be able to come to terms with Marshal Tito and give your backing to the agreement reached between him and Mr Šubašić.

2. I have received your message concerning the German T5 torpedo. Soviet seamen have actually captured two German acoustic torpedoes, which our experts are now examining. Unfortunately we cannot at the moment send one of them to Britain because both have been damaged by explosion, so that in order to examine and test the torpedo, the damaged parts of one torpedo will have to be replaced by those of the other, otherwise it will be impossible to examine and test it. Hence the alternative: either the drawings and descriptions of the torpedo can be turned over to the British Military Mission at once, as the torpedo is examined, and after examination and tests are finished the torpedo itself can be handed over to the British Admiralty; or British experts could leave for the Soviet Union at once to examine the torpedo in detail on the spot and make the required drawings. We are ready to provide you with either opportunity.

December 14, 1944

**PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Thank you for your congratulations and good wishes for my birthday. I have always greatly appreciated your friendly sentiments.

December 25, 1944

**PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

It goes without saying that I shall welcome the conclusion of an Anglo-French treaty.

I greatly appreciate your praise for the *Kutuzov* film and shall not fail to convey your comment to those who made it.

Best wishes.

December 25, 1944

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

I have received your message about a competent officer coming to Moscow from Gen. Eisenhower.

I have already advised the President of my concurrence and readiness to exchange information with the said officer.

December 25, 1944

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT**

I have received your message about the sending of a competent officer from Gen. Eisenhower's staff to Moscow.

It goes without saying that I agree to your proposal, and, by the same token, I am ready to meet the officer from Gen. Eisenhower's staff and to exchange information with him.

December 25, 1944

Sent on December 26, 1944

**TO FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

The White House, Washington

Please accept my thanks for your congratulations and good wishes on the occasion of my birthday.

J. STALIN

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT**

Your message reached me through Mr Harriman on December 14.

I fully share your opinion that before the general conference of the United Nations meets to discuss the founding of an International Organisation it would be advisable for us to reach agreement on the more important problems that found no solution at Dumbarton Oaks, primarily on the voting procedure in the Security Council. I feel it necessary to recall that the original American draft stressed the necessity of drawing up special rules with regard to voting procedure in the event of a dispute directly affecting one or several permanent members of the Council. The British draft, too, pointed out that the general procedure of settling disputes between the Great Powers, should disputes arise, might prove unworkable.

In this connection paragraphs 1 and 2 of your proposal do not give rise to any objections and can be accepted, it being understood that paragraph 2 is concerned with questions of procedure mentioned in Chapter VI, Section D.

As to paragraph 3 of your proposal, I regret to say that I cannot accept it as worded by you. As acknowledged by you, the principle of unanimity of the permanent members is indispensable in all Council decisions determining a threat to peace, as well as in those calling for action to remove the threat or to crush aggression or other breaches of peace. In adopting decisions on these

questions there should without doubt be complete agreement among the Powers who are permanent members of the Council and who bear the chief responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security. It goes without saying that any attempt to bar at any stage one or several permanent members of the Council from voting on the questions mentioned above, and this, theoretically speaking, is possible, and it may even be that the majority of the permanent members find themselves excluded from participation in settling an issue—could have dire consequences for the preservation of international security. This runs counter to the principle of agreement and unanimity in the decisions of the four leading Powers and may result in some of the Great Powers being played against others—a development which would be likely to undermine universal security. The small countries are interested in preventing that just as much as the Great Powers, for a split among the Great Powers who have united to safeguard peace and the security of all freedom-loving nations is fraught with the most dangerous consequences to all those states.

That is why I must insist on our former stand as to the voting in the Security Council. As I see it this attitude will ensure four-Power unity for the new International Organisation and help to prevent attempts at playing some of the Great Powers against others, which is vital to their joint struggle against future aggression. Such a situation would, naturally, safeguard the interests of the small nations in maintaining their security and would be in keeping with the interests of universal peace.

I hope that you will fully appreciate the importance of the considerations set forth above in support of the principle of unanimity of the four leading Powers and that we shall arrive at agreed decisions on this point, as well as on certain other points still outstanding. On the basis of an agreed decision our representatives could work out a final draft and discuss the measures necessary for the early convening of a general United Nations conference.

December 26, 1944

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT**

Your message on Polish affairs reached me on December 20.

As to Mr Stettinius' statement of December 18, I should prefer to comment on it when we meet. At any rate events in Poland have already gone far beyond that which is reflected in the said statement.

A number of things that have taken place since Mr Mikolajczyk's last visit to Moscow, in particular the wireless correspondence with the Mikolajczyk Government, which we found on terrorists arrested in Poland—underground agents of the émigré Government—demonstrate beyond all doubt that Mr Mikolajczyk's talks with the Polish National Committee served to cover up those elements who, behind Mr Mikolajczyk's back, had been engaged in terror against Soviet officers and soldiers in Poland. We cannot tolerate a situation in which terrorists, instigated by Polish émigrés, assassinate Red Army soldiers and officers in Poland, wage a criminal struggle against the Soviet forces engaged in liberating Poland and directly aid our enemies, with whom they are virtually in league. The substitution of Arciszewski for Mikolajczyk and the ministerial changes in the émigré Government in general have aggravated the situation and have resulted in a deep rift between Poland and the émigré Government.

Meanwhile the National Committee has made notable progress in consolidating the Polish state and the machinery of state power on Polish soil, in expanding and strengthening the Polish Army, in implementing a number of important government measures, primarily the land reform in favour of the peasants. These developments have resulted in the consolidation of the democratic forces in Poland and in an appreciable increase in the prestige of the National Committee among the Polish people and large sections of the Poles abroad.

As I see it, we must now be interested in supporting the National Committee and all who are willing to cooperate and who are capable of cooperating with it, which is of special moment for the Allies and for fulfilment of our common task—accelerating the defeat of Hitler Germany. For the Soviet Union, which is bearing the whole burden of the struggle for freeing Poland from the German invaders, the problem of relations with Poland is, in present

circumstances, a matter of everyday, close and friendly relations with an authority brought into being by the Polish people on their own soil, an authority which has already grown strong and has armed forces of its own, which, together with the Red Army, are fighting the Germans.

I must say frankly that in the event of the Polish Committee of National Liberation becoming a Provisional Polish Government, the Soviet Government will, in view of the foregoing, have no serious reasons for postponing its recognition. It should be borne in mind that the Soviet Union, more than any other Power, has a stake in strengthening a pro-Ally and democratic Poland, not only because it is bearing the brunt of the struggle for Poland's liberation, but also because Poland borders on the Soviet Union and because the Polish problem is inseparable from that of the security of the Soviet Union. To this I should add that the Red Army's success in fighting the Germans in Poland largely depends on a tranquil and reliable rear in Poland, and the Polish National Committee is fully cognisant of this circumstance, whereas the émigré Government and its underground agents by their acts of terror threaten civil war in the rear of the Red Army and counter its successes.

On the other hand, in the conditions now prevailing in Poland there are no grounds for continuing to support the émigré Government, which has completely forfeited the trust of the population inside the country and which, moreover, threatens civil war in the rear of the Red Army, thereby injuring our common interest in the success of the struggle we are waging against the Germans. I think it would be only natural, fair and beneficial to our common cause if the Governments of the Allied Powers agreed as a first step to exchange representatives at this juncture with the National Committee with a view to its later recognition as the lawful government of Poland, after it has proclaimed itself the Provisional Government of Poland. Unless this is done I fear that the Polish people's trust in the Allied Powers may diminish. I think we should not countenance a situation in which Poles can say that we are sacrificing the interests of Poland to those of a handful of émigrés in London.

December 27, 1944

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

I have received your message informing me that you prefer to send British experts to the Soviet Union to examine the German torpedo on the spot. Appropriate instructions have, therefore, been given to the relevant Soviet military authorities.

December 27, 1944

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT**

Your message of December 31 received.

I am very sorry that I have not succeeded in convincing you of the correctness of the Soviet Government's stand on the Polish question. Nevertheless, I hope events will convince you that the National Committee has always given important help to the Allies, and continues to do so, particularly to the Red Army, in the struggle against Hitler Germany, while the émigré Government in London is disorganising that struggle, thereby helping the Germans.

Of course I quite understand your proposal for postponing recognition of the Provisional Government of Poland by the Soviet Union for a month. But one circumstance makes me powerless to comply with your wish. The point is that on December 27 the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., replying to a corresponding question by the Poles, declared that it would recognise the Provisional Government of Poland the moment it was set up. This circumstance makes me powerless to comply with your wish.

Allow me to congratulate you on the New Year and to wish you good health and success.

January 1, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

You, no doubt, know already that the Polish National Council in Lublin has announced its decision to transform the National Committee into a Provisional National Government of the Polish Republic. You are well aware of our attitude to the National Committee, which, in our view, has already won great prestige in Poland and is the lawful exponent of the will of the Polish people. The decision to make it the Provisional Government seems to us quite timely, especially now that Mikolajczyk has withdrawn from the émigré Government and that the latter has thereby lost all semblance of a government. I think that Poland cannot be left without a government. Accordingly, the Soviet Government has agreed to recognise the Provisional Polish Government.

I greatly regret that I have not succeeded in fully convincing you of the correctness of the Soviet Government's stand on the Polish question. Still, I hope the events will show that our recognition of the Polish Government in Lublin is in keeping with the interests of the common cause of the Allies and that it will help accelerate the defeat of Germany.

I enclose for your information the two messages I sent to the President on the Polish question.

2. I know that the President has your consent to a meeting of the three of us at the end of the month or early in February. I shall be glad to see you both on our soil and hope that our joint work will be a success.

I take this opportunity to send you New Year greetings and to wish you the best of health and success.

January 3, 1945

**PERSONAL AND MOST SECRET
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your message of January 6 reached me in the evening of January 7.

I am sorry to say that Air Marshal Tedder has not yet arrived in Moscow.

It is extremely important to take advantage of our superiority over the Germans in guns and aircraft. What we need for the purpose is clear flying weather and the absence of low mists that prevent aimed artillery fire. We are mounting an offensive, but at the moment the weather is unfavourable. Still, in view of our Allies' position on the Western Front, GHQ of the Supreme Command have decided to complete preparations at a rapid rate and, regardless of weather, to launch large-scale offensive operations along the entire Central Front not later than the second half of January. Rest assured we shall do all in our power to support the valiant forces of our Allies.

January 7, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

I agree to the use of "Argonaut" as a code name for all messages on the meeting, as suggested in your message of January 5.

In accordance with the proposal sent by the President, I want your agreement to Yalta as the place and February 2 as the date for the meeting.

January 10, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your message on the Yugoslav question received. Thank you for the information.

I accept your proposal for putting the Tito-Šubašić agreement into effect. By doing so we shall stave off eventual complications. I hope you have already informed the President.

January 13, 1945

**PERSONAL AND MOST SECRET
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT**

Today, January 15, I had a talk with Marshal Tedder and the generals accompanying him. In my view the information we exchanged was complete enough. Both parties gave exhaustive answers to the questions. I must say that I was most impressed by Marshal Tedder.

After four days of offensive operations on the Soviet-German front I am now in a position to inform you that our offensive is making satisfactory progress despite unfavourable weather. The entire Central Front—from the Carpathians to the Baltic Sea—is moving westwards. The Germans, though resisting desperately, are retreating. I feel sure that they will have to disperse their reserves between the two fronts and, as a result, relinquish the offensive on the Western Front. I am glad that this circumstance will ease the position of the Allied troops in the West and expedite preparations for the offensive planned by General Eisenhower.

As regards the Soviet troops, you may rest assured that, despite the difficulties, they will do all in their power to make the blow as effective as possible.

January 15, 1945.

PERSONAL AND MOST SECRET

**FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Today I had a talk with Marshal Tedder and the generals accompanying him. I think that the information exchanged was complete enough, as Marshal Tedder will probably report to you. Let me add that Marshal Tedder made a very good impression on me.

Despite unfavourable weather the Soviet offensive is developing according to plan. The troops are in action all along the Central Front, from the Carpathians to the Baltic Sea. Although offering desperate resistance, the Germans have been forced to retreat. I hope this circumstance will facilitate and expedite General Eisenhower's planned offensive on the Western Front.

January 15, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your message of January 14 on the Yugoslav question has reached me.

As far as I am concerned I see no grounds for putting off execution of our decision, which I communicated to you last time. In my view we should not waste time and thus expose the whole thing to the trials caused by delay.

January 16, 1945

**PERSONAL AND MOST SECRET MESSAGE
FROM Mr CHURCHILL TO MARSHAL STALIN**

Yugoslavia.

Your message of January 13th, in answer to mine of January 11th, received. Many thanks. I sent you another on the 14th to which I now add the following.

At our suggestion King Peter is discussing with Dr. Subašić the possibility of finding a solution whereby he can accept the Tito-Subašić agreement.

I think we should give them a little more time to work it out.

January 16th, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your telegram of January 21 to hand.

I agree to your suggestion that the Press be excluded from "Argonaut." I have no objection to each party admitting a number of photographers.

I have replied in similar strain to the President's query.

January 23, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT**

I have received your cable about the attendance of press representatives and photographers at "Argonaut." I have nothing against your suggestions.

I have sent a similar reply to the Prime Minister's query.

January 23, 1945

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

I have received your message of January 23 on the Yugoslav question.

I agree that the Tito-Subašić agreement, as agreed between them, should be put into effect without further delay and that the three Great Powers should recognise the United Government. I think we should not make any reservations whatever in carrying out this plan.

January 25, 1945

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT**

Thank you for the condolences on the occasion of the tragic death of the Soviet Ambassador in Mexico, K. A. Oumansky, whose work was highly valued by the Soviet Government.

January 29, 1945

Sent on January 30, 1945

**FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT**

Please accept, Mr President, my heartfelt congratulations and best wishes on the occasion of your birthday.

**PERSONAL AND MOST SECRET
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your message received.

I and my colleagues have arrived at the meeting place.

February 1, 1945

TO PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

"Livadia," the Crimea

My dear Mr Roosevelt,

Please accept my thanks for the sentiments expressed on behalf of the American people and the U.S. Government on the occasion of the tragic death of the Soviet Ambassador in Mexico, K. A. Oumansky, his wife and the three members of the Embassy staff.

The Soviet Government gratefully accepts your offer to have their remains sent to Moscow by a U.S. Army plane.

Yours very sincerely,

J. STALIN

Koreiz, February 9, 1945

TO PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

"Livadia," the Crimea

My dear Mr Roosevelt,

Your letter of February 10 received. I fully agree with you that because the Soviet Union's votes will increase to three owing to the admission of the Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Byelorussia to Assembly membership, the number of U.S. votes should likewise be increased.

I think that the U.S. votes should be raised to three as in the case of the Soviet Union and its two main Republics. If necessary, I am prepared to give official endorsement to this proposal.

Most sincerely yours,

J. STALIN

Koreiz, February 11, 1945

**PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Please accept my gratitude for the condolences on the death of General I. D. Chernyakhovsky, one of the finest Red Army soldiers.

February 21, 1945

Sent on February 27, 1945

**PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Please accept my thanks for your high praise of the Red Army's contribution to the cause of defeating the German armed forces.

I will gladly convey your greetings to the Red Army on its twenty-seventh anniversary.

Sent on February 27, 1945

**TO Mr FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

The White House, Washington

Please accept, Mr President, my gratitude for your friendly greetings on the occasion of the 27th anniversary of the Red Army.

I am confident that the further strengthening of cooperation between our two countries, which found expression in the decisions of the Crimea Conference, will shortly lead to the complete defeat of our common enemy and to a lasting peace based on the principle of cooperation among all freedom-loving nations.

J. STALIN

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr. F. ROOSEVELT**

Your message of March 4 about prisoners of war received. I have again conferred with our local representatives in charge of this matter and can tell you the following:

The difficulties which arose during the early stages of the speedy evacuation of American prisoners of war from the zones of direct military operations have decreased substantially. At present the special agency set up by the Soviet Government to take care of foreign prisoners of war has adequate personnel, transport facilities and food supplies, and whenever new groups of American prisoners of war are discovered steps are taken at once to help them and to evacuate them to assembly points for subsequent repatriation. According to the information available to the Soviet Government, there is now no accumulation of U.S. prisoners of war on Polish territory or in other areas liberated by the Red Army, because all of them, with the exception of individual sick men who are in hospital, have been sent to the assembly point in Odessa, where 1,200 U.S. prisoners of war have arrived so far and the arrival of the remainder is expected shortly. Hence there is no need at the moment for U.S. planes to fly from Poltava to Polish territory in connection with U.S. prisoners of war. You may rest assured that appropriate measures will immediately be taken also with regard to American aircraft crews making a forced landing. This, however, does not rule out cases in which the help of U.S. aircraft may be required. In this event the Soviet military authorities will request the U.S. military representatives in Moscow to send U.S. aircraft from Poltava.

As at the moment I have no proposals to make concerning the status of the Allied prisoners of war in German hands, I should like to assure you that we shall do all we can to provide them with facilities as soon as they find themselves on territory captured by Soviet troops.

March 5, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr. F. ROOSEVELT**

I am in receipt of your message about the evacuation of former U.S. prisoners of war from Poland.

With regard to your information about allegedly large numbers of sick and injured Americans in Poland or awaiting evacuation to Odessa, or who have not contacted the Soviet authorities, I must say that the information is inaccurate. Actually, apart from a certain number who are on their way to Odessa, there were only 17 sick U.S. servicemen on Polish soil as of March 16. I have today received a report which says that the 17 men will be flown to Odessa in a few days.

With reference to the request contained in your message I must say that if it concerned me personally I would be ready to give way even to the detriment of my own interests. But in the given instance the matter concerns the interests of Soviet armies at the front and of Soviet commanders who do not want to have around odd officers who, while having no relation to the military operations, need looking after, want all kinds of meetings and contacts, protection against possible acts of sabotage by German agents not yet ferreted out, and other things that divert the attention of the commanders and their subordinates from their direct duties. Our commanders bear full responsibility for the state of affairs at the front and in the immediate rear, and I do not see how I can restrict their rights to any extent.

I must also say that U.S. ex-prisoners of war liberated by the Red Army have been treated to good conditions in Soviet camps—better conditions than those afforded Soviet ex-prisoners of war in U.S. camps, where some of them were lodged with German war prisoners and were subjected to unfair treatment and unlawful persecutions, including beating, as has been communicated to the U.S. Government on more than one occasion.

March 22, 1945

PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL

I have received your messages.

As regards British prisoners of war, your fears for their welfare are groundless. They have better conditions than the Soviet prisoners of war in British camps where in a number of cases they were ill-treated and even beaten. Moreover, they are no longer in our camps, being on their way to Odessa, whence they will leave for home.

Thank you for the information on the position on the Western Front. I have faith in the strategic talent of Field Marshal Montgomery.

March 23, 1945

PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM MARSHAL J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT

We highly value and attach great importance to the San Francisco Conference to lay the foundations of an international organisation for peace and security of the nations, but present circumstances preclude V. M. Molotov's attendance. I and Molotov are very sorry about this, but the convening, at the instance of Deputies to the Supreme Soviet, of a session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in April, at which Molotov's attendance is imperative, makes it impossible for him to attend even the opening session of the Conference.

You are aware that Ambassador Gromyko successfully coped with his task at Dumbarton Oaks, and we are certain that he will ably head the Soviet Delegation at San Francisco.

As to the different interpretations, you will appreciate that they cannot determine the decisions to be taken.

March 27, 1945

PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT

I have analysed the matter raised in your letter of March 25, and find that the Soviet Government could not have given any other reply after its representatives were barred from the Berne negotiations with the Germans for a German surrender and opening the front to the Anglo-American troops in Northern Italy.

Far from being against, I am all for profiting from cases of disintegration in the German armies to hasten their surrender on one or another sector and encourage them to open the front to Allied forces.

But I agree to such talks with the enemy only in cases where they do not lead to an easing of the enemy's position, if the opportunity for the Germans to manoeuvre and to use the talks for switching troops to other sectors, above all to the Soviet front, is precluded.

And it was solely with an eye to providing this guarantee that the Soviet Government found it necessary to have representatives of its Military Command take part in such negotiations with the enemy wherever they might take place—whether in Berne or in Caserta. I cannot understand why the representatives of the Soviet Command have been excluded from the talks and in what way they could have handicapped the representatives of the Allied Command.

I must tell you for your information that the Germans have already taken advantage of the talks with the Allied Command to move three divisions from Northern Italy to the Soviet front.

The task of coordinated operations involving a blow at the Germans from the West, South and East, proclaimed at the Crimea Conference, is to hold the enemy on the spot and prevent him from manoeuvring, from moving his forces to the points where he needs them most. The Soviet Command is doing this. But Field Marshal Alexander is not. This circumstance irritates the Soviet Command and engenders distrust.

"As a military man," you write to me, "you will understand the necessity for prompt action to avoid losing an opportunity. The sending of a flag of truce to your General at Königsberg or Danzig would be in the same category." I am afraid the analogy does not fit the case. The German troops at Danzig and at

Königsberg are encircled. If they surrender they will do so to escape extermination, but they cannot open the front to Soviet troops because the front has shifted as far west as the Oder. The German troops in Northern Italy are in an entirely different position. They are not encircled and are not faced with extermination. If, nevertheless, the Germans in Northern Italy seek negotiations in order to surrender and to open the front to the Allied troops, then they must have some other, more far-reaching aims affecting the destiny of Germany.

I must tell you that if a similar situation had obtained on the Eastern Front, somewhere on the Oder, providing an opportunity for a German surrender and for the opening of the front to the Soviet troops, I should have immediately notified the Anglo-American Military Command and asked it to send its representatives to take part in the talks, for in a situation of this kind Allies should have nothing to conceal from each other.

March 29, 1945

COPY. SECRET

**TO MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN R. DEANE,
HEAD OF THE MILITARY MISSION
OF THE U.S.A. IN THE U.S.S.R.**

Dear General Deane,

Please convey to General Marshall the following:

On February 20 I received a message from General Marshall through General Deane, saying that the Germans were forming two groups for a counter-offensive on the Eastern Front: one in Pomerania to strike in the direction of Thorn and the other in the Vienna-Moravská Ostrava area to advance in the direction of Łódź. The southern group was to include the 6th S.S. Panzer Army. On February 12 I received similar information from Colonel Brinkman, head of the Army Section of the British Military Mission.

I am very much obliged and grateful to General Marshall for the information, designed to further our common aims, which he so kindly made available to us.

At the same time it is my duty to inform General Marshall that the military operations on the Eastern Front in March did not bear out the information furnished by him. For the battles showed that the main group of German troops, which included the 6th S.S. Panzer Army, had been concentrated, not in Pomerania or in the Moravská Ostrava area, but in the Lake Balaton area, whence the Germans launched their offensive in an attempt to break through to the Danube and force it south of Budapest.

Thus, the information supplied by General Marshall was at variance with the actual course of events on the Eastern Front in March.

It may well be that certain sources of this information wanted to bluff both Anglo-American and Soviet Headquarters and divert the attention of the Soviet High Command from the area where the Germans were mounting their main offensive operation on the Eastern Front.

Despite the foregoing, I would ask General Marshall, if possible, to keep me posted with information about the enemy.

I consider it my duty to convey this information to General Marshall solely for the purpose of enabling him to draw the proper conclusions in relation to the source of the information.

Please convey to General Marshall my respect and gratitude.

Truly yours,

March 30, 1945

Army General ANTONOV,
Chief of Staff of the Red Army

PERSONAL, MOST SECRET

FROM MARSHAL J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr ROOSEVELT

I am in receipt of your message on the Berne talks.

You are quite right in saying, with reference to the talks between the Anglo-American and German Commands in Berne or elsewhere, that "the matter now stands in an atmosphere of regrettable apprehension and mistrust."

You affirm that so far no negotiations have been entered into. Apparently you are not fully informed. As regards my military colleagues, they, on the basis of information in their possession, are sure that negotiations did take place and that they ended in an agreement with the Germans, whereby the German Commander on the Western Front, Marshal Kesselring, is to open the front to the Anglo-American troops and let them move east, while the British and Americans have promised, in exchange, to ease the armistice terms for the Germans.

I think that my colleagues are not very far from the truth. If the contrary were the case the exclusion of representatives of the Soviet Command from the Berne talks would be inexplicable.

Nor can I account for the reticence of the British, who have left it to you to carry on a correspondence with me on this unpleasant matter, while they themselves maintain silence, although it is known that the initiative in the matter of the Berne negotiations belongs to the British.

I realise that there are certain advantages resulting to the Anglo-American troops from these separate negotiations in Berne or in some other place, seeing that the Anglo-American troops are enabled to advance into the heart of Germany almost without resistance; but why conceal this from the Russians, and why were the Russians, their Allies, not forewarned?

And so what we have at the moment is that the Germans on the Western Front have in fact ceased the war against Britain and America. At the same time they continue the war against Russia, the Ally of Britain and the U.S.A.

Clearly this situation cannot help preserve and promote trust between our countries.

I have already written in a previous message, and I think I must repeat, that I and my colleagues would never in any circumstances have taken such a hazardous step, for we realise that a momentary advantage, no matter how great, is overshadowed by the fundamental advantage of preserving and promoting trust between Allies.

April 3, 1945

PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL

I have received your message of April 1 on the Polish problem. In a relevant message to the President, a copy of which I am also sending to you, I have replied to the salient points about the work of the Moscow Commission on Poland.⁸⁵ Concerning the other points in your message, I must say this:

The British and U.S. Ambassadors—members of the Moscow Commission—refuse to consider the opinion of the Polish Provisional Government and insist on inviting Polish leaders for consultation regardless of their attitude to the decisions of the Crimea Conference on Poland or to the Soviet Union. They insist, for example, on Mikolajczyk being invited to Moscow for consultation, and they do so in the form of an ultimatum, ignoring the fact that Mikolajczyk has openly attacked the Crimea Conference decisions on Poland. However, if you deem it necessary, I shall try to induce the Provisional Polish Government to withdraw its objections to inviting Mikolajczyk provided he publicly endorses the decisions of the Crimea Conference on the Polish question and declares in favour of establishing friendly relations between Poland and the Soviet Union.

2. You wonder why the Polish military theatre should be veiled in secrecy. Actually there is no secrecy at all. You forget the circumstance that the Poles regard the despatch of British or other foreign observers to Poland as an affront to their national dignity, especially when it is borne in mind that the Polish Pro-

visional Government feels the British Government has adopted an unfriendly attitude towards it. As to the Soviet Government, it has to take note of the Polish Provisional Government's negative view on sending foreign observers to Poland. Furthermore, you know that, given a different attitude towards it, the Polish Provisional Government would not object to representatives of other countries entering Poland and, as was the case, for example, with representatives of the Czechoslovak Government, the Yugoslav Government and others, would not put any difficulties in their way.

3. I had a pleasant talk with Mrs Churchill who made a deep impression upon me. She gave me a present from you. Please accept my heartfelt thanks for it.

April 7, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, MR F. ROOSEVELT**

With reference to your message of April 1st I think I must make the following comments on the Polish question.

The Polish question has indeed reached an impasse.

What is the reason?

The reason is that the U.S. and British Ambassadors in Moscow—members of the Moscow Commission—have departed from the instructions of the Crimea Conference, introducing new elements not provided for by the Crimea Conference.

Namely:

(a) At the Crimea Conference the three of us regarded the Polish Provisional Government as the government now functioning in Poland and subject to reconstruction, as the government that should be the core of a new Government of National Unity. The U.S. and British Ambassadors in Moscow, however, have departed from that thesis; they ignore the Polish Provisional Government, pay no heed to it and at best place individuals in Poland and London on a par with the Provisional Government. Furthermore, they hold that reconstruction of the Provisional Government should be understood in terms of its abolition and the establishment of an entirely new government. Things have gone so far

that Mr Harriman declared in the Moscow Commission that it might be that not a single member of the Provisional Government would be included in the Polish Government of National Unity.

Obviously this thesis of the U.S. and British Ambassadors cannot but be strongly resented by the Polish Provisional Government. As regards the Soviet Union, it certainly cannot accept a thesis that is tantamount to direct violation of the Crimea Conference decisions.

(b) At the Crimea Conference the three of us held that five people should be invited for consultation from Poland and three from London, not more. But the U.S. and British Ambassadors have abandoned that position and insist that each member of the Moscow Commission be entitled to invite an unlimited number from Poland and from London.

Clearly the Soviet Government could not agree to that, because, according to the Crimea decision, invitations should be sent not by individual members of the Commission, but by the Commission as a whole, as a body. The demand for no limit to the number invited for consultation runs counter to what was envisaged at the Crimea Conference.

(c) The Soviet Government proceeds from the assumption that by virtue of the Crimea decisions, those invited for consultation should be in the first instance Polish leaders who recognise the decisions of the Crimea Conference, including the one on the Curzon Line,⁵⁷ and, secondly, who actually want friendly relations between Poland and the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government insists on this because the blood of Soviet soldiers, so freely shed in liberating Poland, and the fact that in the past 30 years the territory of Poland has twice been used by an enemy for invading Russia, oblige the Soviet Government to ensure friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Poland.

The U.S. and British Ambassadors in Moscow, however, ignore this and want to invite Polish leaders for consultation regardless of their attitude to the Crimea decisions and to the Soviet Union.

Such, to my mind, are the factors hindering a settlement of the Polish problem through mutual agreement.

In order to break the deadlock and reach an agreed decision, the following steps should, I think, be taken:

(1) Affirm that reconstruction of the Polish Provisional Government implies, not its abolition, but its reconstruction by enlarging it, it being understood that the Provisional Government shall form the core of the future Polish Government of National Unity.

(2) Return to the provisions of the Crimea Conference and restrict the number of Polish leaders to be invited to eight persons, of whom five should be from Poland and three from London.

(3) Affirm that the representatives of the Polish Provisional Government shall be consulted in all circumstances, that they be consulted in the first place, since the Provisional Government is much stronger in Poland compared with the individuals to be invited from London and Poland whose influence among the population in no way compares with the tremendous prestige of the Provisional Government.

I draw your attention to this because, to my mind, any other decision on the point might be regarded in Poland as an affront to the people and as an attempt to impose a government without regard to Polish public opinion.

(4) Only those leaders should be summoned for consultation from Poland and from London who recognise the decisions of the Crimea Conference on Poland and who in practice want friendly relations between Poland and the Soviet Union.

(5) Reconstruction of the Provisional Government to be effected by replacing a number of Ministers of the Provisional Government by nominees among the Polish leaders who are not members of the Provisional Government.

As to the ratio of old and new Ministers in the Government of National Unity, it might be established more or less on the same lines as was done in the case of the Yugoslav Government.

I think if these comments are taken into consideration, the Polish question can be settled in a short time.

April 7, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

I have received your message of April 5.

I have already answered, in my message of April 7 to the President, which I am also sending to you, all the main points raised in your message in relation to the negotiations in Switzerland. As regards other points in your message, I think it necessary to say this.

Neither I nor Molotov had any intention of "aspersing" anyone. It is not a question of our wanting to "asperse" anyone but of the fact that differences have arisen between us as to the duties and the rights of an Ally. You will see from my message to the President that the Russian view of the matter is correct, for it guarantees the rights of any Ally and deprives the enemy of any opportunity to sow distrust between us.

My messages are personal and most secret. This enables me to speak my mind frankly and clearly. That is an advantage of secret correspondence. But if you take every frank statement of mine as an affront, then the correspondence will be greatly handicapped. I can assure you that I have never had, nor have I now, any intention of affronting anyone.

April 7, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr F. ROOSEVELT**

I have received your message of April 5.

In my message of April 3 the point was not about integrity or trustworthiness. I have never doubted your integrity or trustworthiness, just as I have never questioned the integrity or trustworthiness of Mr Churchill. My point is that in the course of our correspondence a difference of views has arisen over what an Ally may permit himself with regard to another and what he may not. We Russians believe that, in view of the present situation on the fronts, a situation in which the enemy is faced with

inevitable surrender, whenever the representatives of one of the Allies meet the Germans to discuss surrender terms, the representatives of the other Ally should be enabled to take part in the meeting. That is absolutely necessary, at least when the other Ally seeks participation in the meeting. The Americans and British, however, have a different opinion—they hold that the Russian point of view is wrong. For that reason they have denied the Russians the right to be present at the meeting with the Germans in Switzerland. I have already written to you, and I see no harm in repeating that, given a similar situation, the Russians would never have denied the Americans and British the right to attend such a meeting. I still consider the Russian point of view to be the only correct one, because it precludes mutual suspicions and gives the enemy no chance to sow distrust between us.

2. It is hard to agree that the absence of German resistance on the Western Front is due solely to the fact that they have been beaten. The Germans have 147 divisions on the Eastern Front. They could safely withdraw from 15 to 20 divisions from the Eastern Front to aid their forces on the Western Front. Yet they have not done so, nor are they doing so. They are fighting desperately against the Russians for Zemlenice, an obscure station in Czechoslovakia, which they need just as much as a dead man needs a poultice, but they surrender without any resistance such important towns in the heart of Germany as Osnabrück, Mannheim and Kassel. You will admit that this behaviour on the part of the Germans is more than strange and unaccountable.

3. As regards those who supply my information, I can assure you that they are honest and unassuming people who carry out their duties conscientiously and who have no intention of affronting anybody. They have been tested in action on numerous occasions. Judge for yourself. In February General Marshall made available to the General Staff of the Soviet troops a number of important reports in which he, citing data in his possession, warned the Russians that in March the Germans were planning two serious counter-blows on the Eastern Front, one from Pomerania towards Thorn, the other from the Moravská Ostrava area towards Łódź. It turned out, however, that the main German blow had been prepared, and delivered, not in the areas mentioned above, but in an entirely different area, namely, in the Lake Balaton area, south-west of Budapest. The Germans, as we now know, had concentrated 35 divisions in the area, 11 of them

armoured. This, with its great concentration of armour, was one of the heaviest blows of the war. Marshal Tolbukhin succeeded first in warding off disaster and then in smashing the Germans, and was able to do so also because my informants had disclosed—true with some delay—the plan for the main German blow and immediately apprised Marshal Tolbukhin. Thus I had yet another opportunity to satisfy myself as to the reliability and soundness of my sources of information.

For your guidance in this matter I enclose a letter sent by Army General Antonov, Chief of Staff of the Red Army, to Major-General Deane.

April 7, 1945

Sent on April 13, 1945

FOR PRESIDENT TRUMAN

Washington

On behalf of the Soviet Government and on my own behalf I express to the Government of the United States of America deep regret at the untimely death of President Roosevelt. The American people and the United Nations have lost in the person of Franklin Roosevelt a great statesman of world stature and champion of post-war peace and security.

The Government of the Soviet Union expresses its heartfelt sympathy with the American people in their grievous loss and its confidence that the policy of cooperation between the Great Powers who have borne the brunt of the war against the common foe will be promoted in the future as well.

J. STALIN

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

I have received your messages of April 14.

I agree that it would be advisable to broadcast brief messages to the troops by you, the President and myself in connection with the anticipated link-up of our troops—that is, of course, if President Truman does not object. We should agree, however, on the date for these broadcasts.

2. I also agree that we should issue a joint warning on behalf of the three Governments about the safety of the prisoners of war in the hands of the Hitler Government. I have no objection to the text of the warning sent by you. Kindly advise me whether the warning has to be signed or not. And let me know date and time of publication.

April 14, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your message on the occasion of the death of President F. Roosevelt has reached me.

In President Franklin Roosevelt the Soviet people recognised an outstanding political leader and unswerving champion of close cooperation between our three countries.

Our people will always value highly and remember President F. Roosevelt's friendly attitude to the Soviet Union.

As for myself, I am deeply afflicted by the loss of this great man, our common friend.

April 15, 1945

Sent on April 18, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

I am in receipt of your message of April 16 concerning the texts of the broadcasts to the troops and the joint warning.

I have no objection to the succession in which you propose releasing the messages. As to warning the Germans about the safety of prisoners of war, we can, no doubt, direct V. M. Molotov, Mr Eden and Mr Stettinius to reach agreement in Washington.

Sent on April 18, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your message setting out Mikolajczyk's declaration reached me on April 16. Thank you for the information.

Mikolajczyk's declaration is undoubtedly a big step forward, but it is not clear whether he accepts that part of the Crimea Conference decisions which bears on Poland's eastern frontier. It wouldn't be bad first, to have the full text of Mikolajczyk's declaration and, second, to have an elucidation from him as to whether he also accepts that part of the Crimea decisions which relates to Poland's eastern frontier.

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr CHURCHILL**

I have received yours of April 19 concerning the messages to the troops. I am in agreement with the procedure set out by you.

My message will run as follows:

"The victorious armies of the Allied Powers, waging a war of liberation in Europe, have defeated the German forces and linked up on German soil.

"It is our task and our duty to finish off the enemy, to force him to lay down his arms and surrender unconditionally. This task and this duty to our people and to all the freedom-loving peoples will be fully carried out as far as the Red Army is concerned.

"We salute the valiant troops of our Allies, who now stand on German soil shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet troops, fully resolved to carry out their duty to the end."

The message will be recorded and sent to you immediately.

I have no objection to leaving it to the broadcasting authorities in each country to fix the exact time when our messages will be broadcast the moment the link-up of Soviet and Anglo-American troops is officially announced. Nor have I any objection to coordinating our link-up statements with a similar statement by General Eisenhower.

Your suggestion that our messages be broadcast first in the respective countries over their own network is likewise acceptable.

April 20, 1945

J. V. STALIN TO W. CHURCHILL

Your message on the procedure of releasing President Truman's statement reached me on April 21. Thank you for the information.

As agreed, the sound record of my message is being flown to you by the returning Mosquito.

April 23, 1945

J. V. STALIN TO W. CHURCHILL

Your message concerning the time of announcing the link-up of our armies in Germany reached me on April 22.

I have no objection to President Truman's proposal that the link-up of our armies be announced simultaneously in the three capitals at 12.00 hours Washington Time.

I am sending a similar message to Mr Truman.

April 23, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN**

Your message about announcing the link-up of our armies in Germany reached me on April 21.

I have nothing against your proposal for accepting the hour for the announcement suggested by Gen. Eisenhower, that is, twelve o'clock noon Washington Time.

I am sending a similar message to Mr Churchill.

April 23, 1945

J. V. STALIN TO H. TRUMAN

I have received from you and Prime Minister Churchill the joint message of April 18 and the message transmitted to me through V. M. Molotov on April 24.

The messages indicate that you still regard the Polish Provisional Government, not as the core of a future Polish Government of National Unity, but merely as a group on a par with any other group of Poles. It would be hard to reconcile this concept of the position of the Provisional Government and this attitude towards it with the Crimea decision on Poland. At the Crimea

Conference the three of us, including President Roosevelt, based ourselves on the assumption that the Polish Provisional Government, as the Government now functioning in Poland and enjoying the trust and support of the majority of the Polish people, should be the core, that is, the main part of a new, reconstructed Polish Government of National Unity.

You apparently disagree with this understanding of the issue. By turning down the Yugoslav example as a model for Poland, you confirm that the Polish Provisional Government cannot be regarded as a basis for, and the core of, a future Government of National Unity.

2. Another circumstance that should be borne in mind is that Poland borders on the Soviet Union, which cannot be said about Great Britain or the U.S.A.

Poland is to the security of the Soviet Union what Belgium and Greece are to the security of Great Britain.

You evidently do not agree that the Soviet Union is entitled to seek in Poland a Government that would be friendly to it, that the Soviet Government cannot agree to the existence in Poland of a Government hostile to it. This is rendered imperative, among other things, by the Soviet people's blood freely shed on the fields of Poland for the liberation of that country. I do not know whether a genuinely representative Government has been established in Greece, or whether the Belgian Government is a genuinely democratic one. The Soviet Union was not consulted when those Governments were being formed, nor did it claim the right to interfere in those matters, because it realises how important Belgium and Greece are to the security of Great Britain.

I cannot understand why in discussing Poland no attempt is made to consider the interests of the Soviet Union in terms of security as well.

3. One cannot but recognise as unusual a situation in which two Governments—those of the United States and Great Britain—reach agreement beforehand on Poland, a country in which the U.S.S.R. is interested first of all and most of all, and place its representatives in an intolerable position, trying to dictate to it.

I say that this situation cannot contribute to agreed settlement of the Polish problem.

4. I am ready to accede to your request and to do all in my power to reach an agreed settlement. But you are asking too much. To put it plainly, you want me to renounce the interests of the security of the Soviet Union; but I cannot proceed against the interests of my country.

I think there is only one way out of the present situation and that is to accept the Yugoslav precedent as a model for Poland. That, I believe, might enable us to arrive at agreed settlement.

April 24, 1945

J. V. STALIN TO W. CHURCHILL

I received the joint message from you and President Truman on April 18.

It would appear that you still regard the Polish Provisional Government, not as the core of a future Polish Government of National Unity, but merely as a group on a par with any other group of Poles. It would be hard to reconcile this concept of the position of the Provisional Government and this attitude towards it with the Crimea decision on Poland. At the Crimea Conference the three of us, including President Roosevelt, based ourselves on the assumption that the Polish Provisional Government, as the Government now functioning in Poland and enjoying the trust and support of the majority of the Polish people, should be the core, that is, the main part of a new, reconstructed Polish Government of National Unity.

You apparently disagree with this understanding of the issue. By turning down the Yugoslav example as a model for Poland, you confirm that the Polish Provisional Government cannot be regarded as a basis for, and the core of, a future Government of National Unity.

2. Another circumstance that should be borne in mind is that Poland borders on the Soviet Union, which cannot be said about Great Britain or the U.S.A.

Poland is to the security of the Soviet Union what Belgium and Greece are to the security of Great Britain.

You evidently do not agree that the Soviet Union is entitled to seek in Poland a Government that would be friendly to it, that the Soviet Government cannot agree to the existence in Poland of a Government hostile to it. This is rendered imperative, among other things, by the Soviet people's blood freely shed on the fields of Poland for the liberation of that country. I do not know whether a genuinely representative Government has been established in Greece, or whether the Belgian Government is a genuinely democratic one. The Soviet Union was not consulted when those Governments were being formed, nor did it claim the right to interfere in those matters, because it realises how important Belgium and Greece are to the security of Great Britain.

I cannot understand why in discussing Poland no attempt is made to consider the interests of the Soviet Union in terms of security as well.

3. One cannot but recognise as unusual a situation in which two Governments—those of the United States and Great Britain—reach agreement beforehand on Poland, a country in which the U.S.S.R. is interested first of all and most of all, and, placing its representatives in an intolerable position, try to dictate to it.

I say that this situation cannot contribute to agreed settlement of the Polish problem.

4. I am most grateful to you for kindly communicating the text of Mikolajczyk's declaration concerning Poland's eastern frontier. I am prepared to recommend to the Polish Provisional Government that they take note of this declaration and withdraw their objection to inviting Mikolajczyk for consultation on a Polish Government.

The important thing now is to accept the Yugoslav precedent as a model for Poland. I think that if this is done we shall be able to make progress on the Polish question.

April 24, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr. W. CHURCHILL**

Thank you for the message of April 25 about Himmler's intention to surrender on the Western Front.

I regard your suggestion for confronting Himmler with a demand for unconditional surrender on all fronts, including the Soviet front, as the only correct one. Knowing you as I do, I never doubted that you would act in exactly this manner. Please act in the spirit of your suggestion, and as for the Red Army, it will press on to Berlin in the interest of our common cause.

For your information I have sent a similar reply to President Truman who addressed me with the same query.

April 25, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr. W. CHURCHILL**

Your message on "Crossword" reached me on April 26. Thank you for the information.

For my part I want to tell you that the Soviet Military Command has appointed Major-General Kislenko, at present the Soviet Government's delegate on the Advisory Council for Italy, to take part in the negotiations at Field Marshal Alexander's headquarters for the surrender of the German forces in Northern Italy.

April 26, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr. H. TRUMAN**

Your message of April 26 received. Thank you for informing me of Himmler's intention to surrender on the Western Front. I think that your contemplated reply to Himmler, which calls for unconditional surrender on all fronts, including the Soviet front, is absolutely sound. Please act in the spirit of your proposal, and

as for us Russians, we undertake to continue our attacks upon the Germans.

For your information I have sent a similar reply to Prime Minister Churchill who had made the same inquiry.

April 26, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN**

Your message concerning the instructions you have given to Mr Johnson reached me on April 27. Thank you for the news.

The decision to seek unconditional surrender of the German armed forces, adopted by you and Mr Churchill, is to my mind the right reply to the German proposals.

April 28, 1945

**PERSONAL AND MOST SECRET MESSAGE
FOR MARSHAL STALIN FROM Mr CHURCHILL**

I thank you for your message of April 24th. I have been much distressed at the misunderstanding that has grown up between us on the Crimea agreement about Poland. I certainly went to Yalta with the hope that both the London and Lublin Polish Governments would be swept away and that a new government would be formed from among Poles of goodwill, among whom members of M. Bierut's government would be prominent. But you did not like this plan, and we and the Americans agreed, therefore, that there was to be no sweeping away of the Bierut government but that instead it should become a "new" government

"reorganised on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad." For this purpose, M. Molotov and the two Ambassadors were to sit together in Moscow^{as} and try to bring into being such a government by consultations with members of the present Provisional Government and with other Polish democratic leaders from within Poland and from abroad.

2. The Commission then would have to set to work to select Poles who were to come for the consultations. We tried in each case to find representative men, and in this we were careful to exclude what we thought were extreme people unfriendly to Russia. We did not select for our list anyone at present in the London Polish Government, but three good men, namely M. Mikolajczyk, M. Stanczyk and M. Grabski, who went into opposition to the London Polish Government because they did not like its attitude towards Russia, and in particular its refusal to accept the eastern frontier which you and I agreed upon, now so long ago, and which I was the first man outside the Soviet Government to proclaim to the world as just and fair, together with compensations, etc., in the West and North. It is true that M. Mikolajczyk at that time still hoped for Lvov, but as you know he has now publicly abandoned that claim.

3. Our names for those from inside and outside Poland were put forward in the same spirit of helpfulness by the Americans and ourselves. The first thing the British complained of is that after nine weeks of discussion on the Commission at Moscow, and any amount of telegrams between our three Governments, not the least progress has been made, because M. Molotov has steadily refused in the Commission to give an opinion about the Poles we have mentioned, so that not one of them has been allowed to come even to a preliminary round table discussion. Please observe that these names were put forward not as necessarily to be members of a reorganised Polish Government but simply to come for the round table talk provided for in the Crimea declaration, out of which it was intended to bring about the formation of a united provisional government, representative of the main elements of Polish life and prepared to work on friendly terms with the Soviet Government, and also of a kind which we and all the world could recognise. That was and still is our desire. This provisional government was then, according to our joint decision at the Crimea, to pledge itself to hold "free and unfettered elec-

tions as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot" in which "all democratic and anti-Nazi parties shall have the right to take part and put forward candidates." Alas! none of this has been allowed to move forward.

4. In your paragraph 1 you speak of accepting "the Yugoslav precedent⁹² as a model for Poland." You have always wished that our private personal series of telegrams should be frank and outspoken. I must say at once that the two cases are completely different. In the case of Poland, the three Powers reached agreement about how we should arrange the emergence of a new government. This was to be by means of consultations before our Commission between representatives of the Bierut government and democratic Polish leaders from inside and outside Poland. In the case of Yugoslavia there was nothing of this kind. You seem now to be proposing, after your representative on the Moscow Polish Commission has made it impossible to start the conversations provided for in our agreement, that the agreed procedure should be abandoned. Thus we British feel that after all this time absolutely no headway has been made towards forming a "new" and "reorganised" government while on the contrary the Soviet Government have made a twenty years' treaty with the present Provisional Government under M. Bierut although it remains neither new nor reorganised. We have the feeling that it is we who have been dictated to and brought up against a stone wall upon matters which we sincerely believed were settled in a spirit of friendly comradeship in the Crimea.

5. I must also say that the way things have worked out in Yugoslavia certainly does not give me the feeling of a fifty-fifty interest as between our countries. Marshal Tito has become a complete dictator. He has proclaimed that his prime loyalties are to the Soviet Union. Although he allowed members of the Royal Yugoslav Government to enter his government they only number six as against twenty-five of his own nominees. We have the impression that they are not taken into consultation on matters of high policy and that it is becoming a one-party régime. However, I have not made any complaint or comment about all this, and both at Yalta and at other times have acquiesced in the settlement which has been reached in Yugoslavia. I do not complain of any action you have taken there in spite of my misgivings and I hope it will all work out smoothly and make Yugoslavia a prosperous and free people friendly to both Russia and ourselves.

6. We could not however accept "the Yugoslav model" as a guide to what should happen in Poland. Neither we nor the Americans have any military or special interest in Poland. All we seek in material things is to be treated in the regular way between friendly States. Here we are all shocked that you should think we would work for a Polish Government hostile to the U.S.S.R. This is the opposite of our policy. But it was on account of Poland that the British went to war with Germany in 1939. We saw in the Nazi treatment of Poland a symbol of Hitler's vile and wicked lust of conquest and subjugation, and his invasion of Poland was the spark that fired the mine. The British people do not, as is sometimes thought, go to war for calculation, but for sentiment. They had a feeling, which grew up in the years, that with all Hitler's encroachments and preparations he was a danger to our country and to the liberties which we prize in Europe and when after Munich he broke his word so shamefully about Czechoslovakia even the extremely peace-loving Chamberlain gave our guarantee against Hitler to Poland. When that guarantee was invoked by the German invasion of Poland the whole nation went to war with Hitler, unprepared as we were. There was a flame in the hearts of men like that which swept your people in their noble defence of their country from a treacherous, brutal, and as at one time it almost seemed, overwhelming German attack. This British flame burns still among all classes and parties in this island and in its self-governing Dominions, and they can never feel this war will have ended rightly unless Poland has a fair deal in the full sense of sovereignty, independence and freedom on a basis of friendship with Russia. It was on this that I thought we had agreed at Yalta.

7. Side by side with this strong sentiment for the rights of Poland, which I believe is shared in at least as strong a degree throughout the United States, there has grown up throughout the English-speaking world a very warm and deep desire to be friends on equal and honourable terms with the mighty Russian Soviet Republic and to work with you, making allowances for our different systems of thought and government, in the long and bright years for all the world which we three Powers alone can make together. I, who in my years of great responsibility, have worked methodically for this unity, will certainly continue to do so by every means in my power, and in particular I can assure you that we in Great Britain would not work for or tolerate a Pol-

ish Government unfriendly to Russia. Neither could we recognise a Polish Government that did not truly correspond to the description in our joint declaration at Yalta with proper regard for the rights of the individual as we understand these matters in the Western world.

8. With regard to your reference to Greece and Belgium, I recognise the consideration which you gave me when we had to intervene with heavy armed forces to quell the E.A.M.-E.L.A.S. attack upon the centre of government in Athens.⁹⁸ We have given repeated instructions that your interest in Roumania and Bulgaria is to be recognised as predominant. We cannot however be excluded altogether, and we dislike being treated by your subordinates in these countries so differently from the kind manner in which we at the top are always treated by you. In Greece we seek nothing but her friendship, which is of long duration, and desire only her independence and integrity. But we have no intention of trying to decide whether she is to be a monarchy or a republic. Our only policy there is to restore matters to normal as quickly as possible and to hold fair and free elections, I hope within the next four or five months. These elections will decide the régime and later on the constitution. The will of the people expressed in conditions of freedom and universal franchise must prevail; that is our root principle. If the Greeks were to decide for a republic it would not affect our relations with them. We will use our influence with the Greek Government to invite Russian representatives to come and see freely what is going on in Greece, and at the elections I hope that there will be Russian, American and British Commissioners at large in the country to make sure that there is no intimidation or other frustration of freedom of choice of the people between the different parties who will be contending. After that our work in Greece may well be done.

9. As to Belgium we have no conditions to demand though naturally we should get disturbed if they started putting up V-weapons, etc., pointed at us, and we hope they will, under whatever form of government they adopt by popular decision, come into a general system of resistance to prevent Germany striking westward. Belgium, like Poland, is a theatre of war and corridor of communication, and everyone must recognise the force of these considerations, without which the great armies cannot operate.

10. As to your paragraph 3, it is quite true that about Poland we have reached a definite line of action with the Americans. This

is because we agree naturally upon the subject, and both sincerely feel we have been rather ill-treated about the way the matter has been handled since the Crimea Conference. No doubt these things seem different when looked at from the opposite point of view. But we are absolutely agreed that the pledge we have given for a sovereign, free, independent Poland with a government fully and adequately representing all democratic elements among the Poles, is for us a matter of honour and duty. I do not think there is the slightest chance of any change in the attitude of our two Powers, and when we are agreed we are bound to say so. After all, we have joined with you, largely on my original initiative early in 1944, in proclaiming the Polish-Russian frontier which you desired, namely the Curzon Line including Lvov for Russia. We think you ought to meet us with regard to the other half of the policy which you equally with us have proclaimed, namely the sovereignty, independence and freedom of Poland, provided it is a Poland friendly to Russia. Therefore, His Majesty's Government cannot accept a government on the Yugoslav precedent in which there would be four representatives of the present Warsaw Provisional Government to every one representing the other democratic elements. There ought to be a proper balance and a proper distribution of important posts in the government; this result should be reached as we agreed at the Crimea by discussing the matter with true representatives of all different Polish elements which are not fundamentally anti-Russian.

Also difficulties arise at the present moment because all sorts of stories are brought out of Poland which are eagerly listened to by many members of Parliament and which at any time may be violently raised in Parliament or the press in spite of my deprecating such action and on which M. Molotov will vouchsafe us no information at all in spite of repeated requests. For instance, there is talk of fifteen Poles who were said to have met the Russian authorities for discussion over four weeks ago, and of M. Witos about whom there has been a similar, but more recent report; and there are many other statements of deportations, etc. How can I contradict such complaints when you give me no information whatever and when neither I nor the Americans are allowed to send anyone into Poland to find out for themselves the true state of affairs? There is no part of our occupied or liberated territory into which you are not free to send delegations, and people do not see why you should have any reasons against similar

visits by British delegations to foreign countries liberated by you.

12. There is not much comfort in looking into a future where you and the countries you dominate, plus the Communist parties in many other States, are all drawn up on one side, and those who rally to the English-speaking nations and their Associates or Dominions are on the other. It is quite obvious that their quarrel would tear the world to pieces and that all of us leading men on either side who had anything to do with that would be shamed before history. Even embarking on a long period of suspicions, of abuse and counter-abuse and of opposing policies would be a disaster hampering the great developments of world prosperity for the masses which are attainable only by our trinity. I hope there is no word or phrase in this outpouring of my heart to you which unwittingly gives offence. If so, let me know. But do not, I beg you, my friend Stalin, underrate the divergencies which are opening about matters which you may think are small to us but which are symbolic of the way the English-speaking democracies look at life.

April 28th, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM MARSHAL STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your message of April 28 received.

I have nothing against your proposal for publishing, on behalf of the Four Powers, a declaration establishing the defeat and unconditional surrender of Germany, in the event of Germany being left without a normally functioning centralised authority.

The Soviet representative on the European Advisory Commission has been instructed to insert in the preamble to the declaration, the draft of which has been submitted by the British delegation, an amendment laying down the principle of unconditional surrender for the armed forces of Germany.

April 30, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

I have received your message of April 27 concerning the order of the occupation of Germany and Austria by the Red Army and the Anglo-American armed forces.

For my part I want to tell you that the Soviet Supreme Command has given instructions that whenever Soviet troops contact Allied troops the Soviet Command is immediately to get in touch with the Command of the U.S. or British troops, so that they, by agreement between themselves, (1) establish a temporary tactical demarcation line and (2) take steps to crush within the bounds of their temporary demarcation line all resistance by German troops.

May 2, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your messages of April 29 and 30 concerning the unconditional surrender by the Germans in Italy have reached me.

Thanks for the information. I have no objection to the announcement of the German surrender in Italy being made first by Field Marshal Alexander.

May 2, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr H. TRUMAN**

I received on April 28 your message expressing agreement with the Prime Minister, Mr W. Churchill, concerning the procedure of the occupation of Germany and Austria.

The Soviet Supreme Command has given instructions that whenever Soviet troops contact Allied troops the Soviet Com-

mand is immediately to get in touch with the Command of the U.S. or British troops, so that they, by agreement between themselves, (1) establish a temporary tactical demarcation line and (2) take steps to crush within the bounds of their temporary demarcation line all resistance by German troops.

May 2, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr H. TRUMAN**

Thank you for communicating to me the text of your message to the Prime Minister, Mr W. Churchill, concerning the German surrender in Italy. I have nothing against Field Marshal Alexander publishing the announcement of the surrender as proposed by you.

May 2, 1945

Sent on May 4, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr H. TRUMAN**

In view of your interest in the Polish question and because you are bound to be familiar with Mr Churchill's message to me on the subject, dated April 28, I think it proper to send you the full text of my reply to Mr Churchill, despatched on May 4.

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO PRIME MINISTER W. CHURCHILL**

I am in receipt of your message of April 28 on the Polish question.

I must say that I cannot accept the arguments put forward in support of your stand.

You are inclined to regard the proposal that the Yugoslav precedent be accepted as a model for Poland as renunciation of the procedure agreed between us for setting up a Polish Government of National Unity. I cannot agree with you. I think that the Yugoslav precedent is important first of all because it points the way to the most suitable and practical solution of the problem of forming a new United Government based on the governmental agency at present exercising state power in the country.

It is quite obvious that, unless the Provisional Government now functioning in Poland and enjoying the support and trust of a majority of the Polish people is taken as a basis for a future Government of National Unity, it will be impossible to count on successful fulfilment of the task set us by the Crimea Conference.

2. I cannot subscribe to that part of your considerations on Greece where you suggest three-Power control over the elections. Such control over the people of an allied country would of necessity be assessed as an affront and gross interference in their internal affairs. Such control is out of place in relation to former satellite countries which subsequently declared war on Germany and ranged themselves with the Allies, as demonstrated by electoral experience, for example, in Finland, where the election was held without outside interference and yielded positive results.

Your comments on Belgium and Poland as war theatres and communication corridors are perfectly justified. As regards Poland it is her being a neighbour of the Soviet Union that makes it essential for a future Polish Government to seek in practice friendly relations between Poland and the U.S.S.R., which is also in the interests of the other freedom-loving nations. This circumstance, too, speaks for the Yugoslav precedent. The United

Nations are interested in constant and durable friendship between the U.S.S.R. and Poland. Hence we cannot acquiesce in the attempts that are being made to involve in the forming of a future Polish Government people who, to quote you, "are not fundamentally anti-Russian," or to bar from participation only those who, in your view, are "extreme people unfriendly to Russia." Neither one nor the other can satisfy us. We insist, and shall continue to insist, that only people who have demonstrated by deeds their friendly attitude to the Soviet Union, who are willing honestly and sincerely to cooperate with the Soviet state, should be consulted on the formation of a future Polish Government.

3. I must deal specially with paragraph 11 of your message concerning the difficulties arising from rumours about the arrest of 15 Poles, about deportations, etc.

I am able to inform you that the group of Poles mentioned by you comprises 16, not 15, persons. The group is headed by the well-known General Okulicki. The British information services maintain a deliberate silence, in view of his particular odiousness, about this Polish General, who, along with the 15 other Poles, has "disappeared." But we have no intention of being silent about the matter. This group of 16, led by General Okulicki, has been arrested by the military authorities of the Soviet front and is undergoing investigation in Moscow. General Okulicki's group, in the first place General Okulicki himself, is charged with preparing and carrying out subversive activities behind the lines of the Red Army, subversion which has taken a toll of over a hundred Red Army soldiers and officers; the group is also charged with keeping illegal radio-transmitters in the rear of our troops, which is prohibited by law. All, or part of them—depending on the outcome of the investigation—will be tried. That is how the Red Army is forced to protect its units and its rear lines against saboteurs and those who create disorder.

The British information services are spreading rumours about the murder or shooting of Poles in Siedlce. The report is a fabrication from beginning to end and has, apparently, been concocted by Arciszewski's agents.

4. It appears from your message that you are unwilling to consider the Polish Provisional Government as a basis for a future Government of National Unity, or to accord it the place in that Government to which it is entitled. I must say frankly that this attitude precludes the possibility of an agreed decision on the Polish question.

May 4, 1945

PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr. W. CHURCHILL

I am in receipt of your message of April 28 on the Polish question.

I must say that I cannot accept the arguments put forward in support of your stand.

You are inclined to regard the proposal that the Yugoslav precedent be accepted as a model for Poland as renunciation of the procedure agreed between us for setting up a Polish Government of National Unity. I cannot agree with you. I think that the Yugoslav precedent is important first of all because it points the way to the most suitable and practical solution of the problem of forming a new United Government based on the governmental agency at present exercising state power in the country.

It is quite obvious that, unless the Provisional Government now functioning in Poland and enjoying the support and trust of a majority of the Polish people is taken as a basis for a future Government of National Unity, it will be impossible to count on successful fulfilment of the task set by the Crimea Conference.

2. I cannot subscribe to that part of your considerations on Greece where you suggest three-Power control over the elections. Such control over the people of an allied country would of necessity be assessed as an affront and gross interference in their internal affairs. Such control is out of place in relation to former

satellite countries which subsequently declared war on Germany and ranged themselves with the Allies, as demonstrated by electoral experience, for example, in Finland, where the election was held without outside interference and yielded positive results.

Your comments on Belgium and Poland as war theatres and communication corridors are perfectly justified. As regards Poland, it is her being a neighbour of the Soviet Union that makes it essential for a future Polish Government to seek in practice friendly relations between Poland and the U.S.S.R., which is also in the interests of the other freedom-loving nations. This circumstance, too, speaks for the Yugoslav precedent. The United Nations are interested in constant and durable friendship between the U.S.S.R. and Poland. Hence we cannot acquiesce in the attempts that are being made to involve in the forming of a future Polish Government people who, to quote you, "are not fundamentally anti-Russian," or to bar from participation only those who, in your view, are "extreme people unfriendly to Russia." Neither one nor the other can satisfy us. We insist, and shall continue to insist, that only people who have demonstrated by deeds their friendly attitude to the Soviet Union, who are willing honestly and sincerely to cooperate with the Soviet state, should be consulted on the formation of a future Polish Government.

3. I must deal specially with paragraph 11 of your message concerning the difficulties arising from rumours about the arrest of 15 Poles, about deportations, etc.

I am able to inform you that the group of Poles mentioned by you comprises 16, not 15, persons. The group is headed by the well-known General Okulicki. The British information services maintain a deliberate silence, in view of his particular odiousness, about this Polish General, who, along with the 15 other Poles, has "disappeared." But we have no intention of being silent about the matter. This group of 16, led by General Okulicki, has been arrested by the military authorities of the Soviet front and is undergoing investigation in Moscow. General Okulicki's group, in the first place General Okulicki himself, is charged with preparing and carrying out subversive activities behind the lines of the Red Army, subversion which has taken a toll of over a hundred Red Army soldiers and officers; the group is also charged with keeping illegal radio-transmitters in the rear

of our troops, which is prohibited by law. All, or part of them—depending on the outcome of the investigation—will be tried. That is how the Red Army is forced to protect its units and its rear-lines against saboteurs and those who create disorder.

The British information services are spreading rumours about the murder or shooting of Poles in Siedlce. The report is a fabrication from beginning to end and has, apparently, been concocted by Arciszewski's agents.

4. It appears from your message that you are unwilling to consider the Polish Provisional Government as a basis for a future Government of National Unity, or to accord it the place in that Government to which it is entitled. I must say frankly that this attitude precludes the possibility of an agreed decision on the Polish question.

May 4, 1945

PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE

FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.A., Mr H. TRUMAN

Your message about announcing V.-E. Day reached me on May 5.

I agree with your proposal for the three of us—you, Mr Churchill and myself—simultaneously making an appropriate statement. Mr. Churchill suggests 3 p.m. British Double Summer Time, which corresponds to 4 p.m. Moscow Time and 9 a.m. Washington Time. I have notified Mr Churchill that this hour suits the U.S.S.R.

May 6, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER OF GREAT BRITAIN,
Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your message of May 5 about the time of announcing V.-E. Day reached me on May 6.

I agree to your proposal for 3 p.m. British Double Summer Time, which corresponds to 4 p.m. Moscow Time. I have also notified Mr Truman about this.

May 6, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM MARSHAL J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

I have received your messages of May 7 regarding the announcement of Germany's surrender.

The Supreme Command of the Red Army is not sure that the order of the German High Command on unconditional surrender will be executed by the German armies on the Eastern Front. We fear, therefore, that if the Government of the U.S.S.R. announces today the surrender of Germany we may find ourselves in an awkward position and mislead the Soviet public. It should be borne in mind that the German resistance on the Eastern Front is not slackening but, judging by intercepted radio messages, a considerable grouping of German troops have explicitly declared their intention to continue the resistance and to disobey Dönitz's surrender order.

For this reason the Command of the Soviet troops would like to wait until the German surrender takes effect and to postpone the Governments' announcement of the surrender till May 9, 7 p.m. Moscow Time.

May 7, 1945

**SECRET AND PERSONAL MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr TRUMAN**

I am in receipt of your message of May 7 about announcing Germany's surrender.

The Supreme Command of the Red Army is not sure that the order of the German High Command on unconditional surrender will be executed by the German armies on the Eastern Front. We fear, therefore, that if the Government of the U.S.S.R. announces today the surrender of Germany we may find ourselves in an awkward position and mislead the Soviet public. It should be borne in mind that the German resistance on the Eastern Front is not slackening but, judging by intercepted radio messages, a considerable grouping of German troops have explicitly declared their intention to continue the resistance and to disobey Dönitz's surrender order.

For this reason the Command of the Soviet troops would like to wait until the German surrender takes effect and to postpone the Governments' announcement of the surrender till May 9, 7 p.m. Moscow Time.

May 7, 1945

May 9, 1945

**MESSAGE FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr TRUMAN**

I thank you with all my heart for your friendly congratulations on the unconditional surrender of Hitler Germany. The peoples of the Soviet Union greatly appreciate the part played by the friendly American people in this liberation war. The joint effort of the Soviet, U.S. and British Armed Forces against the German invaders, which has culminated in the latter's complete rout and defeat, will go down in history as a model military alliance between our peoples.

On behalf of the Soviet people and Government I beg you to convey my warmest greetings and congratulations on the occasion of this great victory to the American people and the gallant U.S. Armed Forces.

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr H. TRUMAN**

Your message of May 5 on the subject of Poland received.

On the previous day I sent you the text of my reply to Mr Churchill's message of April 28 on the same subject. I hope you have received that text.

I think, therefore, that I need not return to the matter. I should merely like to add this:

I have a feeling that you are unwilling to consider the Polish Provisional Government as a basis for the future Government of National Unity and object to the Polish Provisional Government occupying in that Government the place to which it is entitled. I am obliged to say that this attitude rules out an agreed decision on the Polish question.

May 10, 1945

**FROM J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

**MESSAGE TO THE ARMED FORCES
AND PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN
FROM THE PEOPLES OF THE SOVIET UNION**

I salute you, the gallant British Armed Forces and people of Britain, and cordially congratulate you on the great victory over our common enemy, German imperialism. This historic victory has crowned the joint struggle waged by the Soviet, British and United States armies for the liberation of Europe.

I express confidence in continued successful and happy development in the post-war period of the friendly relations that have taken shape between our countries during the war.

I have instructed our Ambassador in London to convey to all of you my congratulations on the victory and my best wishes.

May 10, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr H. TRUMAN**

Your message of May 17 about the visit of U.S. and Allied military representatives to Vienna received. Actually I had agreed in principle to their coming but, of course, I had done so on the understanding that by the time they arrived proper agreement would have been reached as to the occupation zones of Austria and the zones themselves determined by the European Advisory Commission. As agreed between Mr Churchill, President Roosevelt and myself, these matters are wholly under the jurisdiction of the European Advisory Commission. That is still my point of view. Hence we could not agree to the point about the occupation zones and other points concerning Austria being referred to Vienna for consideration.

I have no objection, however, to U.S. and Allied representatives going to Vienna to see for themselves the condition of the city and to draft proposals for its occupation zones. Marshal Tolbukhin will be instructed accordingly. The understanding is that the U.S. military representatives should come to Vienna at the end of May or the beginning of June, when Marshal Tolbukhin, now en route to Moscow, returns.

May 18, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

I am in receipt of your message of May 17 concerning the arrival of British representatives in Vienna in connection with establishing the occupation zones there.

The Soviet Government considers that the establishment of occupation zones in Vienna, as well as the examination of other matters relating to the situation in Austria, are wholly under the jurisdiction of the European Advisory Commission, as agreed between you, President Roosevelt and myself. Hence the Soviet Government could not agree to Allied military representatives

coming to Vienna to establish occupation zones and settle other issues bearing on the situation in Austria. That is still our point of view. Judging from your message of May 17, you, too, do not find it possible to transfer settlement of the zone issue to Vienna. And since our views on the matter are identical, it can be anticipated that the issue of occupation zones in Austria and in Vienna will be settled by the European Advisory Commission in the near future.

As regards the visit of British representatives to Vienna to acquaint themselves with the condition of the city on the spot and to draft proposals for the occupation zones in Vienna, the Soviet Government has no objection to the visit. Accordingly, we are giving appropriate directions to Marshal Tolbukhin simultaneously with this. The British military representatives could arrive in Vienna towards the end of May or early June, when Marshal Tolbukhin, now on his way to Moscow, returns to Vienna.

May 18, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr H. TRUMAN**

I have received your message about the arrival of Mr Hopkins and Ambassador Harriman in Moscow by May 26. I readily agree to your suggestion for a meeting with Mr Hopkins and Ambassador Harriman. May 26 suits me perfectly.

May 20, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Although your information message of May 15 did not call for reply, I think it proper to send you the text of the message I sent to President Truman in reply to his on the Yugoslav question.

May 22, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr H. TRUMAN**

Your message on the Istria-Trieste area reached me on May 21. A little earlier I received from you, through Mr Kennan, the text of a message on the same subject⁹⁷ transmitted by the U.S. Ambassador in Belgrade to the Yugoslav Government. Thank you for the information.

My views on the substance of the matter are as follows.

I think you are quite correct in saying that the matter is one of principle and that in relation to the Istria-Trieste territory no action should be permitted that does not take full account of Yugoslavia's rightful claims and of the contribution made by the Yugoslav armed forces to the common Allied cause in fighting against Hitler Germany. It goes without saying that the future of that territory, the population of which is mostly Yugoslav, will have to be determined at the peace settlement. However, the point at issue at the moment is its temporary military occupation. In this respect account should be taken, I believe, of the fact that it was the allied Yugoslav troops who drove the German invaders out of the Istria-Trieste territory, thereby rendering an important service to the common Allied cause. By virtue of this circumstance alone, it would be unfair and would be a gratuitous insult to the Yugoslav Army and people to deny Yugoslavia the right to occupy a territory won from the enemy, after their great sacrifice in the struggle for the national rights of Yugoslavia and for the common cause of the United Nations.

The right solution of this problem, in my view, would be for the Yugoslav troops and administration now functioning in the Istria-Trieste area to stay there. At the same time the area should be placed under the control of the Allied Supreme Commander and a demarcation line established by mutual agreement between Field Marshal Alexander and Marshal Tito. If these proposals were accepted the problem of administration in the Istria-Trieste area would likewise find the right solution.

And since Yugoslavs are a majority in the territory and even during the German occupation a local Yugoslav administration, now enjoying the trust of the local population, began to function there, these things should be taken into account. The problem of administrative government of the territory could be

properly solved by subordinating the existing Yugoslav civil administration to the Yugoslav Military Command.

I do hope that the misunderstandings over the status of the Istria-Trieste region, which have arisen between the U.S. and British Governments, on the one hand, and the Yugoslav Government, on the other, will be removed and a happy solution found.

May 22, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr. W. CHURCHILL**

According to information at the disposal of the Soviet Military and Naval Commands, Germany, in keeping with the instrument of surrender, has delivered her navy and merchant marine to the British and Americans. I must inform you that the Germans have refused to surrender a single warship or merchant vessel to the Soviet armed forces, and have sent the whole of their navy and merchant marine to be handed over to the Anglo-American armed forces.

In these circumstances the question naturally arises of assigning the Soviet Union its share of German warships and merchant vessels, as was done with regard to Italy. The Soviet Government holds that it can with good reason and in all fairness count on a minimum of one-third of Germany's navy and merchant marine. In addition I think it necessary for the naval representatives of the U.S.S.R. to be enabled to acquaint themselves with all the materials pertaining to the surrender of Germany's navy and merchant marine, and with their actual condition.

The Soviet Naval Command has appointed Admiral Levchenko and a group of assistants to take care of the matter.

I am sending a similar message to President Truman.

May 23, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr. TRUMAN**

According to information at the disposal of the Soviet Military and Naval Commands, Germany, in keeping with the instrument of surrender, has delivered her navy and merchant marine to the British and Americans. I must inform you that the Germans have refused to surrender a single warship or merchant vessel to the Soviet armed forces, and have sent the whole of their navy and merchant marine to be handed over to the Anglo-American armed forces.

In these circumstances the question naturally arises of assigning the Soviet Union its share of German warships and merchant vessels, as was done with regard to Italy. The Soviet Government holds that it can with good reason and in all fairness count on a minimum of one-third of Germany's navy and merchant marine. In addition I think it necessary for the naval representatives of the U.S.S.R. to be enabled to acquaint themselves with all the materials pertaining to the surrender of Germany's navy and merchant marine, and with their actual condition.

The Soviet Naval Command has appointed Admiral Levchenko and a group of assistants to take care of the matter.

I am sending a similar message to Prime Minister Churchill.

May 23, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr. W. CHURCHILL**

Mr. Hopkins, who has arrived in Moscow, on behalf of the President has suggested a meeting between the three of us in the immediate future. I think that a meeting is called for and that the most convenient place would be the vicinity of Berlin. That would probably be right politically as well.

Have you any objections?

May 27, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr H. TRUMAN**

More than eight months have passed since Roumania and Bulgaria broke off relations with Hitler Germany, signed an armistice with the Allied countries and entered the war on the Allied side, against Germany, assigning their armed forces for the purpose. They thereby contributed to the defeat of Hitlerism and to the victorious conclusion of the war in Europe. The Governments of Bulgaria and Roumania have during this time demonstrated by deeds their readiness to cooperate with the United Nations. Consequently the Soviet Government deems it proper and timely right away to resume diplomatic relations with Roumania and Bulgaria and exchange envoys with them.

The Soviet Government also considers it advisable to resume diplomatic relations with Finland, which, fulfilling the terms of the armistice agreement, is now taking the democratic way. I think it will be possible a little later to adopt a similar decision with regard to Hungary.

I am simultaneously sending a similar message to Mr W. Churchill.

May 27, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

More than eight months ago Roumania and Bulgaria broke with Hitler Germany, signed an armistice with the Allied countries and entered the war on the side of the Allies against Germany, assigning their armed forces. They thereby contributed to the defeat of Hitlerism and facilitated the victorious conclusion of the war in Europe. In view of this the Soviet Government deems it timely to resume diplomatic relations right now and exchange Ministers with the Roumanian and Bulgarian Governments.

The Soviet Government also considers it advisable to resume diplomatic relations with Finland, which, fulfilling the terms of the armistice agreement, is now taking the democratic way. I think that it will be possible a little later to adopt a similar decision with regard to Hungary.

I am sending a similar message to the President.

May 27, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr H. TRUMAN**

Mr Hopkins conveyed to me today your proposal for a tripartite meeting. I have no objection to the date—July 15—suggested by you.

May 30, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your message of May 29 to hand.

A few hours after it arrived Mr Hopkins called and informed me that President Truman thought July 15 would be the most convenient date for the meeting of the three of us. If it suits you I have no objections.

Best wishes.

May 30, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr. H. TRUMAN**

Your message of June 2 received.

I have already written to you that I agree to July 15 as a perfectly suitable date for the tripartite meeting.

June 3, 1945

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr. W. CHURCHILL**

With reference to your message on the desirability of fixing the meeting of the three of us for an earlier date than July 15 I should like to tell you again that July 15 was suggested by President Truman and that I have agreed. In view of the correspondence now being exchanged between you and the President on the matter, I refrain from suggesting a new date for our meeting.

June 5, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr. H. TRUMAN**

Thank you for your second message about the Istria-Trieste area. I have also read Mr. Harriman's Note setting forth the proposals of the U.S. and British Governments to the Government of Yugoslavia for a settlement.

I gather from your communication that agreement has been reached in principle between the U.S. and British Governments, on the one hand, and the Yugoslav Government, on the other, concerning the establishment in the Trieste-Istria territory of an Allied Military Administration under the Allied Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean. I think, however, that a complete

Sent on February 18, 1942

J. V. STALIN TO F. ROOSEVELT

I have received your message about U.S. arms deliveries in January and February. I stress that it is now, when the peoples of the Soviet Union and their Army are bending their energies to throw the Hitler troops back by a tenacious offensive, that U.S. deliveries, including tanks and aircraft, are essential for our common cause and our further success.

Sent on February 18, 1942

J. V. STALIN TO F. ROOSEVELT

This is to acknowledge receipt of yours of February 13. I should like first of all to point out that I share your conviction that the efforts of the new U.S. Ambassador to Moscow, Admiral Standley, whom you hold in such high esteem, to bring our two countries still closer together, will be crowned with success.

Your decision, Mr. President, to grant the Government of the U.S.S.R. another \$1,000,000,000 under the Lend-Lease Act⁴ on the same terms as the first \$1,000,000,000, is accepted by the Soviet Government with sincere gratitude. With reference to the matter raised by you I would like to say that, in order not to delay decision, the Soviet Government will not at the moment raise the matter of revising the terms for the second \$1,000,000,000 to be granted to the Soviet Union nor call for taking due account of the extreme strain placed on the U.S.S.R. by the war against our common foe. At the same time I fully agree with you and hope that later we shall jointly fix the moment when it will be mutually desirable to revise the financial agreements now being concluded, in order to take special account of the circumstances pointed out above.

played an active part in the defeat of Hitler Germany, were to be placed in a less favourable position compared with Finland.

As regards political régimes, the opportunities for the democratic elements in Roumania and Bulgaria are not less than, say, in Italy, with which the Governments of the United States and the Soviet Union have already resumed diplomatic relations. On the other hand, one cannot but notice that in recent times political development in Roumania and Bulgaria has pursued a tranquil course, and I see no signs that could give grounds for disquiet over the future development of democratic principles in these countries. And so, as I see it, there is no need for special Allied measures as far as these countries are concerned.

Hence the Soviet Government holds that resumption of diplomatic relations with Roumania, Bulgaria and Finland should not be delayed any longer and that the question of Hungary might be considered somewhat later.

June 9, 1945

Sent on June 11, 1945

TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr H. TRUMAN

The White House, Washington

On the third anniversary of the Soviet-American Agreement on the Principles Applying to Mutual Aid in the Prosecution of the War against Aggression, I beg you and the Government of the United States of America to accept this expression of gratitude on behalf of the Soviet Government and myself.

The Agreement, under which the United States of America throughout the war in Europe supplied the Soviet Union, by way of lend-lease, with munitions, strategic materials and food, played an important role and to a considerable degree contributed to the successful conclusion of the war against the common foe—Hitler Germany.

I feel entirely confident that the friendly links between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, strengthened in the course of their joint effort, will continue to develop for the benefit of our peoples and in the interests of durable cooperation between all freedom-loving nations.

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Thank you for yours of June 10 about resuming diplomatic relations with Roumania, Bulgaria and Finland, as well as Hungary. I note that you will shortly let me have your proposals on the point. I still think that resumption of diplomatic relations with Roumania and Bulgaria, who together with Soviet troops helped defeat Hitler Germany, should not be delayed any longer. Nor is there any reason to defer resumption of diplomatic relations with Finland, which is fulfilling the armistice terms. As to Hungary, this can be done somewhat later.

June 14, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Yours of June 15 to hand. Agree with "Terminal."

June 15, 1945

**PERSONAL AND MOST SECRET
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr H. TRUMAN**

I am in receipt of your message about preparations for a Soviet-Chinese agreement and your instructions to Mr Hurley. Thank you for the steps you have taken.

June 15, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr H. TRUMAN**

Your message about the withdrawal of Allied troops in Germany and Austria into their respective zones received.

Regretfully I must tell you that your proposal for beginning the withdrawal of U.S. troops into their zone and moving U.S. troops into Berlin on June 21 is meeting with difficulties, for Marshal Zhukov and other military commanders have been summoned to the Supreme Soviet session which opens in Moscow on June 19, and also to arrange and take part in a parade on June 24. Moreover, some of the districts of Berlin have not yet been cleared of mines, nor can the mine-clearing operations be finished until late June. Since Marshal Zhukov and the other Soviet military commanders will not be able to return to Germany before June 28-30, I should like the beginning of the withdrawal to be put off till July 1, when the commanders will be back at their posts and the mine-clearing finished.

As regards Austria, what I have said about summoning the Soviet commanders to Moscow and the time of their return to their posts applies to that country as well. It is essential, furthermore, that in the next few days the European Advisory Commission should complete its work on establishing the occupation zones in Austria and in Vienna. In view of the foregoing the stationing of the respective forces in the zones assigned to them in Austria should likewise be postponed till July 1.

Besides, in respect of both Germany and Austria we must establish occupation zones right away for the French troops.

We for our part shall take proper steps in Germany and Austria according to the plan set out above.

June 16, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

I have received your message about the withdrawal of Allied forces into their respective zones in Germany¹⁰⁰ and Austria.

I must say regretfully that difficulties have arisen in the matter of beginning the withdrawal of British and U.S. troops into their zones and the moving of British and U.S. troops into Berlin¹⁰¹ on June 21, as Marshal Zhukov and other military commanders have been summoned to the Supreme Soviet session which opens in Moscow on June 19, and to arrange a parade and take part in it on June 24. They will not be able to return to Berlin until June 28-30. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that mine-clearing operations in Berlin are not yet complete and are not likely to be so before the end of the month.

With regard to Austria I must repeat what I have said about calling the Soviet commanders to Moscow and about the time of their return. It is necessary, furthermore, that in the next few days the European Advisory Commission should complete its work on establishing the occupation zones in Austria and in Vienna, which has yet to be done.

In view of the foregoing I suggest that we put off the beginning of the withdrawal of the respective troops and the placing of them in their zones both in Germany and in Austria till July 1.

Besides, in respect of both Germany and Austria we should even now establish occupation zones for the French troops.

We shall take proper steps in Germany and Austria in keeping with the plan set out above.

I have written about this to President Truman as well.

June 17, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Yours of June 14 to hand.

I fully appreciate the motives which make you think it necessary to include Mr Attlee in the British delegation.

June 18, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr. W. CHURCHILL**

I am in receipt of your message of June 17.

The delegations will be accommodated as anticipated in your message and as was done in the Crimea. Each delegation will have its own enclave with regulations in accordance with the wishes of the head of the delegation. All three delegations will be accommodated in the Babelsberg district, south-east of Potsdam. The Crown Prince's palace in Potsdam, a fourth building, will be used for joint meetings.

2. Marshal Zhukov will arrive in Berlin on June 28. By that date the advance groups of Montgomery and Eisenhower should be on the spot to inspect and take over the Babelsberg premises. The Montgomery and Eisenhower groups will get all the information and explanations they need concerning the premises from General Kruglov, whom your people know from Yalta.

3. There is a good air field in Kladow, not far from where the delegations will stay, and landings can be made there.

June 18, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr. W. CHURCHILL**

Although the Yugoslav Government has accepted the U.S. and British Governments' proposal concerning the Istria-Trieste area, the Trieste negotiations seem to be deadlocked. The main reason is that the representatives of the Allied Command in the Mediterranean refuse to entertain even the minimum wishes of the Yugoslavs, to whom credit is due for liberating the area from the German invaders, an area, moreover, where the Yugoslav population predominates. This situation cannot be considered satisfactory from the Allied point of view.

Being loth to aggravate relations, I have so far in my correspondence refrained from mentioning the conduct of Field Marshal Alexander, but now I must stress that in the course of the

negotiations the haughty tone to which Field Marshal Alexander sometimes resorts in relation to the Yugoslavs is inadmissible. It is simply intolerable that Field Marshal Alexander has, in an official public address, permitted himself to compare Marshal Tito with Hitler and Mussolini. That is unfair and insulting to Yugoslavia.

The Soviet Government was also surprised by the peremptory tone of the statement which the Anglo-American representatives made to the Yugoslav Government on June 2. How can one expect to get lasting and positive results by using such methods?

The foregoing compels me to draw your attention to the situation. I still hope that as far as Trieste-Istria is concerned, the Yugoslavs' rightful interests will be respected, particularly in view of the fact that on the main point the Yugoslavs have met the Allies half-way.

June 21, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr. H. TRUMAN**

Although the Yugoslav Government has accepted the U.S. and British Governments' proposal concerning the Istria-Trieste area, the Trieste negotiations seem to be deadlocked. The main reason is that the representatives of the Allied Command in the Mediterranean refuse to entertain even the minimum wishes of the Yugoslavs, to whom credit is due for liberating the area from the German invaders, an area, moreover, where the Yugoslav population predominates. This situation cannot be considered satisfactory from the Allied point of view.

Being loath to aggravate relations, I have so far in my correspondence refrained from mentioning the conduct of Field Marshal Alexander, but now I must stress that in the course of the negotiations the haughty tone to which Field Marshal Alexander sometimes resorts in relation to the Yugoslavs is inadmissible. It is simply intolerable that Field Marshal Alexander has, in an official public address, permitted himself to compare Marshal Tito with Hitler and Mussolini. That is unfair and insulting to Yugoslavia.

The Soviet Government was also surprised by the peremptory tone of the statement which the Anglo-American representatives made to the Yugoslav Government on June 2. How can one expect to get lasting and positive results by using such methods?

The foregoing compels me to draw your attention to the situation. I still hope that as far as Trieste-Istria is concerned, the Yugoslavs' rightful interests will be respected, particularly in view of the fact that on the main point the Yugoslavs have met the Allies half-way.

June 21, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr H. TRUMAN**

I am in receipt of your message of June 19 about resuming diplomatic relations with Roumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland.

I see that you are still studying the matter. As for me I maintain as heretofore that there is no justification for further delay in resuming diplomatic relations with Roumania and Bulgaria.

June 23, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your message of June 22 about the King visiting Berlin, and your previous message on the same subject, have reached me.

My plan did not envisage a meeting with the King, it had in view the conference of the three of us, on which you, the President and myself had exchanged messages earlier. However, if you think it necessary that I should meet the King, I have no objection to your plan.

June 23, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

I accept the proposal contained in your message of June 23.

June 27, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO PRESIDENT H. TRUMAN**

Your message of June 26 concerning Trieste-Istria and Yugoslavia to hand.

In this matter there are of course points that warrant joint discussion by us. I am prepared to discuss them when we meet in Germany.

July 6, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your message on Trieste-Istria and Yugoslavia received.

I have nothing against discussing this matter at the forthcoming meeting in Germany.

July 6, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr W. CHURCHILL**

Your message of July 4 received.

I agree with you about warning the press that its representatives will not be admitted to "Terminal."

July 6, 1945

PERSONAL AND SECRET

FROM GENERALISSIMO J. V. STALIN
TO Mr C. ATTLEE

I received your message on July 27. I have no objection to your proposal for holding our conference on Saturday, July 28, at any hour you like.

July 27, 1945

TO Mr HARRY S. TRUMAN,
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Berlin

My dear Mr President,

Your Memorandum of July 27 about German coal, and the copy of your instructions to Gen. Eisenhower, have reached me.

The important matter of using German coal to meet European requirements, raised in your Memorandum, will be duly studied. The Government of the United States of America will be informed of the Soviet Government's view on the subject.

I must say, however, that care should be taken to ensure that the measures for exporting the coal do not give rise to disturbances of any kind in Germany, to which you draw attention in your instructions to Gen. Eisenhower, and I think this is quite feasible and essential from the standpoint of the interests of the Allied countries.

J. STALIN

Berlin, July 29, 1945

TO Mr HARRY S. TRUMAN,
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Berlin

My dear Mr President,

I have received your message of July 20 about diverting the route of U.S. and Soviet traffic from Tehran to Berlin.

The Soviet Government takes a favourable view of your proposal. The appropriate Soviet authorities have been instructed to discuss with U.S. representatives the technical problems arising out of the proposal.

Berlin, July 29, 1945

J. STALIN

TO Mr HARRY S. TRUMAN,
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Berlin

My dear Mr President,

Thank you for your letter of July 30. I feel better today, and expect to be able to attend the Conference tomorrow, July 31.

Very sincerely yours,

Berlin, July 30, 1945

J. STALIN

TO Mr HARRY S. TRUMAN,
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Berlin

My dear Mr President,

Thank you for sending me your portrait. I shall not fail to send you mine the moment I return to Moscow.

Sincerely yours,

Berlin, July 30, 1945

J. STALIN

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr C. ATTLEE**

Your letter of August 1 received. I have nothing against the British Ambassador in Moscow discussing with V. M. Molotov the question of the Soviet citizens who married British subjects during the war leaving for Great Britain.

August 7, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM GENERALISSIMO J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
Mr H. TRUMAN**

I have received your message of August 12 about designating General of the Army Douglas MacArthur Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers to accept, coordinate and carry into effect the general surrender of the Japanese Armed Forces.

The Soviet Government accepts your proposal and is in agreement with the procedure suggested by you which provides that General MacArthur shall issue to the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters instructions concerning unconditional surrender of the Japanese troops to the Soviet High Commander in the Far East as well. Lieutenant-General Derevyanko has been appointed the representative of the Soviet Military High Command, and has received appropriate directions.

August 12, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, H. TRUMAN**

Your message enclosing General Order Number 1 received. I have nothing against the substance of the order. It is understood that the Liaotung Peninsula is an integral part of Manchuria. However, I suggest amending General Order Number 1 as follows:

1. To include in the area to be surrendered by the Japanese armed forces to the Soviet troops all the Kurile Islands which, according to the three-Power decision taken in the Crimea, are to pass into the possession of the Soviet Union.

2. To include in the area to be surrendered by the Japanese armed forces to Soviet troops the northern half of the Island of Hokkaido adjoining in the north La Perouse Strait, which lies between Karafuto and Hokkaido. To draw the demarcation line between the northern and southern halves of Hokkaido along a line running from the town of Kushiro on the east coast of the island to the town of Rumoe on the west coast of the island, including the said towns in the northern half of the island.

This last point is of special importance to Russian public opinion. As is known, in 1919-21 the Japanese occupied the whole of the Soviet Far East. Russian public opinion would be gravely offended if the Russian troops had no occupation area in any part of the territory of Japan proper.

I am most anxious that the modest suggestions set forth above should not meet with any objections.

August 16, 1945

**FROM GENERALISSIMO J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr ATTLEE**

I thank you for your friendly greetings and congratulations on the victory over Japan and in turn congratulate you on the victory. The war against Germany and Japan and our common aims in the struggle against the aggressors have brought the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom closer and have promoted our cooperation, which for many years to come will be based on the treaty of alliance between us.

I am confident that this cooperation, tried in war and in the perils of war, will develop and grow stronger for the benefit of our peoples in the post-war as well.

August 20, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr H. TRUMAN**

Your message of August 18 to hand.

I understand your message to imply refusal to accede to the Soviet Union's request that the northern half of Hokkaido be included in the area of surrender of Japanese armed forces to Soviet troops. I must say that I and my colleagues had not anticipated that such would be your reply.

2. As regards your demand for a permanent air base on one of the Kurile Islands, which, in keeping with the three-Power decision taken in the Crimea, are to pass into the possession of the Soviet Union, I consider it my duty to say the following. First, I must point out that no such measure was envisaged by the tripartite decision either in the Crimea or at Berlin, nor does it in any way follow from the decisions adopted there. Second, demands of this kind are usually laid either before a vanquished country or before an allied country that is unable to defend a particular part of its territory and expresses, therefore, readiness to grant its ally an appropriate base. I do not think the Soviet Union can be classed in either category. Third, since your mes-

sage furnishes no reasons for the demand that a permanent base be granted, I must tell you in all frankness that neither I nor my colleagues understand the circumstances in which this claim on the Soviet Union could have been conceived.

August 22, 1945

Sent on September 24, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET MESSAGE
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr ATTLEE**

Your message on the differences over the Council of Ministers has reached me.

V. M. Molotov's stand on this issue derives from the necessity of faithfully carrying out the Berlin Conference decision, clearly formulated in paragraph 3 (b) of the decision on the Council of Ministers. The Council of Ministers decision of September 11 runs counter to the Berlin Conference decision mentioned above and is, therefore, unacceptable.

The point, then, is not Council of Ministers procedure, but whether the Council of Foreign Ministers has the right to revoke this or that provision of the Berlin Conference decisions. I think we shall depreciate the Berlin Conference decisions if we for a single moment grant the Council of Foreign Ministers the right to revoke them.

I do not think that rectification of the error committed—a rectification designed to reaffirm the decisions of the Berlin Conference, on which V. M. Molotov insists—can give rise to a negative attitude to the Conference or to the Council of Ministers, or offend anyone.

**PERSONAL AND SECRET
FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr TRUMAN**

I am in receipt of your message of August 27. I am glad that the misunderstandings that had crept into our correspondence have been dispelled. While not in the least offended by your proposal, I was taken aback by it, for, as is now plain, I had misunderstood you.

Of course, I agree to your suggestion for granting the United States the right to land on our air fields on one of the Kuriles in emergency cases during the period of occupation of Japan.

I am also in agreement with commercial aircraft being granted landing facilities on a Soviet air field on one of the Kuriles. In this matter the Soviet Government counts on U.S. reciprocity with regard to the right of Soviet commercial planes to land on a U.S. air field on one of the Aleutians. The fact is that the present air route from Siberia to the United States via Canada is not satisfactory on account of its great length. We prefer to have a shorter route between the Kuriles and Seattle by way of the Aleutians as an intermediate point.

August 30, 1945

**TO THE PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, Mr TRUMAN**

On the day of the signing of the instrument of surrender by Japan allow me to congratulate you, the Government of the United States of America and the American people on the great victory over Japan.

I salute the Armed Forces of the United States of America on the occasion of their brilliant victory.

J. STALIN

September 2, 1945

Sent on September 23, 1945

**FROM GENERALISSIMO J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.A., Mr TRUMAN**

Your message received.

I have made inquiries of Molotov but so far have not received a reply. After studying the matter I have arrived at the conclusion that if it is a question of France and China taking part in a Balkans settlement, then, in conformity with the exact meaning of the Berlin Conference decision, the two countries should not be invited to attend.

Sent on September 23, 1945

**FROM GENERALISSIMO J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr H. TRUMAN**

Your second message about the Council of Ministers has reached me.

Today I have received V. M. Molotov's reply, which says that he adheres to the Berlin Conference resolution and considers that that resolution should not be violated. For my part I must stress that at the Berlin Conference we neither resolved nor agreed that members of the Council who had not signed the surrender terms could participate in discussions but not vote. I think that Molotov's stand in the sense of strict adherence to the Berlin Conference decision cannot make a bad impression or offend anyone.

**PERSONAL AND SECRET
FROM GENERALISSIMO J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.A., Mr TRUMAN**

On October 24 Mr Harriman handed me your message. I had two talks with him on matters discussed at the Foreign Ministers' conference in London. In the course of the talks I replied to all the questions which he, on your directions, raised with me.

October 26, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET
FROM GENERALISSIMO J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.A., Mr H. TRUMAN**

I have received your message concerning the withdrawal of U.S. and Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia. I am sorry to say delivery was delayed because of the irregular functioning of the airline between Moscow and Sochi due to weather conditions.

I welcome your proposal for withdrawing the troops in November, all the more as it is in full accord with the Soviet plan for demobilisation and withdrawal of troops. Consequently we may consider that the withdrawal of Soviet and U.S. troops from Czechoslovakia will be completed by December 1.

November 7, 1945

**PERSONAL AND SECRET
FROM GENERALISSIMO J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr C. ATTLEE**

I am in receipt of your message about the meeting with President Truman. Thank you for the communication.

November 8, 1945

Sent on November 15, 1945

**FROM GENERALISSIMO J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRIME MINISTER OF GREAT BRITAIN,
Mr C. ATTLEE**

Thank you for your congratulations on the 28th anniversary of the founding of the Soviet State.

**SECRET AND PERSONAL FROM PREMIER J. V. STALIN
TO THE PRESIDENT, Mr H. TRUMAN**

Thank you for your message of December 8, 1945.

You may rest assured that I, too, should like to cooperate with you so that the forthcoming conference of the three Ministers in Moscow will yield the results desired for the benefit of our common cause.

I shall shortly be in Moscow and am willing to talk with Mr Byrnes in all candour.

December 9, 1945

J. V. STALIN TO H. TRUMAN

MOST SECRET

My dear Mr President,

I was glad to receive your message, transmitted to me by Mr Byrnes, in which you dwell on the highly important subjects that we are now discussing. I agree with you that the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States should strive to work together in restoring and maintaining peace, and that we should proceed from the fact that the common interests of our two countries far outweigh certain differences between us.

The conference of the Ministers now in session in Moscow has already yielded good results. The steps taken by you and Mr Byrnes with regard to both Japan and the peace treaties have helped in a big way. We may take it that agreement on these important points has been reached¹⁰¹ and that the conference has done work that will play a prominent part in establishing proper mutual understanding between our countries in this period of transition from war to peace.

The subject of atomic energy is still under discussion. I hope that on this matter, too, we shall establish unity of views and that by joint effort a decision will be reached that will be satisfactory to both countries and to the other nations.

I take it that you have been informed of my first talk with Mr Byrnes. We shall meet for further talks. But even now I feel I can say that on the whole I am optimistic as to the results of the exchange of views now taking place between us on urgent international problems, and this, I hope, will provide further opportunities for coordinating the policies of our countries on other issues.

I take this opportunity to answer the letter which I recently received from you concerning the arrival of the artist Chandor in Moscow. I have been away from Moscow for a long time and regret to say that in the immediate future I should find it hard, in view of my numerous duties, to give any time to Mr Chandor. I am, of course, ready to send him my portrait if you think that would be suitable in this instance.

J. STALIN

December 23, 1945