

German occupiers and deported. On 8 March 1944, for example, the entire Balkar population was rounded up and loaded into trains and sent to Central Asia. Of the 40,000 deported, 14,000 died during the journey or in the harsh early days of exile, transported into empty steppe and told to build their own shelter. As thousands more Balkars returned from fighting in the Soviet army to their former homes they were picked up and transported. The sheer scale and clinical bureaucratised horror of the operation is revealed by the following strictly secret telegram from Beria to Stalin on 29 February 1944.

This is to report the results of the resettlement operation of the Chechens and Ingush. The resettlement began on 23 February in the majority of districts, with the exception of high mountain areas.

By 29 February 478,479 people, including 91,250 Ingush, had been evicted and loaded on to special trains. One hundred and seventy-seven special trains had been loaded, of which 159 have already been sent to the new place of settlement.

Today special trains departed carrying former leaders and religious authorities of Chechen-Ingushetia, who were used in carrying out the operation . . .

Party leaders and Soviet organs of north Ossetia, Dagestan and Georgia have already started work on the assimilation of the new districts that have gone to them.

Source: Rossiya, kotoruyu my ne znali, pp. 156–7.

Document 6.32 Beria on the Crimean Tatars

On the pretext of alleged collaboration with the Nazis during the German occupation of the peninsula between 1941 and 1944, the mass relocation of the Crimean Tatars was conducted with extreme brutality resulting in a high death toll. It is estimated that nearly half of the 240,000 Crimean Tatars selected for expulsion died in the process or soon after. On 10 May 1944 Stalin received the following telegram from Beria.

Taking into account the treacherous activity of the Crimean Tatars against the Soviet people and the undesirability of the further habitation of the Crimean Tatars in border zones of the USSR, the USSR NKVD presents for your consideration a draft resolution of the State Committee of Defence on the resettlement of all Tatars from the Crimea.

We consider it expedient to resettle the Crimean Tatars as special settlers in regions of the Uzbek S[oviet] S[ocialist] R[epublic] to be used for agricultural work, kolkhozes and sovkhoses, and also in industry and transport . . .

According to preliminary data the population of the Crimea at present is

140,00–160,000. The resettlement operation will begin on 20–1 May and be completed by 1 July . . .

USSR People's Commissar of Internal Affairs, L. Beria

Source: Rossiya, kotoruyu my ne znali, p. 152.

Towards the Post-war Order

Even before the war was over the Allies began to prepare for the post-war order. A series of conferences sought to avoid conflict between the Allies, culminating in the Yalta conference of February 1945. Stalin expertly exploited differences between Roosevelt and Churchill; whereas the Americans wished to see a world opened up to trade after the war, Churchill tried to salvage as much as possible for the British Empire.

Document 6.33 Declaration of the Three Powers of 1 December 1943

Meeting in Teheran in November 1943 Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin agreed that the second front would be opened in the West as soon as possible. The conference declared that the wartime spirit of collaboration would be maintained in peacetime.

We, the president of the United States, the prime minister of Great Britain and the premier of the Soviet Union, have met over the last four days in the capital of our ally, Iran, and formulated and confirmed our common policy. We express our determination that our countries will work together both in war and in the following period of peace.

Source: Izvestiya, 7 December 1943.

Document 6.34 The Percentages Agreement, 9 October 1944

In April 1944 the last of Soviet territory was liberated and Soviet forces entered Romania, signalling the start of a new offensive phase in the USSR's war as it pursued the enemy across neighbouring countries. Although Stalin continued to express hopes that the wartime alliance would continue, it soon became clear that in the wake of the Red Army Stalin sought to install local communists in power to ensure 'friendly' and 'democratic' regimes, ably assisted by the NKVD. Following the D-Day landings in Normandy on 6 June 1944 the Allies from East and West advanced towards each other. The race was on not only to reach Berlin first but to ensure a modicum of agreement for the post-war settlement. Churchill flew to Moscow in early October 1944 to discuss various problems with Stalin, in particular the division of spheres of influence in South-eastern Europe. Churchill describes the meeting as follows.

We alighted at Moscow on the afternoon of October 9, and were received very heartily and with full ceremonial by Molotov and many high Russian personages. This time we were lodged in Moscow itself, with every care and comfort. I had one small, perfectly appointed house, and Anthony [Eden] another near by. We were glad to dine alone together and rest. At ten o'clock that night we held our first important meeting in the Kremlin. There were only Stalin, Molotov, Eden, Harriman and I, with Major Birse and Pavlov as interpreters . . .

The moment was apt for business, so I said, 'Let us settle about our affairs in the Balkans. Your armies are in Rumania and Bulgaria. We have interests, missions, and agents there. Don't let us get at cross-purposes in small ways. So far as Britain and Russia are concerned, how would it do for you to have ninety per cent predominance in Rumania, for us to have ninety per cent of the say in Greece, and go fifty-fifty about Yugoslavia?' While this was being translated I wrote out on a half-sheet of paper:

Rumania	
Russia	90%
The others	10%
Greece	
Great Britain	90%
(in accord with USA)	
Russia	10%
Yugoslavia	50-50%
Hungary	50-50%
Bulgaria	
Russia	75%
The others	25%

I pushed this across to Stalin, who had by then heard the translation. There was a slight pause. Then he took his blue pencil and made a large tick upon it, and passed it back to us. It was all settled in no more time than it takes to set down.

Of course we had long and anxiously considered our point, and were only dealing with immediate war-time arrangements. All larger questions were reserved on both sides for what we then hoped would be a peace table when the war was won.

After this there was a long silence. The pencilled paper lay in the centre of the table. At length I said, 'Might it not be thought rather cynical if it seemed we had disposed of these issues, so fateful to millions of people, in such an offhand manner? Let us burn the paper.' 'No, you keep it,' said Stalin.

Source: Winston Churchill, The Second World War: Triumph and Tragedy (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1953), pp. 226-8.

Later, Major Birse, Churchill's interpreter, advised that the existence of the 'naughty document' be omitted from official records, as giving the impression that 'these very important discussions were conducted in a most unfitting manner'. However high-handed it might appear, the agreement represented an attempt by Churchill to retain at least some influence for the Western powers in Eastern Europe and to avoid civil wars and bloodshed. The next day Molotov amended the figures for Bulgaria and Hungary in favour of the USSR. As the occupying power, the USSR's bargaining position was strong and the West's options limited. Note that the status of Poland was not mentioned in this paper, but figured largely in the discussions during this visit, with the Lublin Poles (the communist-dominated Polish National Committee) acting as pawns of the USSR, particularly over the question of the Polish border. The Curzon Line was basically accepted by the London Poles represented by M. Mikolajczyk, the Polish prime minister.

Document 6.35 Yalta: Peace and Betrayal

The Yalta conference of Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin met on 6-11 February 1945. By the time of the conference the Soviet Army already occupied Bulgaria, Romania, Poland, Hungary, part of Czechoslovakia and some of Germany. Poland was discussed at seven out of the eight plenary sessions. On the face of it the Yalta agreement of 11 February appeared reasonable, with the Western Allies making concessions to Stalin over the line of the Polish border, German reparations and the Soviet role in the post-war order, while Stalin promised to support the principles of the Atlantic Charter, the establishment of the United Nations and to join in the war effort against Japan. The problem, however, was that the high principles (in particular the sections dealing with Poland) proved in practice unenforceable. The Second World War was not followed by a Versailles-type conference but instead the Yalta conference of the three great powers decided the fate of the post-war world. The word 'Yalta' became a synonym for the disposal by large nations of the fate of small ones without their participation.

The Crimea Conference of the Heads of the Government of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which took place from February 4th to 11th came to the following conclusions.

I World Organisation

It was decided:

that a United Nations Conference on the proposed world organisation should be summoned for Wednesday, 25th April, 1945, and should be held in the United States of America . . .

II Declaration on Liberated Europe

The following declaration has been approved:

'The Premier of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the President of the United States of America have consulted with each other in the common interests of the peoples of their countries and those of liberated Europe. They jointly declare their mutual agreement to concert during the temporary period of instability in liberated Europe the policies of their three governments in assisting the peoples liberated from the domination of Nazi Germany and the peoples of the former Axis satellite states of Europe to solve by democratic means their pressing political and economic problems.

'The establishment of order in Europe and the re-building of national economic life must be achieved by processes which will enable the liberated peoples to destroy the last vestiges of Nazism and Fascism and to create democratic institutions of their own choice. This is a principle of the Atlantic Charter – the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live – the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those peoples who have been forcibly deprived of them by the aggressor nations.

'To foster the conditions in which the liberated peoples may exercise these rights, the three governments will jointly assist the people in any European liberated state or former Axis satellite state in Europe where in their judgment conditions require (a) to establish conditions of internal peace; (b) to carry out emergency measures for the relief of distressed peoples; (c) to form interim governmental authorities broadly representative of all democratic elements in the population and pledged to the earliest possible establishment through free elections of governments responsive to the will of the people; and (d) to facilitate where necessary the holding of such elections ...'

III Dismemberment of Germany

It was agreed that Article 12(a) of the Surrender Term for Germany should be amended to read as follows:

'The United Kingdom, the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics shall possess supreme authority with respect to Germany. In the exercise of such authority they will take such steps, including the complete disarmament, demilitarisation and the dismemberment of Germany as they deem requisite for future peace and security.'

The study of the procedure for the dismemberment of Germany was referred to a Committee, consisting of Mr Eden (Chairman), Mr Winant and Mr Gousev. This body would consider the desirability of associating with it a French representative.

IV Zone of Occupation for the French and Control Council for Germany

It was agreed that a zone in Germany, to be occupied by the French Forces, should be allocated to France. This zone would be formed out of the British

and American zones and its extent would be settled by the British and Americans in consultation with the French Provisional Government.

It was also agreed that the French Provisional Government should be invited to become a member of the Allied Control Council for Germany.

V Reparation

The following protocol has been approved:

1 Germany must pay in kind for the losses caused by her to the Allied nations in the course of the war. Reparations are to be received in the first instance by those countries which have borne the main burden of the war, have suffered the heaviest losses and have organised victory over the enemy.
2 Reparation in kind is to be exacted from Germany in three following forms:

(a) Removals within 2 years from the surrender of Germany or the cessation of organised resistance from the national wealth of Germany located on the territory of Germany herself as well as outside her territory (equipment, machine-tools, ships, rolling stock, German investments abroad, shares of industrial, transport and other enterprises in Germany etc.), these removals to be carried out chiefly for purpose of destroying the war potential of Germany.

(b) Annual deliveries of goods from current production for a period to be fixed.

(c) Use of German labour.

3 For the working out on the above principles of a detailed plan for exaction of reparation from Germany an Allied Reparation Commission will be set up in Moscow. It will consist of three representatives – one from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, one from the United Kingdom and one from the United States of America.

4 With regard to the fixing of the total sum of the reparation as well as the distribution of it among the countries which suffered from the German aggression the Soviet and American delegations agreed as follows:

'The Moscow Reparation Commission should take in its initial studies as a basis for discussion the suggestion of the Soviet Government that the total sum of the reparation in accordance with the points (a) and (b) of the paragraph 2 should be 20 billion dollars and that 50% of it should go to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.'

The British delegation was of the opinion that pending consideration of the reparation question by the Moscow Reparation Commission no figures of reparation should be mentioned.

The above Soviet–American proposal has been passed to the Moscow Reparation Commission as one of the proposals to be considered by the Commission.

VI Major War Criminals

The Conference agreed that the question of the major war criminals should be the subject of enquiry by the three Foreign Secretaries for report in due course after the close of the Conference.

VII Poland

The following Declaration on Poland was agreed by the Conference:

'A new situation has been created in Poland as a result of her complete liberation by the Red Army. This calls for the establishment of a Polish Provisional Government which can be more broadly based than was possible before the recent liberation of the Western part of Poland. The Provisional Government which is now functioning in Poland should therefore be reorganised on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad. This new Government should then be called the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity.

Mr Molotov, Mr Harriman and Sir A. Clark Kerr are authorised as a commission to consult in the first instance in Moscow with members of the present Provisional Government and with other Polish democratic leaders from within Poland and from abroad, with a view to the reorganisation of the present Government along the above lines. This Polish Provisional Government of National Unity shall be pledged to the holding of free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot. In these elections all democratic and anti-Nazi parties have the right to take part and to put forward candidates.

When a Polish Provisional Government of National Unity has been properly formed in conformity with the above, the Government of the USSR, which now maintains diplomatic relations with the present Provisional Government of Poland, and the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of the USA will establish diplomatic relations with the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity, and will exchange Ambassadors by whose reports the respective Governments will be kept informed about the situation in Poland.

The three Heads of Government consider that the Eastern frontier of Poland should follow the Curzon Line with digressions from it in some regions of five to eight kilometres in favour of Poland. They recognise that Poland must receive substantial accessions of territory in the North and West. They feel that the opinion of the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity should be sought in due course on the extent of these accessions and that the final delimitation of the Western frontier of Poland should thereafter await the Peace Conference . . .'

Agreement Regarding Entry of the Soviet Union into the War against Japan

TOP SECRET AGREEMENT

The leaders of the three Great Powers – the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Great Britain – have agreed that in two or three months after Germany has surrendered and the war in Europe has terminated the Soviet Union shall enter into the war against Japan on the side of the Allies on condition that:

- 1 The status quo in Outer-Mongolia (The Mongolian People's Republic) shall be preserved;
- 2 The former rights of Russia violated by the treacherous attack of Japan in 1904 shall be restored, viz:
 - (a) the southern part of Sakhalin as well as all the islands adjacent to it shall be returned to the Soviet Union,
 - (b) the commercial port of Dairen shall be internationalised, the pre-eminent interests of the Soviet Union in this port being safeguarded and the lease of Port Arthur as a naval base of the USSR restored,
 - (c) the Chinese-Eastern Railroad and the South-Manchurian Railroad which provides an outlet to Dairen shall be jointly operated by the establishment of a joint Soviet–Chinese Company, it being understood that the pre-eminent interests of the Soviet Union shall be safeguarded and that China shall retain full sovereignty in Manchuria;
- 3 The Kuril islands shall be handed over to the Soviet Union.

It is understood that the agreement concerning Outer-Mongolia and the ports and railroads referred to above will require the concurrence of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek. The President will take measures in order to obtain this concurrence on advice from Marshal Stalin.

The Heads of the three Great Powers have agreed that these claims of the Soviet Union shall be unquestionably fulfilled after Japan has been defeated.

For its part the Soviet Union expresses its readiness to conclude with the National Government of China a pact of friendship and alliance between the USSR and China in order to render assistance to China with its armed forces for the purpose of liberating China from the Japanese yoke.

Source: British and Foreign State Papers, 1947, Part II, vol. 148 (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1955), pp. 80, 82–3, 83–6, 88–9.

Document 6.36 Stalin on Poland at Yalta

The composition of the Polish government was at the centre of attention at Yalta. Churchill sought to limit Soviet influence, and in particular to return the Polish government-in-exile in London to Poland to counter the communist 'Committee of National Liberation', which formed itself into a government in Lublin backed by the Soviet Army. Roosevelt was more inclined to make a deal with Stalin, abhorring

what he understood as the cynicism of British imperialism's 'sphere of influence' policy. The Americans sought an open door for their trade. Even if Churchill and Roosevelt had been united, it is not clear whether they would have been able to rally their populations for a new confrontation, this time against their former Soviet ally. The Declaration on Poland on paper conceded some of what the West had wanted, but in the months that followed the agreement unravelled and the West appeared to lack the will to ensure that Stalin fulfilled its spirit and letter.

Marshal Stalin then gave the following summary of his views on the Polish question: Mr Churchill had said that for Great Britain the Polish question was one of honor and that he understood, but for the Russians it was a question both of honor and security. It was one of honor because Russia had many past grievances against Poland and desire to see them eliminated. It was a question of strategic security not only because Poland was a bordering country but because throughout history Poland had been the corridor for attack on Russia. We have to mention that during the last thirty years Germany twice has passed through this corridor. The reason for this was that Poland was weak. Russia wants a strong, independent and democratic Poland . . . It is not only a question of honor for Russia, but one of life and death.

Source: Martin McCauley, The Origins of the Cold War (Harlow, Longman, 1983), pp. 101–2.

Flag over Berlin

In the early afternoon of 30 April 1945 Soviet soldiers raised the Red Flag over the Reichstag. A few hundred yards away at that very moment Hitler and Eva Braun committed suicide, and their bodies were burned in the courtyard of their bunker. Although victory had been achieved it remained unclear which country had won: the Poles had not regained their full independence; Eastern Europe remained occupied by new forces; and the Soviet Union entered a new period of repression. The laurels of victory undoubtedly fell to Stalin and his regime.

Document 6.37 'The Prague Manifesto' of the Vlasov Movement

In the first months of the war millions of Soviet troops fell into German hands, some of them surrendering with barely a fight. Some limited organisation among them was allowed under the leadership of Andrei Vlasov, a Red Army lieutenant-general who had been captured in 1942 while attempting to break the siege of Leningrad. In 1944 this was organised as the 'Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia', with the movement adopting the so-called 'Prague Manifesto' in November

of that year calling for a democratic Russia while recognising the socialised economy. The only serious military action in which the Vlasovites participated was the liberation of Prague in May 1945 – from the Germans! Captured by the Red Army or returned by the British and American forces, Vlasov and the other leaders were executed for treason and the rank and file sent to the Gulag.

Fellow-countrymen! Brothers and Sisters!

In this hour of great trial we must decide the fate of our Motherland, our peoples and our own fate.

Mankind is going through an era of the greatest upheavals. The present world war is a fight to the finish between opposing political systems.

It is fought by the powers of imperialism, led by the plutocrats of England and the USA, whose greatness is based on the oppression and exploitation of other countries and peoples. It is fought by the powers of internationalism, led by Stalin's clique, who dream of world revolution and the destruction of the national independence of other countries and peoples. It is being fought by freedom-loving nations, who yearn to live their own way of life, determined by their own historical and national development . . .

What then are the peoples of Russia fighting for? Why are they condemned to countless sacrifices and suffering? . . .

The peoples of Russia have experienced the burden of Bolshevik tyranny for more than a quarter of a century.

In the revolution of 1917 the peoples who inhabited the Russian Empire sought to realise their aspirations for justice, for the general welfare and national liberty . . . The Bolshevik Party promised to create a social system in which the people would live happily. To attain this the people made incalculable sacrifices. It is not the fault of the people that the Bolshevik Party not only did not realise the demands of the people, but by gradually strengthening the coercive nature of the administrative apparatus, robbed the people of the rights which they had won, and forced them into permanent misery, into lawlessness and exploited them most unscrupulously . . .

The Bolsheviks condemned the peoples of our homeland to permanent poverty, hunger and extinction and to spiritual and physical slavery, and finally they forced them into a criminal war for causes alien to them.

All this is being camouflaged with lies about the democratic nature of Stalin's constitution and the building of a socialist society. No other country in the world has ever had such a low standard of living, while its material wealth is so vast. No other country has known such interference with the personal freedom of the individual and such humiliation as has occurred and continues to occur under the Bolshevik system.

The peoples of Russia have lost their faith in Bolshevism forever. It is a system where the state is the all-devouring machine and the people have become indigent slaves deprived of their belongings and their legal rights . . .