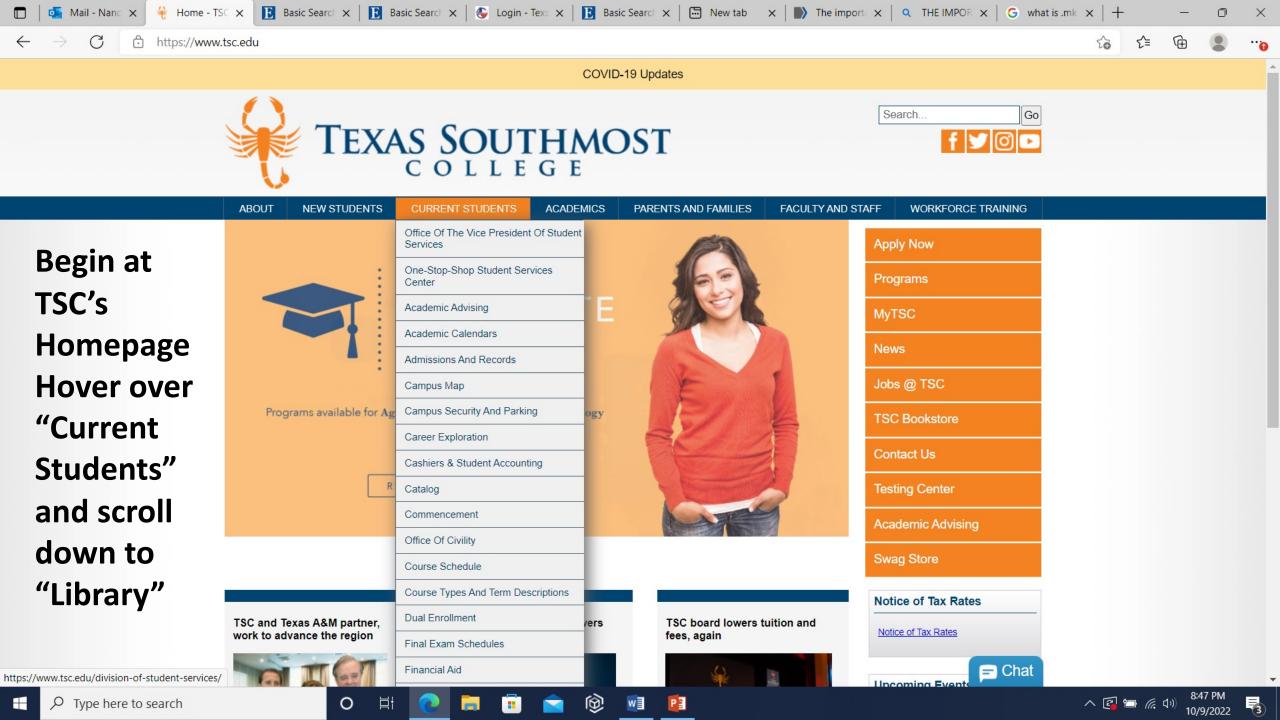
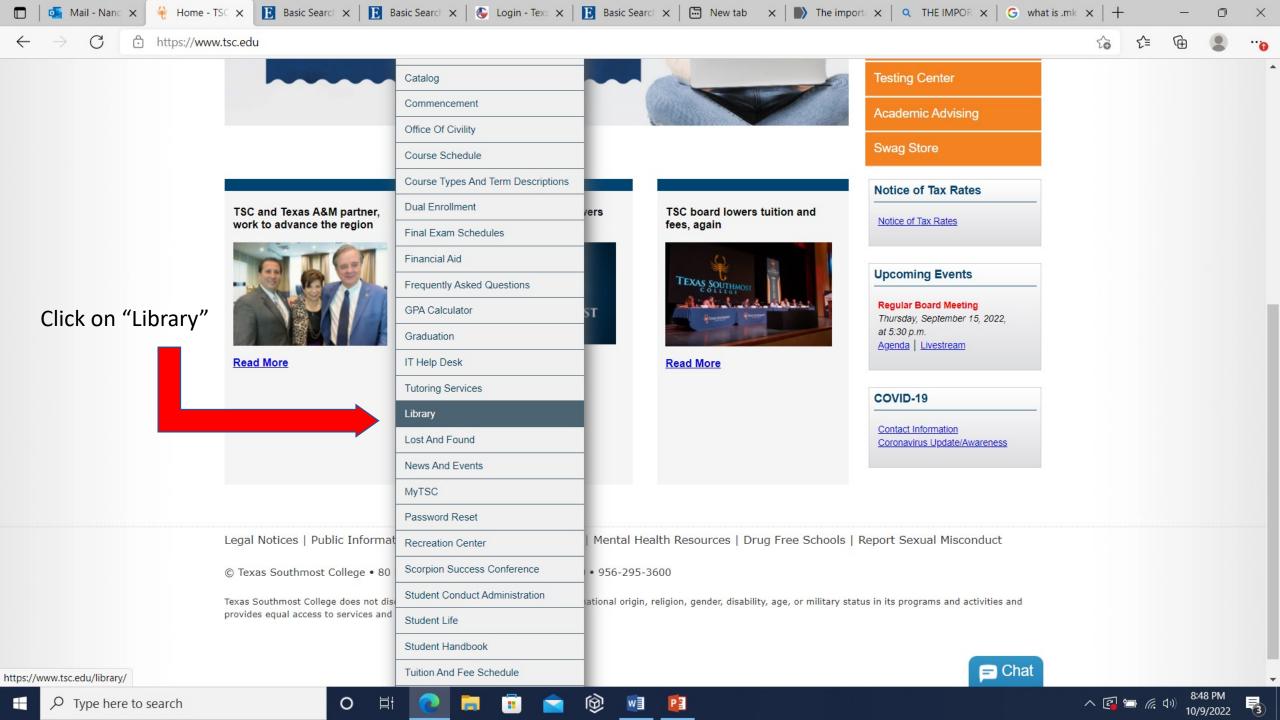
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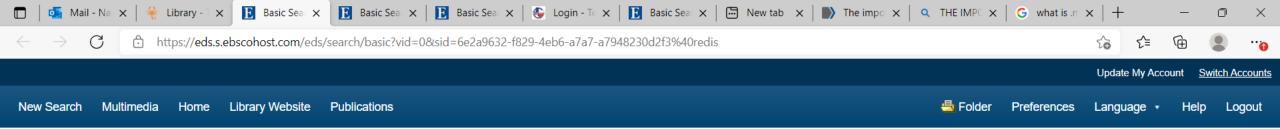


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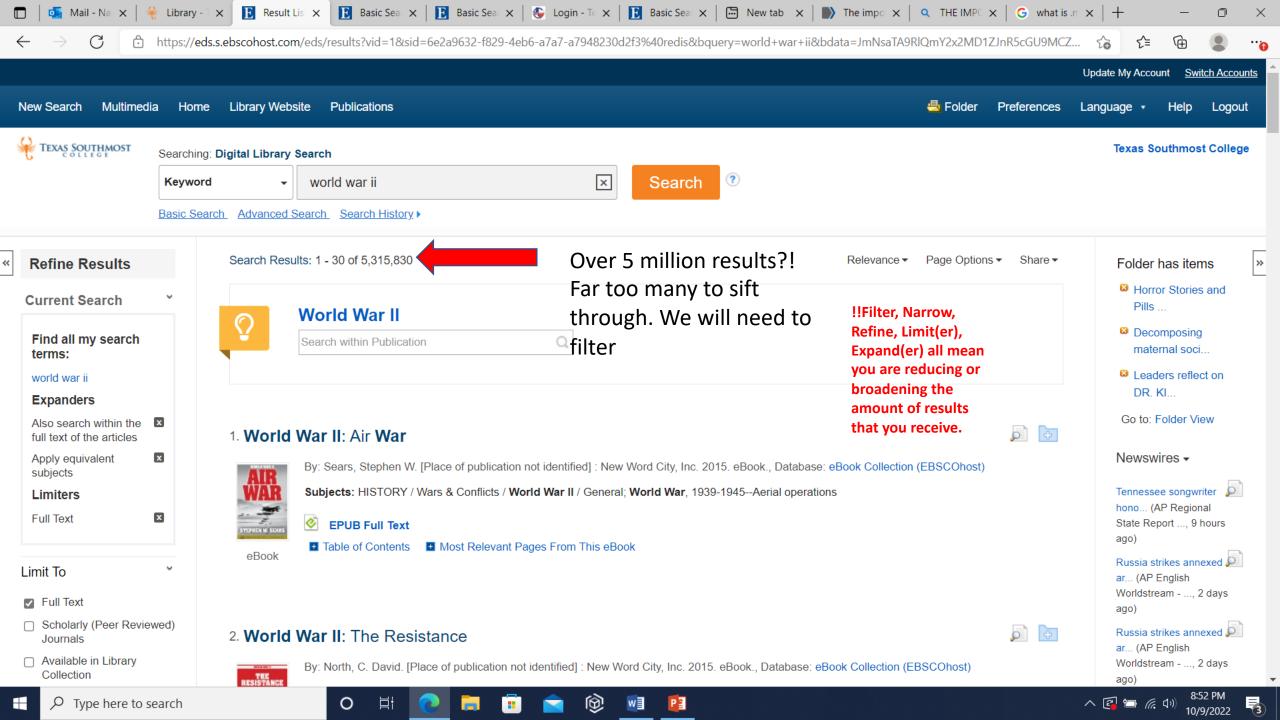
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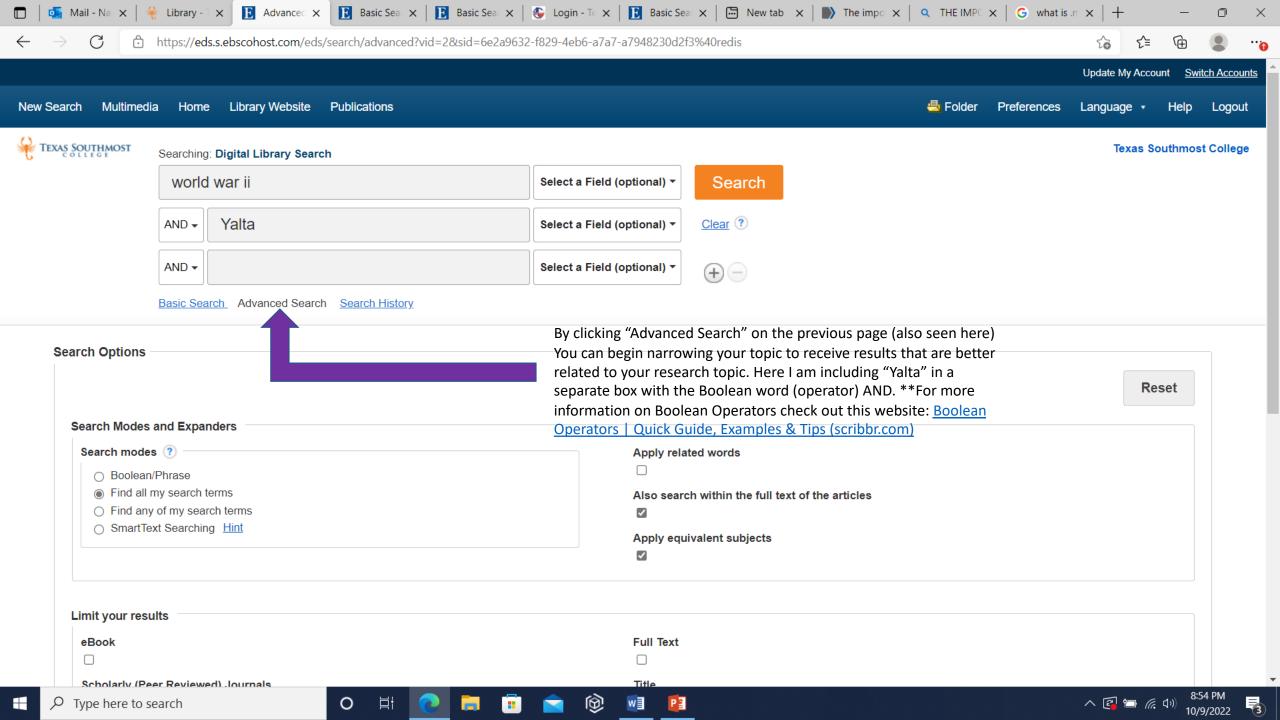
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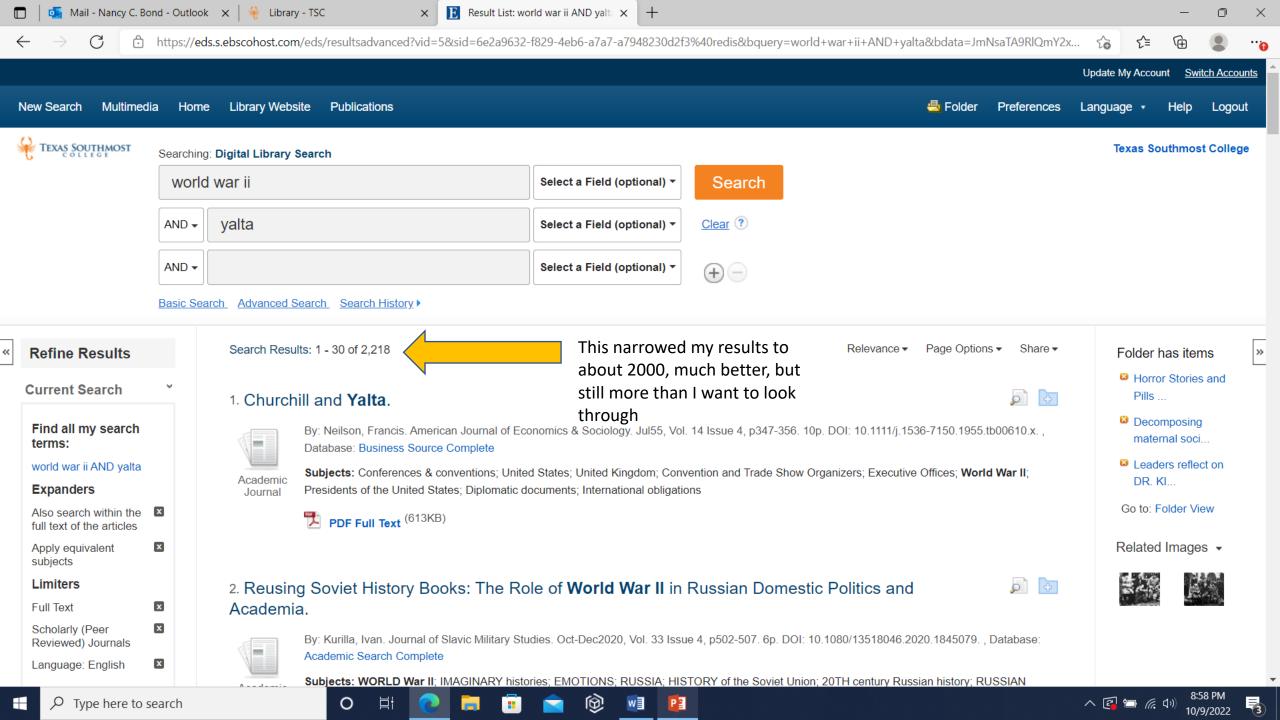
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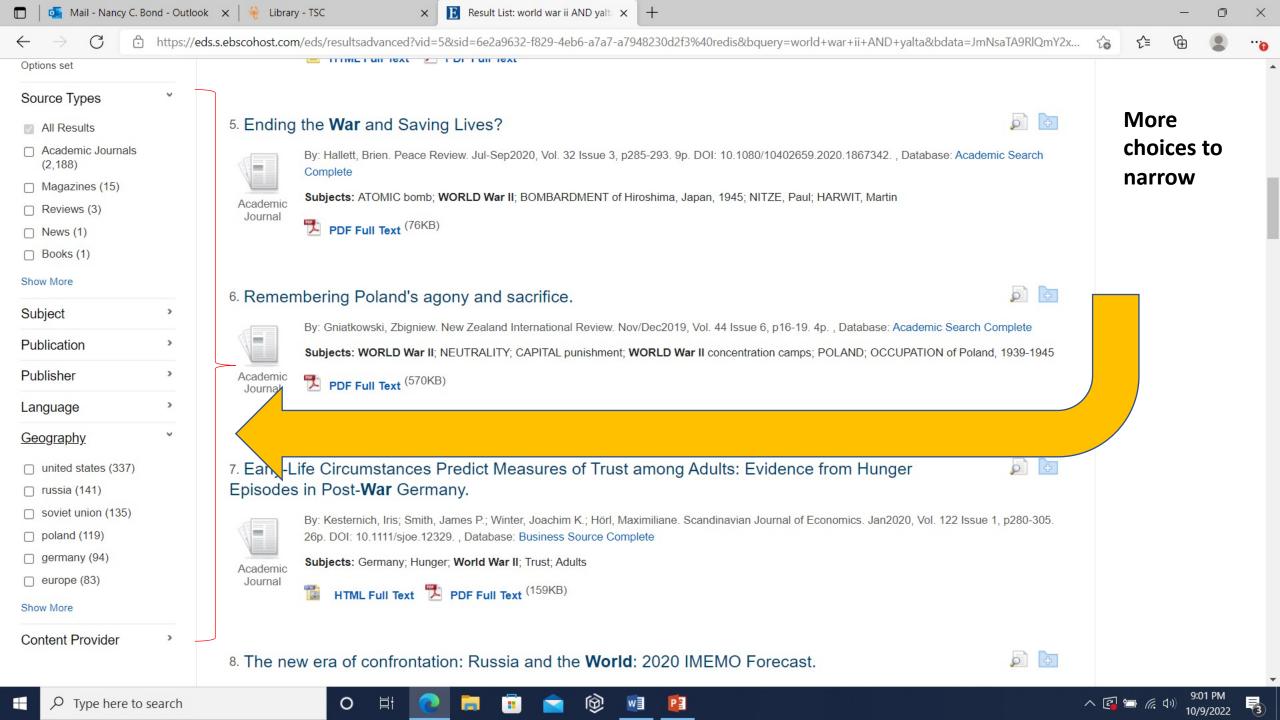
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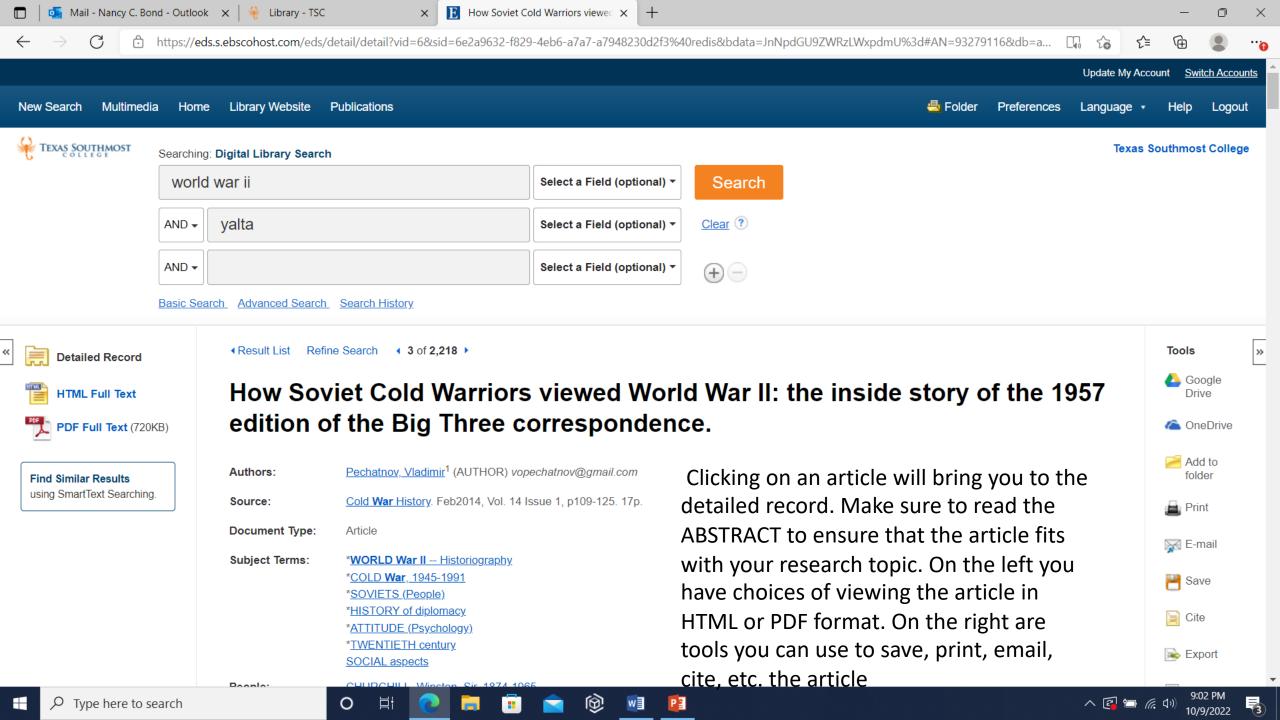
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World War II was first published in 1957 and is familiar to all interested in the diplomatic history of the war as a standard and generally reliable source.[_1] Officially the two volumes (one containing correspondence with the British, the other with the Americans) were produced by the Soviet foreign ministry under the aegis of the 'Commission for the Publication of Diplomatic Documents', headed by foreign minister Andrei Gromyko. But until now very little has been known about its origins, which seemed quite straightforward. Yet newly available documents from Russian archives reveal a far more complex story behind this publication – a fascinating mixture of ideology, Cold War rivalry, national memory, and bureaucratic politics with Josef Stalin and Vyacheslav Molotov at the heart of the drama but with walk-on parts for other familiar Cold War characters such as Gromyko and Anatoly Dobrynin. Important catalysts for its publication were Western revelations about the Nazi-Soviet pact of 1939 and the Yalta conference of 1945. Some details of the project's history still remain obscure, but its basic development can be reconstructed fairly accurately. In doing so, this article sheds some new light on little known aspects of the Cold War battle of historical narratives.

Stalin and the 'falsifiers' of wartime history

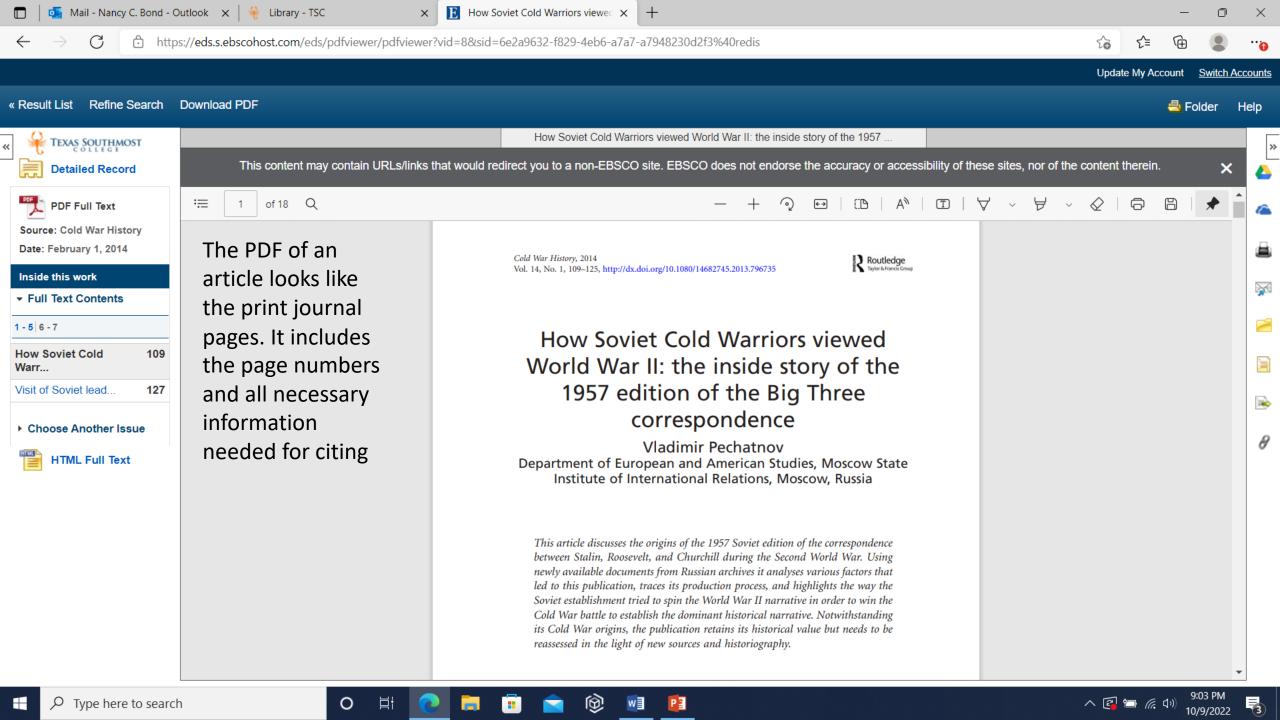
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First of all, it turns out that the project originated much earlier than the mid-1950s. It was in fact conceived during the early Cold War, probably by Stalin himself. Even though we do not have any direct documentary evidence of this original decision, it is obvious that given the nature of Kremlin decision making at that time, a project of this sort could not have been undertaken without Stalin's initiative or at least approval. The exact timing is unclear, but since the first reports on the work in progress appeared in April 1950 it is reasonably safe to assume that the process had started around late 1949 or early 1950. The organisational set-up was telling because Molotov became its principal head. Even though he had been dishonourably dismissed as the head of the ministry of foreign affairs (MFA) by Stalin in March 1949, Molotov remained a senior Politburo member, deputy premier, and retained some important foreign policy functions. The choice of him as supervisor (which must have also been Stalin's) was logical since Molotov had been a main drafter of Stalin's messages to the British and the Americans during the war. [2] Many years later he would still recall the process with satisfaction: 'Many of them [the messages] we composed together. Everything went through me - it could not have been otherwise'.[3] Molotov had a thorough knowledge of the subject and could be relied upon for his meticulousness, hard work, and editorial vigilance essential for a project of this kind. For him personally it could have been a way to 'rehabilitate' himself in Stalin's eyes and remind the 'Boss' of his faithful wartime service. In fact, given this incentive and his special role in the correspondence Molotov might well have been one of the initiators of this project. His successor at the MFA, Andrey Vyshinsky was the second supervisor, but he did not play an active role and served mostly in ex officio capacity since all preparatory work was being done by MFA staff headed by Boris Podtserob, Molotov's chief aide during the war (who by then had become the head of the MFA general secretariat), and Vladimir Pavlov. The latter was the Kremlin's chief interpreter who had translated most of the wartime messages (by 1950 he was head of the second European department). Podtserob and Pavlov were soon joined by Vladimir Khvostov, head of the MFA's archival department, where most of the relevant documentation had been preserved. This trio ran the nuts and bolts of the operation, reporting to Molotov and Vyshinsky, who in turn reported to Stalin. Overall it was an efficient set-up that provided for a fairly smooth and speedy implementation. By October 1951 the edition was ready for publication - publication, moreover, on a huge scale for mass audiences at home and abroad. The intended print run was 200,000 copies in Russian, and 25,000 copies in each of six foreign languages: English, French, German, Italian, Chinese, and Spanish. A scale of this magnitude was unprecedented for Soviet political publications of that time, with the exception of Stalin's own works.

The key question is, naturally, about probable motives behind this massive project. By then the clash of **World War II** narratives, heightened by Cold **War** rivalry, was in full swing, with the West taking the lead. By 1949 most of the key participants in the United States and Great Britain (including Winston Churchill, Robert Sherwood, Edward Stettinius, Cordell Hull, and James Byrnes) had produced their versions of events with Churchill's powerful *Grand Alliance* volume coming out in 1950. Moscow had little with which to counter this avalanche, aside from official propaganda which had little effect on Western public opinion. The key bone of contention was about the contribution made by each of the Big Three to the common victory over fascism, including the problems of the **second** front and of adherence to allied obligations. Each side was claiming perfection at the expense of the other, but the Western voice sounded much louder. For the Soviet leadership, the decisive contribution of the USSR to the war effort and its role in the Grand.

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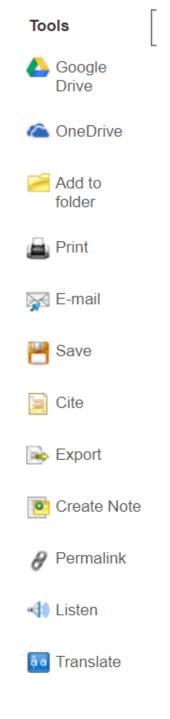
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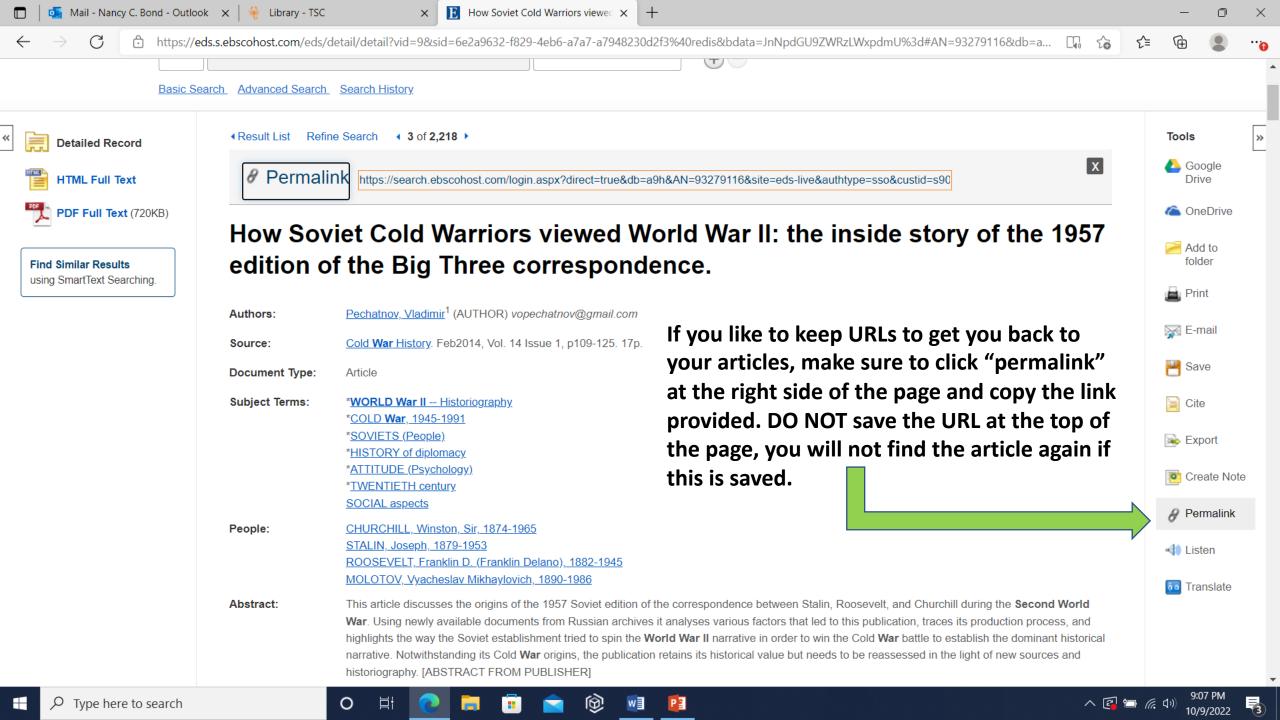


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