Memorandum from V. Semyonov[[1]](#footnote-1) and A. Smirnov[[2]](#footnote-2) to Comrade V.M. Molotov for the forthcoming session of the Council of Foreign Ministers, 1 November 1947

I. Outlook for the Session

The information we have allows us to conclude that the London session of Council of Foreign Ministers[[3]](#footnote-3) will not succeed in reaching an agreement on the main issues pertaining to Germany. The position of the British-American bloc on the issue of reparations, the Ruhr, the two-zone merger, and the economic unity of Germany, rules out the possibility of an agreement. On the other hand, there is no evidence yet that the Anglo-American bloc has decided to finally break with the Control Council and to officially set up the West German state, which would decrease their possibility to influence the Soviet zone and to hinder its economic and political development. In view of this, the Session may bring the same results as in Moscow, that is, special decisions on secondary issues in the absence of decisions on the main issues. After the Session we should however expect a further drastic policy aimed at *de facto* partitioning of West Germany up to announcing a peace diktat for West Germany, whilst simultaneously exerting drastic political and economic pressure on the Soviet zone.

Therefore, the Soviet delegation should consider not only the developments during the Council of Foreign Ministers session, but also the possible further steps of the Anglo-American bloc in Germany.

II Delegations’ Positions and Agenda

The agenda will inevitably include two groups of issues:

a/ Current issues on Germany administration, such as financial reform;

b/ Issues related to the future organisation of Germany and peaceful settlement.

The Anglo-American bloc will propose to the Soviet Union and France to join the merged zone and thus to achieve the “economic unity” of Germany, to re-form the two-land economic council into the Provisional Government of Germany with restricted authorities. Rejection by the Soviet Union of this invitation may entail subsequent formation of West German federal lands union with its own political centre. The main position of the entire Anglo-American bloc will be outright or barely disguised revision of the Crimean and the Potsdam decisions.

The French may raise the question on the Saar region and borders, as well as on coal and the Ruhr region.

For a list of other issues that may be raised in this or that form by the partners during the discussion in London please see in Addendum.

The position of the Soviet delegation should be based on the decisions of the Crimea and Berlin Conferences, as well as that of the Council of Foreign Ministers on Germany. Among the current issues on Germany the most important for us are liquidation of the military and economic potential /demilitarisation/, democratisation, and economic issues /level plan and reparations/. During the discussion it is important to demonstrate the actions of the British-American bloc aimed at splitting Germany and to defend immediate restoration of political and economic unity of Germany on the basis of the decisions taken by the Crimea and Berlin Conferences.

The proposals made by the Soviet delegations at Council of Foreign Ministers session in Moscow could serve as the basis here. However, it would be most desirable that the Soviet delegation’s presentation explain and expand the directives on the German issue that had been presented by V.M. Molotov in his speech in Paris in June 1946. These directives of the Soviet Union cannot be adopted easily by the British-American bloc, but they cannot be easily rejected either, as they are in fact provided for by the joint decisions of the four states. Such a presentation by the Soviet delegation would be in line with the the Soviet Union’s general policy on the struggle for peace and against the warmongers , and would impede the formation of the West German state as a satellite of the British-American bloc.

It is hardly advisable that we initiate the proposal for the agenda. If any of the parties at the session of deputy secretaries makes a proposal for the agenda, we think it advisable to include the following issues that had not been resolved in Moscow.

1. On the procedure of preparing the peace treaty with Germany.
2. On the interim political organisation of Germany /Soviet statement, including the issues of the central departments, democratisation, and restoration of economic and political unity of Germany/.
3. Liquidation of the military and economic potential and other demilitarisation issues /Soviet memorandum/.
4. Economic issues /Soviet statement, including economic principles, level of German post-war economy, reparations plan, quadripartite control over the Ruhr/.
5. Report by the Commission on the Austrian treaty.

There is no need for us to expand the agenda with other issues.

It would be advisable that the Soviet delegation present, during the session of the Council of Foreign Ministers but not including the issues in the agenda, the memoranda on the following issues: on displaced persons, on extradition of war criminals, on denazification /with a proposal to set up a quadripartite commission to control the status in all the zones/.

III. The Delegation Composition and Preparation for the session of the Council of Foreign Ministers

a/ The proposals on the delegation composition are attached hereto.

b/ Organisational and technical preparation for the session shall be carried out by the Secretary General of the Soviet delegation /Comrade Kozyrev/ and comrades Erofeev V.Ya., Orlov and Grigoriev.

c/ Drafting of statements and memoranda shall be carried out as follows:

on general policy issues - Comrade Semyonov;

on economic issues - Comrades Geraschenko[[4]](#footnote-4), Kolpakov [[5]](#footnote-5), Arkadiev, Maletin [[6]](#footnote-6);

on military issues - Comrade Slavin [[7]](#footnote-7); Buev

on democratisation issues - Comrades Khvostov[[8]](#footnote-8), and Ivanov;

on displaced persons - Comrades Golubev [[9]](#footnote-9), Basilov[[10]](#footnote-10), Orlov;

on war criminals - Comrades Golunsky [[11]](#footnote-11), Buev.

The preparation of the materials for Council of Foreign Ministers session on German issues shall be generally managed by Comrade Semyonov.

Comrade Orlov shall fulfil the duties of the Head of the 3rd European Department on current issues.

We await for your approval.

[signature] A. Smirnov [signature] V. Semyonov

1 November 1947

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1. Vladimir Semyonovich Semyonov (1911-1992), Soviet politician and diplomat, first Deputy Political Counsellor (1945-1946) then Political Counsellor in the Soviet Military Administration in Germany (1946-1949), USSR High Commissioner in Germany and Soviet ambassador to East Germany (1953-1954). [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Andrey Andreyevich Smirnov (1905-1982), Soviet diplomat. Soviet Ambassador to Iran (1941-1943), Head of the 3rd European Department of the NKID (from 1946 it became the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) of the USSR from 1943 to 1949, and at the same time (1946-1949) the Deputy Minister of the Foreign Affairs of the RSFSR, Member of the Collegium of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR. From 1949 to 1956 he was in the Apparat of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks (it became the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1952). Soviet ambassador to Austria (1956-1957). Soviet ambassador to West Germany (1957-1966). Soviet ambassador to Turkey (1966-1969). Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs (1969-1973) and at the same time (1970-1973) Chairman of the Soviet Committee on UNESCO Affairs. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. The Moscow session of the Council of Foreign Ministers was held in March 1947. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Gerashchenko, Vladimir Sergeyevich (1905–1995), Soviet diplomat. Head of the Economic Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1944 to 1948. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Kolpakov, Boris Timofeyevich (1903–?) Soviet economist. Member of the Collegium of the People’s Commissariat for Foreign Trade (since 1942), Deputy Supreme Commander of the Soviet Military Administration in Germany on economic issues of complex supplies systems (8 June – 3 December 1946). [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Maletin, Pavel Andreyevich (1907–1982), Soviet economist. Head of Financial Management of the Soviet Military Administration in Germany (1946–1949). [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Slavin, Nikolai Vasilievich (1903–1958), Soviet military figure, diplomat, GRU officer, Lieutenant-General. From 1946 to 1953 lectured at the Ministry of Defence. Ambassador to Denmark (1955–1958). [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Khvostov, Vladimir Mikhailovich (1905–1972), Soviet historian and academician. Specialist in the field of international relations, Director of the Higher Diplomatic School of the People’s Commissariat (Ministry) of Foreign Affairs (1945–1946), Head of the Archives Directorate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1946–1957), board member of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1948–1953), Director of the History Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (1959–1967). [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Golubev, Konstantin Dmitrievich (1896 - 1956) - Soviet military figure, Lieutenant-General. First Deputy Commissioner of the Soviet of People’s Commissars for the repatriation of Soviet citizens from Germany and the allied states. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Basilov, Yakov Dmitrievich (1898–1963), Soviet military figure, Major-General. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Golunsky, Sergey Aleksandrovich (1895–1962), Soviet lawyer, diplomat, member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Head of the Treaties and Legal Department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1943–1952). [↑](#footnote-ref-11)