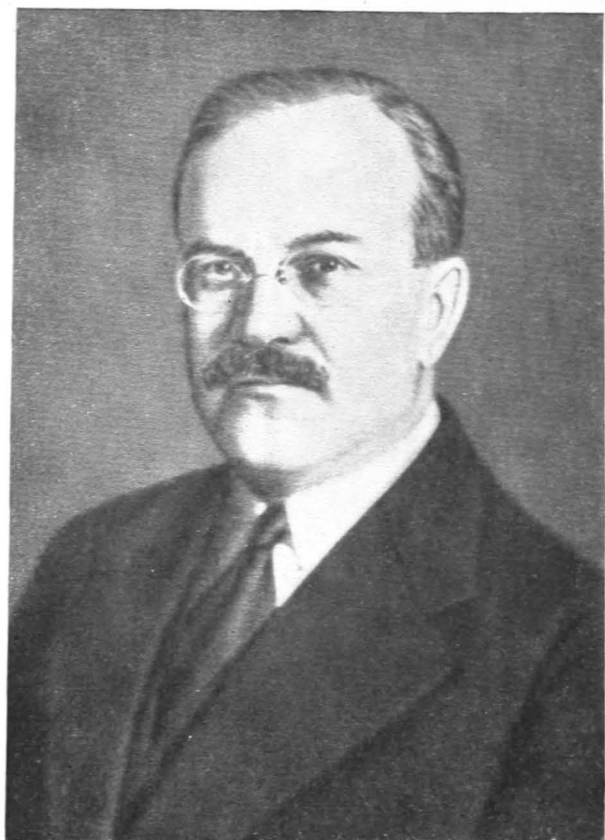


V.M.MOLOTOV

PROBLEMS

OF FOREIGN POLICY



V. M. MOLOTOV

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OF FOREIGN POLICY

SPEECHES AND STATEMENTS

April 1945—November 1948



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PROBLEMS
of
FOREIGN POLICY

APPENDICES

ON THE DEMILITARIZATION OF GERMANY
AND PREVENTION OF GERMAN AGGRESSION

*Draft Treaty Submitted by
the Soviet Delegation at the Moscow
Meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers*

April 14, 1947

On June 5, 1945, the Governments of the United States, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the French Republic declared their intention to effect the total disarmament and demilitarization of Germany. In substantial measure this intention has already been fulfilled. Nothing shall prevent or delay the completion of the process. It is necessary to ensure that Germany remains in a state of total disarmament and demilitarization as long as is required in order that Germany may never again constitute a threat to her neighbours or to the maintenance of peace throughout the world, and as long as is demanded by the task of preventing German aggression. The task of preventing German aggression cannot be carried out fully without destroying German militarism and Nazism and without a radical reconstruction of Germany's public life and state structure on a broad democratic basis. This will be a guarantee of Germany's conversion into a peaceable

state and will create favourable conditions allowing the peoples of Europe and of the whole world to devote themselves entirely to peaceful pursuits. The accomplishment of this task and the fulfilment by Germany of her obligations to the Allied Powers will give the German people the opportunity of taking a worthy place in the commonwealth of nations.

To achieve this objective, the Governments of the United States, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the French Republic agree to engage in the common undertaking defined in this Treaty.

ARTICLE I

The High Contracting Parties agree that they will take steps jointly to ensure that:

(a) All German armed forces including land, air, anti-aircraft and naval forces, all para-military forces, such as the SS, the SA, the Gestapo, and all organizations auxiliary to the foregoing, shall, at the earliest date, be and shall remain completely disarmed, demobilized and disbanded, and the re-establishment, in any form whatsoever, of the disbanded German military forces, of the organizations enumerated above, and of auxiliary units of all and every description, shall be prevented.

(b) The German General Staff and the staffs of any military and para-military organization shall be and shall remain disbanded and their re-establishment in any form whatsoever shall be prevented.

(c) No military or para-military organizations in any form or guise shall be permitted in Germany.

(d) The manufacture or production in, or the importation of military equipment into Germany shall be pre-

vented. In particular, the High Contracting Parties shall prevent the manufacture, production or importation of:

(1) all arms, ammunition, explosives, military equipment, military stores and supplies and other implements of war of all kinds;

(2) all fissionable materials for any purpose, except under conditions approved by the High Contracting Parties;

(3) all naval vessels of all classes, both surface and submarine, and auxiliary naval craft;

(4) all aircraft of all kinds, aviation equipment and devices and equipment for anti-aircraft defence.

(e) The establishment, utilization or operation for military purposes of any of the following shall be prevented: all military structures, installations and establishments, including military airfields, sea plane bases and naval bases, military and naval storage depots, permanent and temporary land and coast fortifications, fortresses and other fortified areas; all remaining structures, installations and establishments of this nature shall be destroyed.

(f) Under conditions which may be established by the High Contracting Parties the demilitarization and disarmament required by this Article shall be subject to the following exceptions:

(1) The formation and employment of such detachments of German civil police, and their equipment with such types and quantities of imported small arms as may be essential to the maintenance of public security;

(2) the importation of minimum quantities of those items listed in paragraph (d) above, such as explosives or ingredients of explosives which may be essential for purposes of construction, mining, agriculture, or for other peaceful purpose.

ARTICLE II

The High Contracting Parties agree that:

(a) all measures necessary to destroy the German war potential shall be carried out; all war plants, specialized military installations of other plants and such production capacities in other industries as are not required for the industry which shall be permitted in order to meet the needs of Germany's peace economy, shall be removed as reparations or destroyed;

(b) the establishment, utilization or operation for military purposes of any factories, mills, workshops, research institutes, laboratories, testing stations, technical data, patents, plans, blueprints and inventions which are used, or intended to be used, for the production or for facilitating the production of those items listed in Article I, paragraphs (d) and (e) of the present Treaty, shall be prevented.

ARTICLE III

In order to prevent the utilization of German industry for military purposes the High Contracting Parties agree that:

a) the Ruhr industrial region, as the principal base of German armament production and the main industrial support of German militarism, shall be placed under the joint control of Great Britain, the United States of America, France and the Soviet Union in order that the resources of the Ruhr may be utilized for the development of Germany's peaceful industries and for meeting the needs of the European nations that have suffered from German aggression;

b) there shall be completed at the earliest date the liquidation of German concerns, cartels, syndicates, trusts and the banking monopolies that control them, which were the instigators and organizers of German aggression; the enterprises that belonged to them shall be transferred to the ownership of the German State, and the re-establishment of monopolistic industrial and financial associations in Germany shall henceforth be prevented.

ARTICLE IV

With the aim of destroying the roots of German aggression and of transforming Germany into a peaceful and democratic state, the High Contracting Parties agree that:

a) measures shall be taken to uproot the remnants of German Nazism and German aggressive nationalism in other forms and to obviate the possibility of the resurgence in any shape of the Nazi party, Nazi organizations and institutions; all Nazi and militarist influence in Germany shall be completely eliminated and Nazi and militarist activities and propaganda shall not be permitted in the future;

b) the German people shall be accorded every assistance in the establishment of a democratic order on the basis of a democratic German Constitution approved by the German people; this should guarantee the German people freedom of speech, press, religious beliefs, assembly, freedom of activity for democratic parties, trade unions and other anti-Nazi organizations on an all-German scale, with due safeguards for the rights and interests of the working population and with consideration for the need to maintain security;

c) a land reform shall be effected throughout Germany in order to transfer to the peasants the lands of the large Junker landowners, who have always been the instigators of German aggression and have produced the most dangerous German militarists.

ARTICLE V

The High Contracting Parties agree that when they regard the fulfilment of the basic objectives of the occupation of Germany as ensured, namely:

a) the completion of Germany's demilitarization, including the liquidation of her industrial war potential, in accordance with the orders of the Allied Powers;

b) the re-establishment and consolidation in Germany of a democratic order;

c) the fulfilment by Germany of the established reparations obligations, as well as of other obligations to the Allies,

the Allied Powers shall consider the question of discontinuing the occupation of Germany.

ARTICLE VI

Upon the termination of the occupation of Germany, a Control Commission shall be established, functioning on a quadripartite basis, which through its officers or Committees shall conduct in any or all parts of German territory such inspections, inquiries and investigations as it may deem necessary; in the event of Germany violating her obligations to the Allied Powers the High Contracting Parties may employ means of compulsion, including such

action by air, sea and land forces as may be necessary to ensure the immediate cessation or prevention of such violation or attempted violation.

The Control Commission shall keep the High Contracting Parties and the United Nations Security Council informed of the results of the inspections, inquiries and investigations authorized by this Article, and the High Contracting Parties shall immediately report to the United Nations Security Council the action taken or to be taken.

The High Contracting Parties agree that simultaneously with adopting a decision on the termination of the occupation of Germany, they shall consult for the purpose of negotiating special quadripartite agreements, which, without prejudice to the obligations devolving on them under the United Nations Charter, shall provide in the greatest practicable detail for inspection, inquiry and investigation by the Control Commission; for the numbers and types of armed forces which each Party shall make available for the purposes of this Treaty; for their degree of readiness and general location, and for the nature of the facilities and assistance which each shall provide. Such special quadripartite agreements shall be subject to ratification by the High Contracting Parties in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures.

ARTICLE VII

This Treaty shall be ratified by the High Contracting Parties in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures. The ratifications shall be deposited with the Government of..... which shall notify all the High Contracting Parties of each act of deposit.

This Treaty shall come into force upon the deposit of ratifications by all the High Contracting Parties. This Treaty shall remain in force for a period of forty years from its effective date. The High Contracting Parties agree to consult each other six months before the date of expiration of this Treaty for the purpose of determining whether the interests of international peace and security require its renewal, with or without modification, or whether the German people have so far progressed in the reconstruction of their life on a democratic and peaceful basis that the continued imposition of control measures is no longer necessary.

**PROPOSAL OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION
AT THE CONFERENCE OF THE THREE
FOREIGN MINISTERS IN PARIS**

On June 30, 1947, at the Conference of the three Foreign Ministers in Paris, V. M. Molotov, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., submitted the following proposal:

The Conference of the Foreign Ministers of France, the United Kingdom and the U.S.S.R. recognizes the great importance of the task of expediting the reconstruction and further development of the national economy of European countries disturbed by the war and considers that the accomplishment of this task would be facilitated if the United States were to render the economic aid, of which the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Marshall, spoke in his statement of June 5.

The Conference considers that it does not come within its task to draft a comprehensive economic program for European countries, since the drafting of such an economic program for the whole of Europe by the three great Powers, even with the participation of certain other European countries, would have as its inevitable result the imposing of the will of strong European Powers upon

other European countries, would constitute an intervention in the internal affairs of these countries and an infringement of their sovereignty. Any attempts to draft such a comprehensive economic program for Europe are the more inadmissible as they would lead to the disturbance of existing economic relations between European countries and would give rise to great friction in their relations, and this would render difficult that most necessary development of economic cooperation between European countries.

The Conference of the three Foreign Ministers therefore deems it suitable:

1. That in order to ascertain the requirements of European countries for American economic aid, to determine the possibility of such aid being rendered by the U.S.A., and to assist the European countries in receiving such aid, there should be established an Assistance Committee, composed of representatives of France, the United Kingdom and the U.S.S.R. and subsequently to include representatives of certain other European countries.

2. That Sub-Committees of the Assistance Committee should be set up for the following questions:

- a) food
- b) fuel
- c) equipment.

The Sub-Committees shall include, besides representatives of the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom and France, representatives of two European countries especially concerned in the work of the respective Sub-Committee from among the countries which were subjected to German occupation and which contributed to the common victory of the Allies over the enemy.

The ex-enemy countries may be invited by the Sub-Committees for consultation.

The question of Germany is to be considered by the four following Powers: United Kingdom, France, U.S.S.R., U.S.A.

3. The tasks of the Assistance Committee shall be:

a) to receive applications from European countries for the American economic aid required by them;

b) to draft a summary program on the basis of such applications, the needs of countries which were subjected to German occupation and contributed to the Allied common victory to be provided for in the first instance;

c) to ascertain the possibilities of appropriate economic aid from the U.S.A.

4. The Assistance Committee shall establish relations with the European Economic Commission of UNO according to the tasks entrusted to it.