INSTRUCTIONS TO THE SOVIET DELEGATION AT THE MEETING OF FOREIGN SECRETARIES OF THE USSR, GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE IN PARIS[[1]](#footnote-1), dated 21 June 1947

Handwritten [For consideration to Comrade V.M. Molotov], signatures [….]

TOP SECRET

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No 885

1. The major task of the Soviet delegation is to attain information on the nature of and conditions for the expected American economic assistance to Europe. In particular, the Soviet delegation should clarify the following issues:

Whether the assistance is lend-lease, or dollar or commodity credit;

What is the scope of the expected aid?

What are the conditions under which this assistance will be provided, in particular,

if it means any American control over the spending of the loans;

Whether credits will be granted to some European countries or to some all-

European organisation, and which one;

Whether there will be any participation of the International Bank for

Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund.

2. The Soviet delegation should also request from the British and French delegations information on the British-French negotiations in Paris on 17 June and 18; in particular, it should ask to be allowed familiarize itself with the minutes of these negotiations and the documents outlining the experts’ work.

3. When the question arises about the further development of the work on the European economic program and in this context - the question of expanding the number of countries involved in this work, the Soviet delegation must seek to attract European countries that are members of the United Nations, so that these countries will be involved during work on issues directly concerning them. In case the British or French delegations suggest involving other European countries in the specified, including former enemy countries, the Soviet delegation may agree on the invitation of such countries only for consultation.

4. During the discussion of any specific proposals concerning American assistance to Europe, the Soviet delegation should object to any conditions of such assistance that could result in a violation of sovereignty of European countries, or their economic enslavement. In discussing this issue, the Soviet delegation should express on behalf of the Soviet Union a negative attitude towards the terms of conditions of aid imposed on Greece and Turkey. The Soviet delegation should insist that assistance is provided on terms that are acceptable to those states that receive this aid; and in particular. obligations undertaken by the countries under bilateral and multilateral agreements should be taken into account.

The Soviet delegation should object to any American or international inspectors

being sent to countries that are receiving aid.

5. The Soviet delegation must object to possible proposals on the establishment of such an all-European economic plan that would impede the industrial development of Eastern European countries, and secure pre-war parity between the economies of individual countries. The Soviet delegation must insist that an all-European plan is formed on the basis of requests of individual countries, taking into account which of them may be covered by European resources and which - at the expense of American supplies.

6. In the event of European countries attempting to determine amongst each other the principles and distribution of America’s aid, the Soviet delegation should bear in mind that, in this case, the contributions made by various countries towards the victory over the common enemy, as well as the casualties suffered and the destruction incurred, should be taken into account.

7. The Soviet delegation should criticise the British and French governments’ attempts to bypass the United Nations amendment drafting of European economic plans, in particular the Economic Commission for Europe; at the decisive meeting, it is necessary to ensure, in one way or another, the Commission’s participation in the subsequent amendment drafting of corresponding legislative enactments.

The Soviet delegation should oppose proposals to involve in the amendment drafting of these legislative enactments other international organizations, ones in which not all of the European countries, as members of the United Nations, participate in - in particular, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development[[2]](#footnote-2), the International Monetary Fund[[3]](#footnote-3), the International Organization for Food and Agriculture (FAO)[[4]](#footnote-4), etc. Just as well, the Soviet delegation should oppose attempts to continue the activities of the Extraordinary European Economic Committee by having it be involved in the drafting process of European economic programs. The Soviet delegation may agree to be involved in this work only as advisory body of the European Coal Organization for the period of time until its functions are transferred to the Economic Commission for Europe[[5]](#footnote-5).

8. If British or French delegations raise the issue of the so-called facilitation of international trade by general reduction of custom tariffs in European countries, as well as the granting of equal economic opportunities, the Soviet delegation should oppose the discussion of such proposals; arguing that such issues should be resolved through negotiations with country concerned.

9. During the discussion on Germany’s place in the plans for economic aid to Europe, the Soviet delegation should proceed from the fact that the use of German resources for the recovery of the European economy cannot be resolved before an agreement has been reached on Germany’s economic union and the scope, terms and timing of its reparation obligations have been firmly established. The use of German resources according to the zonal principle without addressing the issue of economic unity and reparations can only complicate economic recovery in Europe and Germany itself. The Soviet delegation should justify this position by the fact that, one of the main factors impeding Europe’s recovery and the restoration of Germany’s peace-time economy is the failure to comply with the Allied Powers’ decisions on reparations from Germany.

10. The Soviet delegation should insist that before the inclusion of Germany in the general economic plan, the scope, forms and terms of Germany’s fulfilment of reparation obligations have been determined, both through removal of industrial equipment from Germany, and through seizure of currently produced goods.

In order to facilitate Germany with rapidly fulfilling its reparation obligations and the terms of its occupation, as well to restore its peace-time economy, it is necessary to revise the plan for level of production and lift restrictions on civilian industries.

In order to prevent the restoration of German military potential, a quadripartite control over the Ruhr should be immediately established.

11. The Soviet delegation must oppose attempts to transfer Germany's economic problems from the jurisdiction of the four occupying powers and for the consideration of a broader group of powers, or the United Nations Organization. The Soviet delegation should insist that before the conclusion of the German Peace Treaty or prior to the formation of all-German institutions in Germany, there could be, with the Allied Council’s approval, organs where Germany is represented by the four occupying powers and which are created with the purposes of Europe’s economic recovery.

[FPARF, f. 06, inv. 9, fold. 18, file 214, pp. 8-13]

Keywords: post-war Germany, inter-allied relations, post-war Western Europe, post-war Eastern Europe

1. The Paris meeting of the foreign ministers of the three European powers was held from 27 June to 2 July 1947. Initially, Jean Bidault and Ernest Bevin met on 17 June in Paris; however, on 19 June the Soviet foreign minister was also invited for discussions on the European Recovery Programme. See Monnen A., *Stalin's Economist: The Economic Contributions of Jenö Varga* (N.Y.: 2011), p. 211. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. The main lending body of the World Bank. It was established at the same time with the IMF according to the resolutions of the 1944 United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference in Bretton Woods. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Established at the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference, in Bretton Woods, in 1944. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. A food and agriculture organisation of the UN; created in 1945 to eradicate world hunger by sustainable management, utilization and trade of food and agricultural products. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. The Soviet Union indicated its preference for international control over aid distribution, but was opposed to control by organisations that were outside the framework of the UN. By spring of 1946, the Soviet leadership began to distrust the new institutions of European integration. See LIPKIN, M. A., The USSR and the First Pan-European Organization: Was There a Chance of a United Europe? (1945-1947), New Historical Journal, 2011, №. 28 (2) <http://www.nivestnik.ru/2011_2/10_lipkin_5.shtml> [↑](#footnote-ref-5)