

# The Communist States at the Crossroads

*Between Moscow and Peking*

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With an Introduction by  
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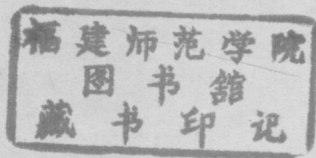
# CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN THE CHAIRMAN  
OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE U.S.S.R.  
AND THE PRESIDENTS OF THE U.S.A.  
AND THE PRIME MINISTERS OF GREAT BRITAIN  
DURING THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR  
OF 1941-1945

## VOLUME TWO

Correspondence with Franklin D. ROOSEVELT  
and Harry S. TRUMAN

*(August 1941-December 1945)*



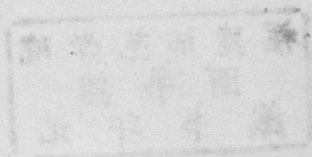
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## FOREWORD

This publication contains the correspondence exchanged by J. V. Stalin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., with Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the U.S.A., Harry S. Truman, President of the U.S.A., Winston S. Churchill, Prime Minister of Great Britain, and Clement R. Attlee, Prime Minister of Great Britain, during the Great Patriotic War and in the period between victory and the end of 1945.

Tendentiously selected parts of this correspondence were published outside the Soviet Union at different times resulting in a distorted picture of the Soviet attitude during the war years.

This publication is to help restore historical truth. It contains the full texts of all the documents available in the Soviet Union of J. V. Stalin's correspondence with Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, Winston S. Churchill and Clement R. Attlee during the period in question. Certain messages quoted or otherwise mentioned in publications abroad are missing from this book as their texts have not been found in the Soviet archives. In searching for the missing texts it was found that some of them—for instance, a Roosevelt message transmitted to Stalin by U.S. Ambassador Standley on April 23, 1942,<sup>1</sup> and a Truman message to Stalin of June 1945<sup>2</sup>—had been conveyed orally by the respective representatives during meetings with Stalin. Concerning a Roosevelt message to Stalin in July 1941<sup>3</sup> and another sent, according to Cordell Hull, between February and April 1942,<sup>4</sup> there is no record in the Soviet archives that would indicate that they were transmitted in any form whatever to Stalin or were ever received in the Soviet Union. This is also true for Churchill's message to Stalin of June 23, 1945,<sup>5</sup> which, according to Churchill, was by way of reply to a Stalin message of June 21, 1945 (see Volume One of this book, pp. 368-369, Doc. No. 493): in the Soviet archives there is a reply from Churchill to the

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<sup>1</sup> This message is mentioned in *Postwar Foreign Policy Preparation 1939-1945*, Washington, 1949, pp. 199-200.

<sup>2</sup> Mentioned in Byrnes' *Speaking Frankly*, London, 1947, p. 64. Byrnes does not give the exact date of the message.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in *The White House Papers of Harry L. Hopkins* by Robert E. Sherwood, Vol. I, London, pp. 321-322. Sherwood does not give the exact date of the message.

<sup>4</sup> Mentioned in *The Memoirs of Cordell Hull*, Vol. II, New York, 1948, p. 1170. Hull does not give the exact date of the message.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted in Winston S. Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. VI, London, 1954, pp. 488-489.

above-mentioned Stalin message, but its contents are different (see Volume One, p. 370, Doc. No. 497). The Roosevelt message to Stalin of October 13, 1941, mentioned by Sherwood,<sup>1</sup> was sent to Churchill in copy for perusal and afterwards was handed to the Soviet Ambassador in London by the British Minister Beaverbrook in October 1941; but there is nothing in the archives to confirm transmission of the message directly by U.S. representatives to the Soviet side.

Volume One includes the correspondence with Winston S. Churchill and Clement R. Attlee, and Volume Two, the correspondence with Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman—the correspondence with Roosevelt began at a later date than that with Churchill.

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The correspondence between the heads of the Governments published here was conducted chiefly by exchanging code messages through the Soviet Embassies in Washington and London and through the Embassies of the U.S.A. and Great Britain in Moscow. The messages were decoded in the respective Embassies and their texts delivered to the addressee generally in the original language. Some of the messages were delivered by diplomatic post or by authorised representatives of the Powers concerned.

The ordinal numbers under which the messages appear in this collection have been supplied by the Editors.

An asterisk in the title of a message denotes that the document had no title and that the title used has been furnished by the Editors.

The dates on which the messages were signed are reproduced in the lower left-hand corner under the text. Where the date is missing in the original the date given in this book is that of despatch or receipt.

Brief reference notes are appended.

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<sup>1</sup> Robert E. Sherwood, *The White House Papers of Harry L. Hopkins*, Vol. I, London, p. 399.

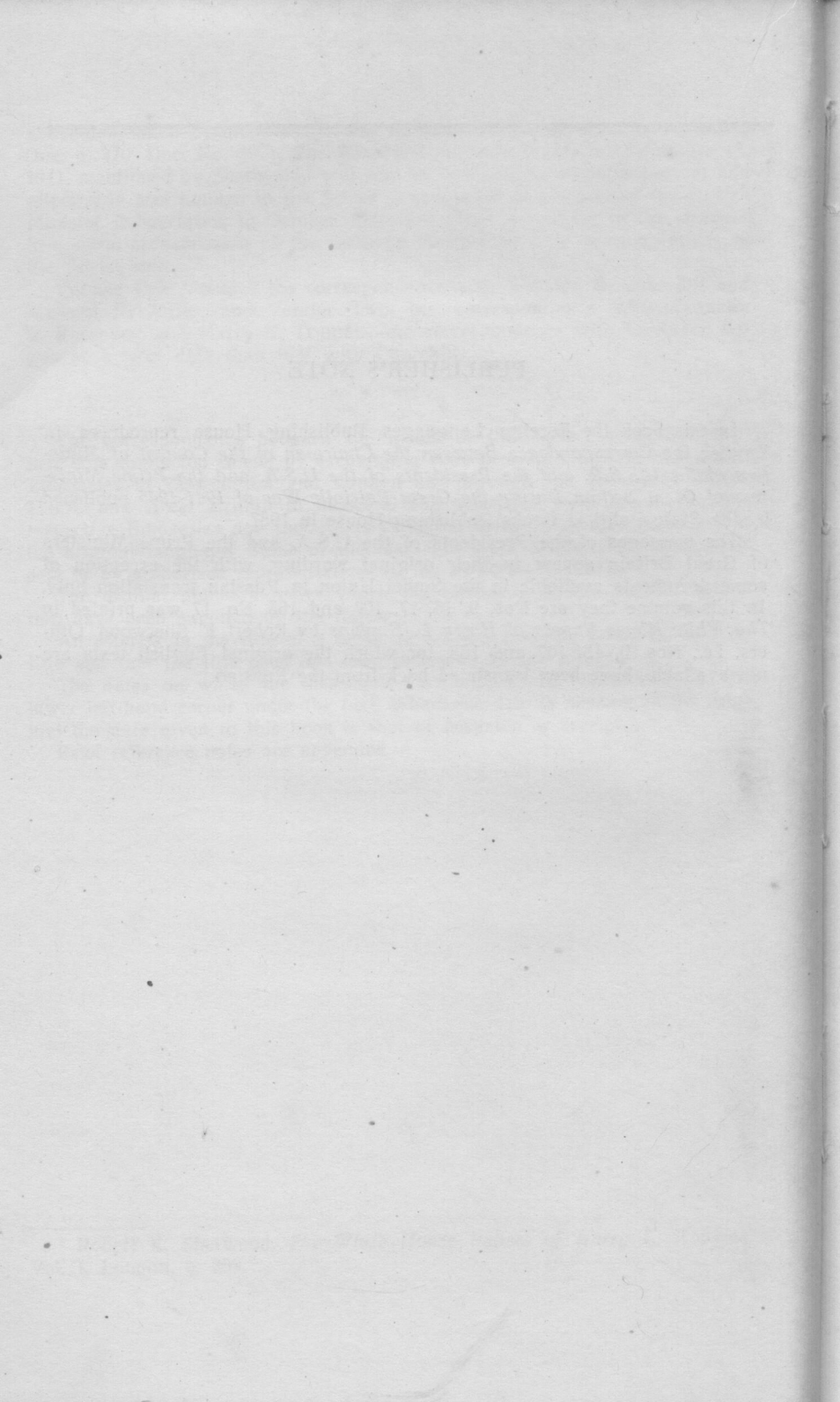
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## PUBLISHER'S NOTE

In this book the Foreign Languages Publishing House reproduces in English the *Correspondence Between the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the Presidents of the U.S.A. and the Prime Ministers of Great Britain During the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945* published by the State Political Books Publishing House in 1957.

The messages of the Presidents of the U.S.A. and the Prime Ministers of Great Britain appear in their original wording, with the exception of some documents available in the Soviet Union in Russian translation only. In this volume they are Nos. 9, 15, 17, 107 and 165. No. 17 was printed in *The White House Papers of Harry L. Hopkins* by Robert E. Sherwood. Others, i.e., Nos. 9, 15, 107 and 165, for which the original English texts are not available, have been translated back from the Russian.





# DOCUMENTS

DOCUMENTS

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No. 1

*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<sup>1</sup> with her.

No. 2

*Received on August 15, 1941*

**F. ROOSEVELT AND W. CHURCHILL TO J. V. STALIN\***

We have taken the opportunity afforded by the consideration of the report of Mr Harry Hopkins on his return from Moscow<sup>2</sup> to consult together as to how best our two countries can help your country in the splendid defense that you are putting up against the Nazi attack. We are at the moment cooperating to provide you with the very maximum of supplies that you most urgently

need. Already many shiploads have left our shores and more will leave in the immediate future.

We must now turn our minds to the consideration of a more long-term policy, since there is still a long and hard path to be traversed before there can be won that complete victory without which our efforts and sacrifices would be wasted.

The war goes on upon many fronts and before it is over there may be yet further fighting fronts that will be developed. Our resources, though immense, are limited and it must become a question of where and when those resources can best be used to further to the greatest extent our common effort. This applies equally to manufactured war supplies and to raw materials.

The needs and demands of your and our armed services can only be determined in the light of the full knowledge of the many facts which must be taken into consideration in the decisions that we take. In order that all of us may be in a position to arrive at speedy decisions as to the apportionment of our joint resources, we suggest that we prepare a meeting which should be held at Moscow, to which we would send high representatives who could discuss these matters directly with you. If this conference appeals to you, we want you to know that pending the decisions of that conference we shall continue to send supplies and material as rapidly as possible.

We realize fully how vitally important to the defeat of Hitlerism is the brave and steadfast resistance of the Soviet Union and we feel therefore that we must not in any circumstances fail to act quickly and immediately in this matter of planning the program for the future allocation of our joint resources.

Franklin D. ROOSEVELT  
Winston S. CHURCHILL

No. 3

*Received on September 30, 1941*

F. ROOSEVELT TO J. V. STALIN\*

My dear Mr Stalin,

This note will be presented to you by my friend Averell Harriman, whom I have asked to be head of our delegation to Moscow.



Mr Harriman is well aware of the strategic importance of your front and will, I know, do everything that he can to bring the negotiations in Moscow to a successful conclusion.

Harry Hopkins has told me in great detail of his encouraging and satisfactory visits with you.<sup>2</sup> I can't tell you how thrilled all of us are because of the gallant defense of the Soviet armies.

I am confident that ways will be found to provide the material and supplies necessary to fight Hitler on all fronts, including your own.

I want particularly to take this occasion to express my great confidence that your armies will ultimately prevail over Hitler and to assure you of our great determination to be of every possible material assistance.

Yours very sincerely,

Franklin D. ROOSEVELT

No. 4

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<sup>3</sup> 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

AIDE-MEMOIRE

*Handed to A. Y. Vyshinsky by the U.S. Ambassador,  
Mr Steinhardt, on November 2, 1941\**

In a personal message to Mr Stalin, President Roosevelt states:

(1) That he has seen the Protocol of the Three-Power Conference in Moscow<sup>3</sup> and has discussed with the members of the American Mission the data set forth therein.

(2) That he has approved all the items of military equipment and munitions and has directed that the raw materials be provided so far as possible as rapidly as possible.

(3) That he has given orders that the deliveries are to begin at once and are to be continued in the largest possible volume.

(4) So as to obviate any financial difficulties he has directed that there be effected immediately arrangements under which shipments may be made under the Lease-Lend Act<sup>4</sup> up to the value of \$1,000,000,000.

(5) He proposes, subject to the approval of the Soviet Government, that no interest be charged by the United States on such indebtedness as may be incurred by the Soviet Government arising out of these shipments and that on such indebtedness as the Soviet Government may incur, payments shall begin only five years after the end of the war, and that the payments be made over a period of ten years after the expiration of this five-year period.

(6) The President hopes that the Soviet Government will make special efforts to sell such commodities and raw materials to the United States as may be available and of which the United States may be in need, the proceeds of sales to the United States to be credited on the account of the Government of the Soviet Union.

(7) The President takes the opportunity to thank the Soviet Government for the speedy manner in which the Three-Power Conference in Moscow was conducted by Mr Stalin and his associates and assures him that the implications of that Conference will be carried out to the utmost.

(8) The President expresses the hope that Mr Stalin will not hesitate to communicate with him directly should the occasion require.

Kuibyshev, November 2, 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,<sup>3</sup> 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

## F. ROOSEVELT TO J. V. STALIN\*

I am happy to inform you that medical supplies in the list prepared by the Medical Supplies Committee of the Three-Power Conference will be provided as rapidly as these supplies can be purchased and shipped, less such portion thereof as the British may provide. Conditions of American supply and production make impossible the immediate purchase of large amounts of certain items requested, but twenty-five per cent of the total list can be provided within thirty to sixty days and the balance in installments during the next eight months.

The American Red Cross is prepared to provide approximately one-third of the total list at an approximate cost of \$5,000,000 as a gift of the American people. Acting on my instructions the American Red Cross will procure these supplies with funds placed at my disposal by the Congress and also funds contributed by the American people for relief in the Soviet Union. As the American Red Cross must account to the Congress and to its contributors for the use of these funds and supplies, Wardwell, the Chairman of their Delegation, outlined in a letter to Mr Kolesnikov, of the Soviet Alliance, the kind of cooperative arrangement between the Red Cross societies of our respective countries which is desired. The Red Cross is also transmitting a message to Mr Kolesnikov today pointing out the importance of reasonable observation by the American Red Cross representative of the distribution made of its supplies subject, of course, to all appropriate military considerations. I would deeply appreciate it if your Government can assure me that the desired arrangements are acceptable. I may point out that the procedures proposed by the American Red Cross are the same which are followed with regard to their assistance in Great Britain and other countries.

On the basis indicated, the American Red Cross is prepared to consider further substantial assistance in the Soviet Union as needs develop and requests are made.

November 6, 1941