Memorandum from V. Semyonov to Comrade V.M. Molotov, for the forthcoming session of the Council of Foreign Ministers, 8 November 1947

To Comrade V.M. Molotov

For the Forthcoming Session of the Council of Foreign Ministers

I.

 At the Moscow session of the Council of Foreign Ministers[[1]](#footnote-1) it was decided that the agenda of the next session would be agreed through diplomatic channels. Neither party has submitted any proposals on this issue yet. The Soviet representative at the conference of the Deputy Foreign Secretaries to be held in London on the issue of Germany, has been instructed to put the following issues on the agenda of the 5th session of the Council of Foreign Ministers should such question be raised:

1. Procedure for preparation of Peace Treaty with Germany.
2. The format and size of Germany’s interim political organisation.
3. Report from the Control Council on the fulfilment of the Council of Foreign Ministers decisions dated 23 April this year on demilitarisation issues.
4. Economic principles, the level of German post-war economy, and reparations plan.
5. The Commission’s report on the Austrian Treaty.

 If such an agenda is adopted, then it is advisable for the Soviet delegation during during the session of the Council of Foreign Ministers, no to come out with the agenda, and instead with a memorandum 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 denazification in all the zones/.

 Comrade Gusev proposes in his note that, the Japanese issue be brought up for discussion. We think it more advisable that a special session of the Council of Foreign Ministers on the Japanese issue be convened, and this must be suggested accordingly at the end of the London Conference.

 The US, UK, and the French delegations might insist on discussing first of all the issues pertaining to the treaty with Austria, and to which we should object.

 The U delegation, apart from items 1, 2, 4 and 5 of the agenda in the above Soviet proposal, may bring up the following issues:

1. Using German resources to restore Europe;
2. Treaty on Germany’s demilitarisation;
3. German borders (Saar, Eastern borders, the internationalization of Silesia);
4. Convening the peace conference in spring 1948 /in accordance with Byrnes’ proposal// the latter proposal contradicts the agreed part of the procedure for the peace treaty preparation, and should be rejected.

 The UK delegation may, apart from supporting the American proposals, bring up the following issues: 1) On defining the rights of the occupying states and the Germans in Germany; 2) On redistributing the population between the zones and the relating issue of borders; 3) On economic aid to Germany: a) moratorium on dismounting and reparations; b) financial reform; c) import of food; d) distribution of shortages among the occupying states.

The French delegation will raise the issues of Saar, Russian coal and possibly mass emigration of Germans due to overpopulation of Germany.

Almost all of these issues were in one form or another put forward by our partners during the Moscow session. The Soviet delegation has no reason to change its fundamental attitude to these issues compared to the Moscow session.

II.

 The issues of the planned level and reparations, political and economic unity of Germany, and the treaty with Austria may be considered the critical issues of the forthcoming session of the Council of Foreign Ministers.

The form and the amount of time the political organization of Germany will present fewer difficulties, because many of the guidelines have been agreed at the fourth session of the Council of Foreign Ministers. It is possible that the US delegation will propose to immediately establish an Advisory Council, the reactionary majority of which would be able to exert political influence on the Soviet zone. The Soviet delegation must adhere to the order that was agreed to in Moscow, according to which the Advisory Council may be organized three months after the organization of the central departments.

 2. When discussing the issue of the format and size of provisional political organisation of Germany, the Soviet delegation should make a statement on further unilateral actions of the USA and the UK aimed at splitting Germany, as well as on serious violations by said countries of the decisions taken at the Berlin Conference on democratisation and quadripartite administration of Germany. The Soviet statement will propose measures aimed at ensuring the implementation of the Berlin decisions on Germany’s democratisation: the adoption of a single election system for the whole of Germany, the integration of parties and trade unions in whole of Germany, to permit the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in Western Germany, carrying out democratic land reform and decartelisation. The Soviet delegation will propose to immediately set up central departments, as well as other measures aimed at restoring Germany’s political and economic unity in accordance with the proposals made on this issue by the Soviet delegation at the Moscow session of the Council of Foreign Ministers.

 3. When discussing the issue of implementing the agreed-on decisions on demilitarisation taken the Moscow session of the Council of Foreign Ministers on 23 April this year, the Soviet delegation will present a memorandum that will be focused on the Western zones’ non-fulfillment of the Council of Foreign Ministers decisions on putting together a plan for the liquidation of the military and industrial potential, namely, military plants as the top priority. The Soviet delegation will insist on the rapid implementation of the decisions of the Allied Powers on the matter.

 4. On the issue of economic principles, the planned level of the post-war German economy, and reparations, the Soviet delegation will criticise the separate actions of the USA and Great Britain, who have adopted, in contravention of the Allies decisions, a two-zone level plan and destroyed the lengthy joint work of the representatives of the four countries on putting together a consolidated plan of reparations within the Control Council bodies. In the proposals on reparations, the Soviet delegation will insist again that the Council of Foreign Ministers takes the decision which would confirm our right to receive reparations from Germany in the amount of 10 billion dollars, including industrial equipment supplies from the Western zones and the current products from the whole of Germany. The Soviet delegation will also demand in its statement the abolishment of the British-American treaty on the Ruhr issue and the establishment of quadripartite control over Ruhr regions. The Soviet delegation will criticise the unacceptable proposal made by the USA and the UK to the USSR and France to join the two-zone merger, as this merger means refusal to fulfil the decisions of the Crimea and Berlin conferences to the benefit of American monopolies, which has nothing to do with the economic unity of Germany. The Soviet delegation will also come out against the plans for using resources of Western Germany to the benefit of the so-called “Western bloc” /Marshall Plan/. To counterbalance these plans, the Soviet delegation will propose to set up, within the German central departments, a body for Germany’s economic restoration in order to develop and promote the economic plan with regard to the needs of the German people, external trade and Germany’s obligations to democratic countries.

 5. On the report of the Commission on Austrian treaty, the Soviet delegation will adhere to its previous position, insisting that the Soviet Union’s rights to German assets in East Austria be fully recognised, and that guarantees be set up which will ensure the rights in future, in view of the Austrian government officials’ declarations of their intention to violate Austria’s obligations on this issue after the Treaty is concluded.

 6. The texts of the relevant statements and memoranda of the Soviet delegation are being currently drafted, and will be submitted for approval.

[signature] V. SEMYONOV

[FPARF, f. 0431/V, inv. 5, fold. 2, file 6]

Keywords: inter-allied relations, post-war Germany

1. The Moscow Session of the Council of Foreign Ministers took place between March and October in 1947. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)