

NAZI-SOVIET  
RELATIONS

1939 - 1941

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

# AZI-SOVIET RELATIONS

1939 - 1941

Documents from the Archives of  
The German Foreign Office



Edited by  
RAYMOND JAMES SONTAG  
and  
JAMES STUART BEDDIE  
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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## *Preface*

**I**N 1945 THE American and British armies captured the archives of the German Foreign Office which had been evacuated from Berlin. Use of the archives for intelligence purposes began immediately. Later, it became evident that the documents concerning the aims and methods of German foreign policy should be published for the enlightenment of world opinion, including German opinion.

In June 1946 the Department of State and the British Foreign Office agreed to sponsor jointly the publication of approximately twenty volumes of documents illustrative of German foreign policy from 1918 to 1945. The French Government subsequently became a party to this agreement. The documents were to be printed in the original German, and the more important were also to be printed in English translation. It was agreed that the selection and editing were to be performed on the basis of the highest scholarly objectivity and that, to secure an authoritative and scholarly documentary record of German foreign policy, the services of private scholars should be enlisted, as well as the services of scholars in government service. Each Government reserved the right to publish separately any portion of the documents.

The Department of State has decided to publish separately the most significant documents bearing on German-Soviet relations during 1939-1941. This collection has been made by the Washington editors of the documents, Raymond James Sontag and James Stuart Beddie, assisted by Jean Brownell Dulaney.

### *Editors' Foreword*

THE EDITORS have selected for publication at this time all documents essential to an understanding of the political relations between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union from the first efforts to reach an agreement in the spring of 1939 to the outbreak of war in June 1941. The larger publication sponsored by the American, British, and French Governments will include additional details, as well as documents which throw light incidentally on Russo-German relations, but which are concerned with other subjects. The lengthy agreements defining frontiers, and the bulky details of economic relations, have been left to the larger publication. Documents summarizing economic negotiations have, however, been included. Each document has been printed in full, without omissions or alterations.

The translations, except for a few prepared by the editors, were made by the Central Translating Division of the Department of State, and revised by the editors.

The editors have had complete independence in their work and final responsibility for the selection of relevant documents.

RAYMOND JAMES SONTAG  
JAMES STUART BEDDIE

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## LIST OF PRINCIPAL PERSONS

ALFIERI, Dino, Italian Ambassador in Germany  
ASTAKHOV, Georgei, Counselor of Embassy of the Soviet Embassy in Germany  
BECK, Josef, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs  
BLÜCHER, Dr. Wipert, German Minister in Finland  
CIANO, Count Galeazzo, Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs  
CRIPPS, Sir Stafford, British Ambassador in the Soviet Union  
DEKANOSOV, Vladimir G., Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, later Soviet Ambassador in Germany  
GAUS, Dr. Friedrich Wilhelm, Under State Secretary, Head of the Legal Division of the German Foreign Office  
GÖRING, Hermann, Reichsmarshal, Reich Air Minister and Commander-in-Chief of the Air Force  
GRUNDHERB, Dr. von, Minister, Head of the Baltic and Scandinavian Section of the Political Division of the German Foreign Office  
HENCKE, Andor, Under State Secretary in the German Foreign Office  
HEWEL, Walter, Representative of the Reich Foreign Minister on the staff of the Führer  
HILGER, Gustav, Counselor of Legation, later Counselor of Embassy in the German Embassy in the Soviet Union  
HITLER, Adolf, Führer of the German Reich and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces  
JODL, Major General Alfred, Chief of Operations Staff (*Wehrmachtführungsstab*) of the German High Command  
KEITEL, Marshal Wilhelm, Chief of the High Command of the Armed Forces (*OKW*)  
KOLLONTAY, Alexandra, Soviet Minister in Sweden  
KÖSTRING, Lieut. General Ernst, Military Attaché of the German Embassy in the Soviet Union  
LITVINOV, Maxim, Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs to May 3, 1939  
MACKENSEN, Hans Georg von, German Ambassador in Italy  
MATSUOKA, Yosuke, Japanese Foreign Minister  
MEISSNER, Dr. Otto, Minister of State and Head of the Presidential Chancellery (*Præsidentialkanzlei*)  
MEREKALOV, Alexei, Soviet Ambassador in Germany  
MIKOYAN, Anastas I., Soviet Commissar for Foreign Trade; Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars  
MOLOTOV, Vyacheslav M., Chairman, later Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union; Commissar for Foreign Affairs from May 3, 1939  
MUSSOLINI, Benito, Head of the Italian Government  
OSHIMA, Hiroshi, Japanese Ambassador in Germany  
OTT, General Eugen, German Ambassador in Japan

- PAPEN, FRANZ von, German Ambassador in Turkey  
POTEMKIN, Vladimir, Soviet Deputy Commissar for Foreign Affairs  
RAEDER, Grand Admiral Erich, Commander-in-Chief of the German Navy  
RIBBENTROP, Joachim von, Reich Foreign Minister  
RITTER, Dr. Karl, Ambassador on special assignment in the German Foreign Office, in charge of economic warfare questions  
ROSSO, Augusto, Italian Ambassador in the Soviet Union  
SCHLIEF, Dr., Counselor of Legation, Head of the Eastern European Section of the Political Division of the German Foreign Office.  
SCHMIDT, Dr. Paul Otto Gustav, Minister, Chief of the Bureau of the Reich Foreign Minister, interpreter in diplomatic negotiations  
SCHNURRE, Dr. Karl, Counselor of Legation, later Minister, Head of the Eastern European and Baltic Section of the Commercial Policy Division of the German Foreign Office  
SCHULENBURG, Friedrich Werner, Count von der, German Ambassador in the Soviet Union  
SCHWERIN-KROSIGK, Lutz, Count von, Reich Finance Minister  
SHKVARTSEV, Alexander, Soviet Ambassador in Germany  
SKIRPA, Kazys, Lithuanian Minister in Germany  
SOBOLEV, Arkady A., General Secretary of the Soviet Commissariat for Foreign Affairs  
STALIN, Josef, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union  
STEINHARDT, Laurence A., United States Ambassador in the Soviet Union  
STRANG, Sir William, Head of British Mission to the Soviet Union  
TIPPELSKIRCH, Werner von, Counselor of Embassy, later Minister in the German Embassy in the Soviet Union  
VISHINSKY, Andrei, Deputy Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union  
WARLIMONT, General Walter, Deputy Chief of the Operations Staff (*Wehrmachtsführungsstab*) of the German High Command (*OKW*)  
WEIZSÄCKER, Ernst, Baron von, State Secretary in the German Foreign Office  
WIEHL, Emil Karl Josef, Ministerialdirektor, Head of the Commercial Policy Division of the German Foreign Office  
WOERMANN, Dr. Ernst, Under State Secretary, Head of the Political Division of the German Foreign Office  
WUORIMAA, Aarne, Finnish Minister in Germany



## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

### I. TENTATIVE EFFORTS TO IMPROVE GERMAN-SOVIET RELATIONS, APRIL 17- AUGUST 14, 1939

Date	Subject	Page
1939 Apr. 17	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker)</i> Conversation with the Soviet Ambassador who, after discussing Soviet contracts with Skoda, suggests the possibility of improved Soviet-German relations.	1
May 4	<i>The German Chargé in the Soviet Union (Tippelskirch) to the German Foreign Office</i> The significance of the replacement of Litvinov by Molotov.	2
May 5	<i>Foreign Office Memorandum</i> The Soviet Chargé, Astakhov, suggests to Schnurre the revival of economic negotiations and stresses the significance of Molotov's appointment.	3
May 9	<i>Foreign Office Memorandum</i> Astakhov expresses pleasure at the changed tone of the German press.	3
May 17	<i>Foreign Office Memorandum</i> Astakhov is sceptical concerning the prospects of an Anglo-Soviet agreement; and is optimistic on the improvement of Soviet-German relations.	4
May 20	<i>Memorandum by the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> Molotov says the construction of "political bases" must precede new economic negotiations; he refuses to elaborate.	5
May 21	<i>The State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker) to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> Schulenburg to take no action.	7
May 22	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker)</i> An analysis of political currents in Moscow.	8
May 27	<i>The State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker) to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> Germany hesitates to make advances until the outcome of the Soviet negotiations with Britain and France is known.	9
May 29	<i>Foreign Office Memorandum</i> Arguments for and against negotiations with the U.S.S.R.	10
	<i>Foreign Office Memorandum</i> A proposal that Weizsäcker explore the possibility of agreement.	11

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1939 May 30	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker)</i> Both Weizsäcker and Astakhov, in conversation on economic questions, hint that a German-Soviet political agreement is desirable and possible.	12
May 30	<i>The State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker) to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> A telegraphic summary of the above conversation; Germany has decided to undertake negotiations.	15
May 30	<i>The State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker) to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> Hilger may begin economic negotiations; political questions are to be referred to Berlin.	17
June 5	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker)</i> Contents that, in the interview of May 20, Molotov had not rejected a German-Soviet political agreement; rather, he had almost invited political discussions.	18
June 15	<i>Foreign Office Memorandum</i> The Bulgarian Minister reports a conversation with Astakhov on Soviet foreign policy.	20
June 18	<i>The German Chargé in the Soviet Union (Tippelskirch) to the German Foreign Office</i> The Soviet Government is sceptical of German sincerity. Enclosure: Mikoyan tells Hilger that the German reply on economic negotiations is "not entirely favorable."	21
June 27	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> Stresses the Soviet fear that Germany is pushing economic negotiations only to block an Anglo-Soviet agreement and that Germany will allow the negotiations to lapse when this objective is achieved.	24
June 29	<i>Foreign Office Memorandum</i> Hitler orders negotiations with the U.S.S.R. ended.	25
June 29	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> A conversation with Molotov, who, while still suspicious, shows desire to maintain contact with Germany.	26
June 30	<i>The State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker) to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> No further action is to be taken for the moment on political or economic negotiation.	27

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1939 July 3	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> Details of the conversation of June 28 with Molotov.	28
July 12	<i>The Counselor of Embassy of the German Embassy in the Soviet Union (Tippelskirch) to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> After conversations in Berlin, he concludes that there is no definite political opinion on the problem of negotiations with the U.S.S.R.	30
July 22	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> The Soviet press announces the opening of economic negotiations.	32
July 27	<i>Foreign Office Memorandum</i> Schnurre, in conversation with Astakhov and Babarin, explores problems of German-Soviet relations.	32
July 29	<i>The German Foreign Office to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> Schulenburg is to discover Molotov's views on the above conversation, and, if Molotov abandons his reserve, to state that Germany is prepared to respect Soviet interests in Poland and the Baltic States.	36
Aug. 3	<i>The State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker) to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> Schnurre will tell Astakhov that Germany is ready for more concrete discussions.	37
Aug. 3	<i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> Germany must know whether or not the U.S.S.R. is prepared to settle all problems, so that German policy can be adjusted to meet the Soviet position.	37
Aug. 4	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> Molotov, abandoning reserve, expresses hope for improved relations, but says that proofs of a changed German attitude are lacking.	39
Aug. 7	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to Counselor of Legation Schliep of the German Foreign Office</i> Schulenburg comments privately on British and French negotiations with the U.S.S.R., on Soviet mistrust of Germany, and on current gossip in Moscow.	42
Aug. 10	<i>Foreign Office Memorandum</i> Schnurre warns Astakhov that Soviet interests in Poland can be protected only by a German-Soviet agreement concluded before the outbreak of war; Astakhov says the negotiations with Britain were begun by the Soviets without enthusiasm, and only as protection against Germany.	44

I. TENTATIVE EFFORTS TO IMPROVE GERMAN-SOVIET RELATIONS, APRIL 17-  
AUGUST 14, 1939—Continued

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1939 Aug. 14	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker)</i> Reviews the situation in Moscow to justify his belief that haste should be avoided.	46
Aug. 14	<i>The German Foreign Office to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> In accordance with instructions, Astakhov tells Schnurre that the Soviet Government wishes to discuss each group of questions, by stages.	48

## II. AGREEMENT ACHIEVED, AUGUST 14—AUGUST 23, 1939

1939 Aug. 14	<i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> Schulenburg to tell Molotov that ideological differences do not exclude friendly cooperation; that all questions from the Baltic to the Balkans can be settled; that the western democracies are the natural enemies of both Germany and the U.S.S.R.; that, since war may come soon, immediate clarification of relations is desirable; that Ribbentrop is prepared to come to Moscow to negotiate.	50
Aug. 16	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> On August 15, Molotov says he is now convinced of German sincerity, but believes adequate preparation should precede Ribbentrop's visit; he inquires about German views on a non-aggression pact and on territorial questions.	52
Aug. 16	<i>Memorandum by the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> A detailed account of the above conversation.	53.
Aug. 16	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker)</i> Schulenburg stresses the candor and the willingness to negotiate shown by Molotov on August 15.	57
Aug. 16	<i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> Instructions to tell Molotov that Germany is ready to conclude a nonaggression pact, to guarantee jointly the Baltic States, and to work for improved relations between Japan and the U.S.S.R. The need for haste is to be stressed; Ribbentrop is ready to come to Moscow at any time after August 18 with full powers from Hitler.	58
Aug. 18	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> Schulenburg reads Ribbentrop's offer of August 16; Molotov reads the Soviet reply to the German proposals of August 15, stressing the earlier Soviet fear of German aggression, the willingness of the U.S.S.R. to conclude a political agreement after the economic agreement had been signed, and the need for thorough preparation before the proposed visit of Ribbentrop.	59

## II. AGREEMENT ACHIEVED

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Date		Page
1939. Aug. 18	<p><i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i></p> <p>Instructions to tell Molotov immediately that speed is essential since hostilities may begin any day; to read him the text for the nonaggression treaty proposed by Germany; and to state that Ribbentrop will be empowered to sign a protocol defining spheres of influence.</p>	61
Aug. 19	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>Molotov agrees to visit of Ribbentrop on August 26 or 27 and submits the draft for a nonaggression pact.</p>	63
Aug. 19	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>In the first of two interviews Molotov insists on the need for thorough preparation for Ribbentrop's visit; within a half hour Schulenburg is requested to call on Molotov again; in the second interview Molotov gives the draft of a nonaggression pact and consents to visit of Ribbentrop on August 26 or 27; Schulenburg assumes that the changed attitude of Molotov is explained by Stalin's intervention.</p>	64
Aug. 19	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>Gives the terms of the nonaggression pact proposed by the Soviet Government.</p>	65
Aug. 20	<p><i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i></p> <p>Encloses a letter from Hitler to Stalin accepting the Soviet draft nonaggression pact, expressing the belief that agreement on the supplementary protocol can be speedily reached only if a responsible German official comes to Moscow, urging that the imminence of war makes speed essential, and requesting that Stalin receive Ribbentrop not later than August 23.</p>	66
Aug. 21	<p><i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i></p> <p>Stresses importance of his visit.</p>	67
Aug. 21	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>Hitler's message delivered to Molotov and necessity for haste emphasized.</p>	67
Aug. 21	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>Stalin's answer is conciliatory; he agrees to the arrival of Ribbentrop on August 23.</p>	68
Aug. 21	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>The text of Stalin's reply to Hitler.</p>	69
Aug. 22	<p><i>Full Powers to the Reich Foreign Minister, Herr Joachim von Ribbentrop</i></p> <p>Full powers from Hitler to Ribbentrop.</p>	69

II. AGREEMENT ACHIEVED, AUGUST 14-~~August~~ 23, 1939—Continued

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1939 Aug. 22	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker)</i> The Japanese Ambassador expresses uneasiness concerning the probable repercussions of a German-Soviet pact in Japan; Weizsäcker maintains that the pact was made necessary by the refusal of Japan to conclude a firm alliance.	70
Aug. 23	<i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Foreign Office</i> Requests Hitler's consent to placing Libau and Windau in Soviet sphere of influence.	71
Aug. 23	<i>The German Foreign Office to the Reich Foreign Minister</i> Hitler agrees to above.	72
Aug. 24	<i>Memorandum of a Conversation Held on the Night of August 23d to 24th, Between the Reich Foreign Minister, on the One Hand, and Herr Stalin and the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars Molotov, on the Other Hand</i> Discussion of Soviet relations with Japan, the aspirations of Italy in the Balkans, the strength and weakness of Britain and France, the Anti-Comintern Pact, and the natural sympathy between the German people and the peoples of the U.S.S.R.; toasts at the conclusion of the discussion.	72
Aug. 23	<i>Treaty of Nonaggression Between Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</i> Each government pledges itself not to attack, not to support an attack against, and not to join any grouping of powers directed against, the other contracting party; each promises to consult the other on all questions of common interest.	76
Aug. 23	<i>Secret Additional Protocol</i> The Northern boundary of Lithuania to be the boundary between the German and Soviet spheres of influence; this boundary in Poland to be the line of the rivers Narew, Vistula, and San; whether there is to be an independent Poland will be determined later by friendly agreement; in Southeastern Europe, Germany declares her political disinterestedness in those areas, while the interest of the U.S.S.R. in Bessarabia is affirmed.	78

## III. THE PACT EXECUTED AND AMENDED, AUGUST 23-SEPTEMBER 28, 1939

1939 Aug. 23	<i>The Reich Finance Minister (Schwerin-Krosigk) to the Reich Foreign Minister</i> Ciano says that despite the German-Soviet pact, Britain and France will fight and that the Axis is not prepared for the war of attrition which would ensue; Schwerin-Krosigk says Hitler did not believe there would be a war with Britain and France; Ciano replies that he is aware of that, but he believes Hitler is wrong.	79
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III. THE PACT EXECUTED AND AMENDED, AUGUST 23-SEPTEMBER 28, 1939—  
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1939 Aug. 25	<p><i>Letter from Hitler to Mussolini</i></p> <p>Hitler maintains that the refusal of Japan to conclude a general alliance and the unbearable provocations of Poland necessitated the pact with the U.S.S.R.; now, in case of war, the favorable attitude of the U.S.S.R. is assured, Rumania cannot intervene, and Turkey must revise her position; war may come any hour.</p>	80
Aug. 25	<p><i>Letter from Mussolini to Hitler</i></p> <p>Mussolini approves the German-Soviet pact; he understands the German position regarding Poland; if Germany attacks, and the allies of Poland counterattack, Italy can intervene only if Germany supplies arms and raw materials.</p>	82
Aug. 29	<p><i>Foreign Office Memorandum</i></p> <p>By the German-Soviet Trade Agreement of August 19, Germany will export machines, machine tools, and munitions to the U.S.S.R., receiving raw materials in exchange, particularly lumber, cotton, feed grain, oil cake, phosphate, platinum, raw furs, and petroleum.</p>	83
Sept. 2	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>After consultation with Stalin, Molotov says Soviet relations with Turkey are good, and that the Soviet Government is prepared to work for permanent Turkish neutrality as Germany desires.</p>	85
Sept. 3	<p><i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i></p> <p>Expects decisive defeat of Polish Army in a few weeks; instructions to suggest to Molotov the advisability at proper time of military occupation of Soviet sphere of influence.</p>	86
Sept. 5	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>Molotov deprecates premature occupation of Soviet sphere.</p>	87
Sept. 5	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>Molotov says the Soviet Government is using its considerable influence with Turkey in the sense desired by Germany.</p>	87
Sept. 6	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>The sudden shift of Soviet policy toward Germany is reflected in the completely changed tone of organs of public opinion; the population is still bewildered by the shift and fearful of war, but the Soviet Government has always previously been able to direct popular attitudes.</p>	88
Sept. 9	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>Molotov extends congratulations on the entry of German troops into Warsaw.</p>	89

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Sept. 9	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i>            Molotov says that Soviet military action will take place in the next few days.</p>	90
Sept. 9	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i>            Describes Soviet military preparations.</p>	90
Sept. 10	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i>            Molotov says the Soviet Government was not prepared for the swift German victory; the Red Army is not yet ready to advance; the Soviet Government, to avoid the appearance of aggression, would justify its military action by saying that Ukrainians and White Russians were threatened by Germany.</p>	91
Sept. 13	<p><i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i>            Denies rumors of an armistice between Germany and Poland.</p>	92
Sept. 14	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i>            Molotov wishes to know when Warsaw will fall so that he may say Poland has collapsed and Russian minorities require protection.</p>	92
Sept. 15	<p><i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i>            Warsaw is expected to fall in the next few days; suggests the text for a joint German-Soviet communiqué; states that the justification for Soviet military action suggested by Molotov would expose the two states as enemies before the whole world.</p>	93
Sept. 16	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i>            Molotov says Soviet military action is imminent; he sees no reason for a joint communiqué; he requests that Germany accept the proposed justification of Soviet action in view of the difficult position of the Soviet Government.</p>	95
Sept. 17	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i>            Stalin says the Red Army will cross the frontier today; he alters the text of the note to be handed the Polish Ambassador so that it is satisfactory to Germany.</p>	96
Sept. 17	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i>            Stalin says that an assistance pact with Turkey is being negotiated; he believes the pact advantageous since it would insure Turkish neutrality.</p>	97



III. THE PACT EXECUTED AND AMENDED, AUGUST 23—SEPTEMBER 28, 1939—  
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Date	Subject	Page
1939 Sept. 18	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker)</i> Ribbentrop should discuss the proposed Turkish-Soviet agreement with the Italians; we should concur only if the U.S.S.R. is not obligated to action against Germany, Italy, and Bulgaria.	97
Sept. 18	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> Stalin doubts if German High Command will withdraw to agreed line; Schulenburg requests authority to remove his doubts.	98
Sept. 18	<i>Memorandum by Counselor of Legation Hilger of the German Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Describes revision by Stalin of communiqué proposed by Germany; Stalin considered the German version too frank; the German draft and Stalin's draft are appended.	98
Sept. 19	<i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> Instructions to tell Stalin that German agreements with the U.S.S.R. will be kept; they are the foundation of friendly relations between Germany and the U.S.S.R.	101
Sept. 20	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> Molotov proposes negotiations in Moscow for a definitive Polish settlement.	101
Sept. 23	<i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> Willingness to come to Moscow to effect a definitive Polish settlement.	102
Sept. 25	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> Stalin proposes that Germany waive claim to Lithuania in return for a larger part of Polish territory; Stalin requests assent to immediate solution of the problem of the Baltic countries.	102
Sept. 27	<i>The German Foreign Office to the German Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> The U.S.S.R. has demanded an alliance with Estonia, and naval and air bases.	103
Sept. 27	<i>The German Foreign Office to the German Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> The Finnish Foreign Minister states that Finland will never accept demands such as the U.S.S.R. has imposed on Estonia.	104
Sept. 27	<i>The German Foreign Office to the German Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> The Estonian Government will negotiate in Moscow; they will seek a reduction of Soviet demands.	104

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1939 Sept. 27- 29	<i>Timetable of Ribbentrop's Second Visit to Moscow</i>	105
Sept. 28	<i>German-Soviet Boundary and Friendship Treaty</i> The text of the public treaty defining boundaries in the territory of Poland; interference by third powers will be rejected.	105
Sept. 28	<i>Confidential Protocol</i> Providing for exchange of nationals residing within the territories under the jurisdiction of the two powers.	106
Sept. 28	<i>Secret Supplementary Protocol</i> Lithuania, except for territory in the southwest, is within the Russian sphere of influence; the province of Lublin and parts of the province of Warsaw are in the German sphere; economic agreements between Lithuania and Germany will not be affected by Soviet action.	107
Sept. 28	<i>Secret Supplementary Protocol</i> Both Germany and the U.S.S.R. will suppress any Polish agitation.	107
Sept. 28	<i>Declaration of the Government of the German Reich and the Government of the U.S.S.R. of September 28, 1939</i> Affirming that peace should be restored in Europe now that the Polish problem is definitively settled.	108
Sept. 28	<i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union (Molotov)</i> An agreement to begin negotiations for a new trade treaty.	108
Sept. 28	<i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union (Molotov)</i> Confirming a Soviet promise to facilitate German transit traffic through the U.S.S.R., with Rumania, Iran, Afghanistan, and the Far East; confirming also a Soviet agreement on the delivery of oil.	109

IV. GERMAN-SOVIET COOPERATION, OCTOBER 2, 1939-MAY 29, 1940

1939 Oct. 2	<i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> Instructions to suggest once more to Molotov the desirability of Soviet pressure to prevent the alliance of Turkey with Britain and France.	110
Oct. 2	<i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in Turkey (Papen)</i> Instructions to use every effort to prevent the alliance of Turkey with Britain and France.	110

## IV. GERMAN-SOVIET COOPERATION, OCTOBER 2, 1939—MAY 29, 1940—Continued

Date	Subject	Page
1939		
Oct. 2	<p><i>Memorandum by the State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker)</i></p> <p>The Finnish Minister asks what significance the German-Soviet agreements have for Finland. Weizsäcker replies that Germany wishes friendly relations with Finland.</p>	111
Oct. 3	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>Molotov says he intends to tell the Lithuanian Foreign Minister that the U.S.S.R. is willing to give Vilna to Lithuania and also that Lithuania must cede a portion of its territory to Germany. Schulenburg fears this will make Germany appear a "robber" while the U.S.S.R. appears a donor.</p>	112
Oct. 3	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>Molotov says the U.S.S.R. is using its influence with Turkey in the desired direction.</p>	113
Oct. 4	<p><i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i></p> <p>Instructions to request Molotov not to speak of the strip of Lithuanian territory.</p>	113
Oct. 5	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>Molotov says that he had already told the Lithuanians of the territory which must go to Germany, that the Lithuanians had been dismayed by the news, and that Stalin requests Germany not to insist on cession at this time.</p>	114
Oct. 5	<p><i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i></p> <p>The German Minister to Lithuania is to state that, in the negotiations at Moscow, Germany recommended the cession of Vilna to Lithuania, and reserved the right to a small strip of Lithuanian territory; he is to say that the Reich Government does not wish to raise the latter question at this time.</p>	115
Oct. 5	<p><i>Memorandum by the State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker)</i></p> <p>The Lithuanian Minister expresses satisfaction with the German explanation, as given above.</p>	116
Oct. 7	<p><i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i></p> <p>Instructions to emphasize to Molotov that if the U.S.S.R. concludes an assistance pact with Turkey, any obligation to give assistance against Germany must be expressly and publicly excluded; otherwise the confidence of the German people in the German-Soviet agreements will be shaken.</p>	117
Oct. 8	<p><i>The Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union (Molotov) to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i></p> <p>If Soviet troops are stationed in Lithuania, they will not occupy the strip reserved for Germany; Germany will determine when the agreement concerning this territory is to be implemented.</p>	118

## IV. GERMAN-SOVIET COOPERATION, OCTOBER 2, 1939—MAY 29, 1940—Continued

Date	Subject	Page
1939 Oct. ?	<i>Foreign Office Memorandum</i> Schnurre is to seek increased deliveries of raw materials by and through the U.S.S.R.	119
Oct. 9	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> Molotov does not believe an assistance pact will be concluded with Turkey; the aim of the Soviet Government is to secure the full neutrality of Turkey.	120
Oct. 9	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker)</i> The Finnish Government wishes to know whether Germany is indifferent to the Soviet advance in the Baltic.	121
Oct. 9	<i>The State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker) to the German Minister in Finland (Blücher)</i> Germany is not in a position to intervene in the Soviet-Finnish conversations.	122
Oct. 9	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker)</i> The Swedish Minister expresses uneasiness concerning possible Soviet demands on Finland; Weizsäcker replies that Germany claims no interests there.	123
Oct. 10	<i>The German Minister in Finland (Blücher) to the German Foreign Office</i> Because of her economic interests, Germany should ask the U. S. S. R. to lessen her demands on Finland.	123
Oct. 12	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker)</i> The Bulgarian Minister states that Molotov's offer to conclude a mutual assistance pact has been rejected.	124
Oct. 18	<i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> In a speech soon to be delivered on foreign affairs, Ribbentrop wishes to refute the British claim that in Moscow he had asked for, and had been refused, Soviet military assistance; the text of this portion of the speech is given; it includes a direct quotation of Stalin on the Soviet need for a strong Germany, and on the parallel interests of Germany and the U.S.S.R. in case of war between Germany and the Western democracies.	124
Oct. 19	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> Stalin approves the account of the negotiations in Moscow; he requests a modification of the direct quotation so that the community of Soviet-German interests is exclusively related to the need for a strong Germany.	126
Nov. 1	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker)</i> Göring, Raeder, and Keitel complain of the war materials demands of the Russian delegation in Berlin.	127

## IV. GERMAN-SOVIET COOPERATION, OCTOBER 2, 1939—MAY 29, 1940—Continued

Date	Subject	Page
1939 Dec. 2	<i>The State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker) to German Missions Abroad</i> In conversations regarding the Finnish-Russian conflict avoid any anti-Soviet note; rather, justify the Soviet action.	127
Dec. 5	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker)</i> Keitel complains of friction along the Soviet frontier, particularly in connection with the expulsion of Jews into Soviet territory.	128
Dec. 5	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker)</i> Keitel again complains that Soviet demands for the delivery of German products are increasingly voluminous and unreasonable; the Foreign Office intends to curb the Soviet demands.	128
Dec. 6	<i>The State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker) to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> German missions abroad have again been instructed to support the Soviet point of view in the Finnish conflict.	129
Dec. 11	<i>Memorandum by the Reich Foreign Minister</i> In conversations with the Soviet Ambassador, he protests and refutes the Tass report of German delivery of munitions to Finland; he also intimates that Soviet demands for military supplies are excessive.	130
1940 Feb. 26	<i>Foreign Office Memorandum—Memorandum on the German-Soviet Commercial Agreement Signed on February 11, 1940</i> Schnurre summarizes the promised deliveries of Soviet raw materials and emphasizes the sacrifices these deliveries will entail for the U.S.S.R.; he tells of difficulties which were surmounted in the negotiation of the agreement, and of those which may arise in its execution; he concludes that the Soviet deliveries, and the transit facilities through the U.S.S.R., will decisively weaken the effects of the British blockade.	13
Mar. 28	<i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> Ribbentrop suggests that Molotov and, if possible, Stalin visit Berlin.	134
Mar. 30	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> Schulenburg does not believe Molotov or Stalin will visit Berlin; they are determined to preserve Soviet neutrality, and a visit to Berlin might precipitate a breach of diplomatic relations or even war with the Western powers.	135
Apr. 3	<i>The German Foreign Office to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> The idea of a visit to Berlin is dropped for the present.	137
Apr. 7	<i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> Notification of, and justification for, the German invasion of Norway and Denmark, to be presented to Molotov on April 9.	137

## IV. GERMAN-SOVIET COOPERATION, OCTOBER 2, 1939—MAY 29, 1940—Continued

Date	Subject	Page
1940 Apr. 9	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> Molotov notified of invasion; he declares that the Soviet Government understands the German action, and wishes Germany complete success in her defensive measures.	138
Apr. 11	<i>Memorandum by the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> For some time the attitude of the Soviet Government towards Germany had become increasingly aloof; with the invasion of Norway, that attitude suddenly became most friendly; Schulenburg believes that the Soviet Government had feared war with the Western powers, and that the German invasion of Norway relieved these fears.	138
Apr. 13	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> Molotov urges that the continued neutrality of Sweden is in the interests both of Germany and of the U.S.S.R.	140
Apr. 15	<i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> Germany is determined to respect Swedish neutrality.	141
May 7	<i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> On May 10, Molotov is to be notified of the invasion of the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg.	141
May 10	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> On notification of the invasion, Molotov says he understands the German action and has no doubt of its success.	142
May 29	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> The report that the Soviet Government has agreed to the sending of Cripps is credible, but there is no reason to doubt the loyalty of the U.S.S.R. toward Germany.	142

## V. FRICTION IN THE BALTIC AND THE BALKANS, JUNE 4—SEPTEMBER 21, 1940

1940 June 4	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> Molotov wishes to know if Mackensen's statement that Balkan problems are to be solved by cooperation among Germany, the U.S.S.R., and Italy reflects the opinion of the German and Italian Governments.	144
June 6	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> It is clear that Molotov hopes Mackensen's statement represents the official view.	144

V. FRICTION IN THE BALTIC AND THE BALKANS, JUNE 4-SEPTEMBER 21, 1940—  
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Date	Subject	Page
1940 June 8	<i>The German Foreign Office to the Representative of the German Foreign Office With the Reich Protector of Bohemia and Moravia</i> No political activities are to be carried on by Ukrainian organizations in Greater Germany.	145
June 11	<i>Foreign Office Memorandum</i> The Lithuanian Minister tells of the increasing Soviet pressure on Lithuania.	146
June 14	<i>The State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker) to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> Instructions to discuss tactfully with Molotov the hostile attitude of Minister Kollontay toward Germany.	147
June 16	<i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> Mackensen says that he only expressed the hope that the Balkans would remain quiet; the German attitude was established in the Moscow agreement.	148
June 16	<i>The German Foreign Office to the Reich Foreign Minister</i> Tells of Lithuanians seeking refuge in Germany; requests instructions.	148
June 16	<i>Foreign Office Memorandum</i> High Command requests instructions regarding Lithuanian troops which may seek to cross the frontier.	149
June 16	<i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Foreign Office</i> Border crossings by Lithuanians are to be permitted but not encouraged; troops are to be disarmed and interned.	150
June 16	<i>Foreign Office Memorandum</i> Hitler has ordered disarming of Lithuanian troops who cross border; German troops returning to garrisons in East Prussia are to avoid notice.	151
June 16	<i>The Reich Foreign Minister's Personal Staff to the German Foreign Office</i> Ribbentrop wishes to know at once if Baltic States are tending to seek German support, or are forming a bloc.	151
June 17	<i>The German Foreign Office to the Reich Foreign Minister</i> Reviews cooperation between Baltic States, and concludes there is little; there is no political dependence on Germany, but close economic relations exist; an attached memorandum by Schnurre details the economic importance of the Baltic States for Germany.	152
June 17	<i>The State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker) to All German Missions</i> Events in the Baltic States concern only those states and the U.S.S.R.; avoid any partisan statement.	153

V. FRICTION IN THE BALTIC AND THE BALKANS, JUNE 4-SEPTEMBER 21, 1940—  
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Date	Subject	Page
1940 June 18	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>After expressing warmest congratulations on the German military successes, Molotov said Soviet action in the Baltic States was necessary to end British and French intrigue; Dekanosov, Vishinsky, and Zhdanov had been sent to negotiate the formation of new governments.</p>	154
June 23	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>Molotov says that a solution of the Bessarabian question can no longer be delayed, and that the Soviet claim extends to Bucovina.</p>	155
June 24	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>Sends a Tass report denying that German-Soviet relations have deteriorated.</p>	156
June 24	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>Believes Stalin is the author of the Tass report, and that the report is preparation for the solution of the Bessarabian problem.</p>	157
June 24	<p><i>Memorandum by the Reich Foreign Minister for Hitler</i></p> <p>Gives the text of the Secret Protocol of August 23, 1939; at the time, he stated orally German disinterestedness in Bessarabia; he recalls that Hitler had authorized him, if necessary, to declare German disinterestedness as far as the Straits.</p>	157
June 25	<p><i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i></p> <p>Instructions to tell Molotov that Germany has no interest in Bessarabia; that Bucovina is a new question in which Germany is interested because of the dense German population; that the economic needs of Germany require peace in the Balkans; and that Germany is ready to advise Rumania to reach a peaceful settlement.</p>	158
June 26	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>Tells Molotov of Ribbentrop's views; Schulenburg has the impression that the claim to Bucovina may be dropped.</p>	159
June 26	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>In conversation with the Italian Ambassador, Molotov outlines a possible agreement on the Balkans, and says the Soviet Government will recognize Italian hegemony in the Mediterranean if Italy recognizes Soviet hegemony in the Black Sea.</p>	160
June 26	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>Molotov states that the Soviet demand will be limited to northern Bucovina, and adds that he expects German support for this demand.</p>	161



V. FRICTION IN THE BALTIC AND THE BALKANS, JUNE 4—SEPTEMBER 21, 1940—  
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Date	Subject	Page
1940 June 27	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> Molotov states that he has presented to the Rumanian Minister the Soviet demand for Bessarabia and northern Bucovina.	163
June 27	<i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Foreign Office</i> Ribbentrop says Rumania is to be advised to yield; this advice is telephoned to Bucharest.	163
July 11	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker)</i> Diplomats in Moscow attribute the recent diplomatic activity of the U.S.S.R. to a conviction that the war will soon end; further moves are expected in the Baltic states, Turkey, and Iran.	164
July 13	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> Molotov states that Stalin acknowledges the obligation to cede the strip of Lithuanian territory, but hopes Germany will not insist on the cession.	166
July 13	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> On instructions from Stalin, Molotov gives Schulenburg a memorandum summarizing a conversation between Stalin and Cripps, in which Stalin rebuffed all efforts to separate the the U.S.S.R. from Germany.	166
July 22	<i>Foreign Office Memorandum</i> The Lithuanian Minister hands Woermann a strong letter of protest against Soviet activities in Lithuania, which are described in detail; Woermann consents to ask if Ribbentrop will receive the letter.	168
July 22	<i>Foreign Office Memorandum</i> The Latvian Minister presents a similar letter of protest.	171
July 24	<i>Foreign Office Memorandum</i> Woermann returns the above letters, and refuses to accept a similar letter from the Estonian Minister.	172
July 29	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> Molotov requests information on the recent discussions of Germany and Italy with Balkan statesmen; Schulenburg replies that he will request information.	173
July 30	<i>The State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker) to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> Instructions to tell Molotov the conversations resulted from German advice that Rumania negotiate directly concerning the demands of Hungary and Bulgaria for territorial revision.	173

V. FRICTION IN THE BALTIC AND THE BALKANS, JUNE 4-SEPTEMBER 21, 1940—  
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Date	Subject	Page
1940 Aug. 2	<p><i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> Instructions to inform Molotov that Germany wishes to know what is offered as compensation before considering the Soviet request concerning the strip of Lithuanian territory.</p>	174
Aug. 6	<p><i>Memorandum by the Reich Foreign Minister on the Reception of the Soviet Ambassador</i> Ribbentrop protests strongly against an article entitled "German Communists Against Dictate at Compiègne" which appeared in a Riga newspaper.</p>	175
Aug. 9	<p><i>The German Foreign Office to the German Embassy in the Soviet Union and the German Legation in Lithuania</i> The facilities granted Lithuania in the Memel Free Port will be discontinued; they would lead to politically dangerous Soviet privileges on German territory.</p>	175
Aug. 13	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> Molotov proposes financial compensation for the strip of Lithuanian territory.</p>	176
Aug. 14	<p><i>Memorandum by the Reich Foreign Minister</i> The Soviet Ambassador says that the newspaper article, against which Ribbentrop protested on August 6, appeared as a result of a misunderstanding which will not be repeated.</p>	177
Aug. 30	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> Molotov submits a protest against the denial of the rights of the Lithuanian Soviet Republic in the Memel Free Port Zone.</p>	177
Aug. 31	<p><i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> Instructions to inform Molotov that, by the Vienna Award, Germany and Italy have effected a peaceful settlement of the territorial claims of Hungary against Rumania; that Bulgarian claims against Rumania are being settled by direct negotiations; that Germany and Italy have guaranteed the territory of Rumania within the new frontiers; and that Germany assumes the Soviet Government will welcome this contribution to peace.</p>	178
Sept. 1	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> Molotov receives the news of the Vienna Award with reserve, and points out that the U.S.S.R. had not been consulted as required in questions of interest to both countries by article 3 of the Treaty of Nonaggression.</p>	180

V. FRICTION IN THE BALTIC AND THE BALKANS, JUNE 4-SEPTEMBER 21, 1940—  
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Date	Subject	Page
1940 Sept. 3	<p><i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i></p> <p>Instructions to inform Molotov in writing that, since Soviet interests had been satisfied by the cession of Bessarabia, there were no common interests and therefore no obligation to consult; that the Soviet Government had given no notice, or only perfunctory notice, before acting in the Baltic and in Bessarabia; and that, without notice, the U.S.S.R. had taken the part of Lithuania promised to Germany.</p>	181
Sept. 4	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>Suggests modifications in statement to be given to Molotov.</p>	183
Sept. 5	<p><i>The German Foreign Office to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i></p> <p>Soviet Government to be thanked for use of the base on the Murman Coast, which the German Navy no longer needs.</p>	185
Sept. 6	<p><i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i></p> <p>Approves minor changes in statement to be given to Molotov.</p>	185
Sept. 10	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>On receipt of statement, Molotov says that a written reply will be given, and maintains that the German actions were not entirely loyal since the U.S.S.R. is obviously interested in Rumania and Hungary.</p>	187
Sept. 10	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>Molotov notes with interest the German willingness to surrender, for a suitable compensation, its territorial claim in Lithuania.</p>	188
Sept. 16	<p><i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i></p> <p>Instructions to tell Molotov casually, on September 21, that German troops are being moved to northern Norway through Finland.</p>	188
Sept. 16	<p><i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Minister in Finland (Blücher)</i></p> <p>Instructions to inform the Finnish Foreign Secretary on September 21 that notice of the troop movements has been given in Moscow.</p>	189
Sept. 21	<p><i>Memorandum by the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i></p> <p>In delivering the <i>aide-mémoire</i> below, Molotov repeatedly emphasized that article 3 of the Treaty of Nonaggression could be annulled if it was not satisfactory to Germany.</p>	189

V. FRICTION IN THE BALTIC AND THE BALKANS, JUNE 4-SEPTEMBER 21, 1940—  
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Date	Subject	Page
1940 Sept. 21	<p><i>The People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union to the German Embassy in the Soviet Union</i>  <i>Aide-mémoire</i> (enclosure to the above) stating that the U.S.S.R. has interests in Hungary and Rumania, that the U.S.S.R. should therefore have been consulted, and that the Soviet Government is prepared to annul or modify article 3 if Germany so desires.</p>	190

VI. THE U.S.S.R. AND THE THREE POWER PACT, SEPTEMBER 25-NOVEMBER 26, 1940

1940 Sept. 25	<p><i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Embassy in the Soviet Union</i>            Instructions to tell Molotov that warmongering agitation in America has resulted in a military alliance between Germany, Italy, and Japan, which is in no way directed against the U.S.S.R.; and to say that a letter will soon be sent to Stalin inviting Molotov to Berlin.</p>	195
Sept. 26	<p><i>Foreign Office Memorandum</i>            Schnurre states that German deliveries of military supplies to the U.S.S.R. are lagging and that as a result the suspension of Soviet deliveries may be expected; Hitler must decide whether German deliveries to the U.S.S.R. are to have a priority.</p>	196
Sept. 27	<p><i>The German Chargé in the Soviet Union (Tippelskirch) to the German Foreign Office</i>            Molotov, on hearing of the Three Power Pact, requests the text, including any secret clauses; he also requests the text of the agreement permitting transit of German troops through Finland; he expresses satisfaction at the promise of a letter to Stalin and of an invitation to Berlin.</p>	197
Sept. 28	<p><i>Foreign Office Memorandum</i>            Schnurre reviews the lag in German deliveries to Russia, and stresses the serious consequences for the German economy if Soviet deliveries should be suspended.</p>	199
Oct. 2	<p><i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Embassy in the Soviet Union</i>            Instructions to give Molotov the text of the agreement with Finland; and to tell him that the complete text of the Three Power Pact has been published, and that, since the Pact was not directed against the U.S.S.R., there was no obligation to consult.</p>	201
Oct. 4	<p><i>The German Chargé in the Soviet Union (Tippelskirch) to the German Foreign Office</i>            Molotov requests further information on the movement of German troops through Finland, and says he will study the German views on the Three Power Pact.</p>	203
Oct. 8	<p><i>Foreign Office Memorandum</i>            Germany must intervene to prevent the U.S.S.R. from gaining control over the Petsamo nickel concession:</p>	205

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Date	Subject	Page
1940 Oct. 9	<p><i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Embassy in the Soviet Union</i></p> <p>Casually inform Molotov that rumors of the military occupation of Rumania by German troops are false; only a German military mission, with certain instruction units, has been sent at the request of the Rumanian government.</p>	206
Oct. 10	<p><i>The German Chargé in the Soviet Union (Tippelskirch) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>Molotov listens with interest to news of the German military mission in Rumania.</p>	206
Oct. 13	<p><i>Letter from the Reich Foreign Minister to Stalin</i></p> <p>Reviews events since his visit to Moscow in August 1939; points out the gains which have resulted for both parties from the German-Soviet pact; intimates the desirability of more intimate relations between the U.S.S.R. and the members of the Three Power Pact; and suggests that Molotov visit Berlin to formulate a common policy.</p>	207
Oct. 18	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>Reports that he has given Molotov the letter to Stalin.</p>	214
Oct. 18	<p><i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i></p> <p>Requests reason for delivery of the letter to Molotov rather than to Stalin.</p>	214
Oct. 19	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>Molotov would have been annoyed at an attempt to give the letter to Stalin, and Stalin would have avoided a personal meeting since he has recently shown a strong reserve in public.</p>	215
Oct. 22	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>Stalin thanks Ribbentrop for his instructive analysis of recent events, and agrees that a further improvement of relations is possible; Molotov accepts Ribbentrop's invitation.</p>	216
Nov. 2	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>For the first time, Mikoyan mentions German delivery of arms to Finland.</p>	217
Nov. 12	<p><i>Memorandum of the Conversation Between the Reich Foreign Minister and the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, V. M. Molotov, in the Presence of the Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Dekanosov, as Well as Counselor of Embassy Hilger and Herr Pavlov, Who Acted as Interpreters; Held in Berlin on November 12, 1940</i></p> <p>Ribbentrop reviews the military situation to show that Britain is already defeated and states that Hitler favors an agreement on the spheres of influence of Germany, Russia, Italy, and Japan; Molotov requests a more precise definition of the respective spheres of influence.</p>	217

## VI. THE U.S.S.R. AND THE THREE POWER PACT, SEPTEMBER 25—NOVEMBER 26, 1940—Continued

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1940 Nov. 12	<p><i>Memorandum of the Conversation Between the Führer and the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Molotov, in the Presence of the Reich Foreign Minister, the Deputy People's Commissar, Dekanosov, as Well as of Counselor of Embassy Hilger and Herr Pavlov, Who Acted as Interpreters, on November 12, 1940</i></p> <p>Hitler, after an extended review of the world situation, affirms the possibility of collaboration between the U.S.S.R. and the signers of the Three Power Pact in the task of keeping America out of Europe; Molotov agrees that collaboration is possible but asks for precise statements on Finland, on the Balkans and Turkey, and on the meaning of the New Order in Europe and Asia.</p>	226
Nov. 13	<p><i>Memorandum of the Conversation Between the Führer and the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars Molotov in the Presence of the Reich Foreign Minister and the Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Dekanosov, as Well as of Counselor of Embassy Hilger and Herr Pavlov, Who Acted as Interpreters, in Berlin on November 13, 1940</i></p> <p>Hitler repeatedly urges an agreement on the division of the British Empire; Molotov insists that there must first be recognition of Soviet interests in Finland, the Balkans, and in Turkey.</p>	234
Nov. 13	<p><i>Memorandum of the Final Conversation Between Reich Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop and the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Herr Molotov, on November 13, 1940</i></p> <p>Ribbentrop outlines a broad division of the spheres of influence of Germany, Italy, Japan, and the U.S.S.R., and suggests the terms of secret agreements defining this division and bringing the U.S.S.R. into the Three Power Pact; Molotov insists on more specific recognition of Soviet interests in the Baltic, in the Balkans, at the Straits; Molotov approves of collaboration, but only after a thorough understanding.</p>	247
Nov. 15	<p><i>The State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker) to all German Diplomatic Missions and the Offices in Paris and Brussels</i></p> <p>The visit of Molotov took place in an atmosphere of mutual confidence and resulted in agreement on all important questions.</p> <p><i>Draft Agreement Between the States of the Three Power Pact, Germany, Italy, and Japan, on the One Side, and the Soviet Union on the Other Side</i></p> <p>A German draft, providing for the adherence of the U.S.S.R. to the Three Power Pact, and including two secret protocols, of which one defines the spheres of influence of each power and the other provides for free passage of Soviet warships through the Straits.</p>	255    255

## VI. THE U.S.S.R. AND THE THREE POWER PACT, SEPTEMBER 25—NOVEMBER 26, 1940—Continued

Date	Subject	Page
1940 Nov. 26	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>Molotov states that the Soviet Government is prepared to accept the draft of the Four Power Pact provided German troops are withdrawn from Finland, provided Bulgaria concludes a mutual assistance pact with the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.S.R. acquires a base within range of the Straits, and provided Japan renounces her concessions in Northern Sakhalin; he outlines five protocols to include these amendments; and he requests a statement of the German view.</p>	258

## VII. SOVIET RESISTANCE TO THE GERMAN ADVANCE IN THE BALKANS, DECEMBER 18, 1940—MARCH 13, 1941

1940 Dec. 18	<p><i>Führer's Directive</i></p> <p>Preliminary plans for "Operation Barbarossa," to crush the U.S.S.R. in a quick campaign.</p>	260
Dec. 31	<p><i>Memorandum by the State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker)</i></p> <p>The Finnish Minister intimates that German assistance is expected in the event of a future conflict with the U.S.S.R.</p>	264
1941 Jan. 7	<p><i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg), the German Ambassador in Turkey (Papen), the German Minister in Yugoslavia (Heeren), and the German Minister in Greece (Erbach-Schönberg)</i></p> <p>Strong German forces are moving into Rumania through Hungary, for possible operations against Britain in Greece; a reserved attitude is to be taken in conversation.</p>	264
Jan. 7	<p><i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in Japan (Ott)</i></p> <p>Instructions to tell the Japanese Foreign Minister of transfer of German contingents to Rumania.</p>	266
Jan. 8	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>Rumors are circulating concerning German troops in Rumania.</p>	266
Jan. 10	<p><i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i></p> <p>If questioned, say troop movements are directed against the British in Greece.</p>	267
Jan. 10	<p><i>Secret Protocol</i></p> <p>Settlement of the German claim to a strip of Lithuanian territory, signed by Molotov and Schulenburg.</p>	267
Jan. 17	<p><i>The State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker) to the Reich Foreign Minister</i></p> <p>The Russian Ambassador submits a warning that the appearance of foreign troops in the territory of Bulgaria and of the Straits will be regarded as a violation of Soviet security interests.</p>	268

## VII. SOVIET RESISTANCE TO THE GERMAN ADVANCE IN THE BALKANS, DECEMBER 18, 1940-MARCH 13, 1941—Continued

Date	Subject	Page
1941 Jan. 17	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office.</i></p> <p>Molotov expresses surprise that no answer has been received to the statement of November 25 offering Soviet adherence to the Three Power Pact; he expects an early reply; Schulenburg states that the issues are under discussion with Italy and Japan; Molotov repeats the warning concerning foreign troops in the territory of Bulgaria and of the Straits.</p>	270
Jan. 21	<p><i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker)</i></p> <p>Instructions to inform the Soviet Ambassador that Germany does not expect Britain to occupy the Straits, but does expect Britain to seek a foothold in Greece; German troops will march through Bulgaria to expel the British. The German Government adheres to the views expressed to Molotov in Berlin and is discussing Molotov's counterproposals with the Italians and Japanese.</p>	271
Jan. 22	<p><i>Memorandum by the State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker)</i></p> <p>Informs the Soviet Ambassador as instructed by Ribbentrop; the Ambassador points out that this statement is not in agreement with the Soviet communication of January 17; Weizsäcker states his belief that the German plans will serve Soviet interests.</p>	273
Jan. 23	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>A similar conversation between Molotov and Schulenburg.</p>	274
Feb. 22	<p><i>The German Foreign Office to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i></p> <p>German military strength in Rumania is to be made known and even exaggerated.</p>	274
Feb. 23	<p><i>The State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker) to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i></p> <p>Instructions to challenge, in conversation, Greek reports that British troops are not in Greece and that Greece has rejected British offers to send troops.</p>	275
Feb. 27	<p><i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i></p> <p>Instructions to tell Molotov, on February 28, that Bulgaria will join the Three Power Pact; and to tell him, on March 1, that British action in Greece has forced a German advance into Bulgaria.</p>	276
Mar. 1	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>Molotov receives with evident concern the news that Bulgaria has adhered to the Three Power Pact.</p>	277
Mar. 1	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>Molotov states that the German occupation of Bulgaria involves injury to Soviet security.</p>	278



VII. SOVIET RESISTANCE TO THE GERMAN ADVANCE IN THE BALKANS, DECEMBER 18, 1940—MARCH 13, 1941—Continued

Date	Subject	Page
1941 Mar. 13	<p><i>Foreign Office Memorandum</i> German military authorities state that the presence of the Soviet territorial commission in eastern Germany can be permitted only until March 25; strong German forces are already assembled there.</p>	279

VIII. THE SOVIET TREATIES WITH JUGOSLAVIA AND JAPAN, MARCH 25—APRIL 13, 1941

1941 Mar. 25	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> Expresses doubt that Matsuoka was completely frank in describing his two-hour conversation with Stalin and Molotov.</p>	280
Mar. 27	<p><i>Memorandum of the Conversation Between the Reich Foreign Minister and Japanese Foreign Minister Matsuoka in the Presence of Ambassadors Ott and Oshima at Berlin on March 27, 1941</i> Ribbentrop reviews the military situation and concludes that the Axis has already won the war; he states that German relations with the U.S.S.R. are correct, but that Germany regards Soviet policy with suspicion; he suggests that a Japanese attack on Singapore would break British spirit and keep the United States out of the war.</p>	281
Mar. 27	<p><i>Memorandum of the Interview Between the Führer and the Japanese Foreign Minister, Matsuoka, in the Presence of the Reich Foreign Minister and Ambassadors Ott and Oshima, March 27, 1941</i> Hitler argues that the British have lost the war, but have not the intelligence to admit it; Matsuoka expresses regret that sentiment favorable to Britain and America has prevented Japanese action, but he expresses confidence that this obstacle will be overcome; Matsuoka reports on his discussions in Moscow.</p>	289
Mar. 28	<p><i>Memorandum of the Conversation Between the Reich Foreign Minister and Japanese Foreign Minister Matsuoka on March 28, 1941</i> Ribbentrop states that real cooperation with the U.S.S.R. is impossible, and recommends that Matsuoka not discuss the adherence of the U.S.S.R. to the Three Power Pact when he returns to Moscow.</p>	298
Mar. 29	<p><i>Memorandum of the Conversation Between the Reich Foreign Minister and Japanese Foreign Minister Matsuoka in Berlin on March 29, 1941</i> Ribbentrop again advises Matsuoka against political discussions with the U.S.S.R., and promises German assistance in case of a Soviet attack on Japan; he states that a war between Germany and the U.S.S.R. is possible and explains why Germany could not accept the terms set by Molotov for Soviet adherence to the Three Power Pact; Matsuoka says that he will have to discuss a nonaggression pact in Moscow.</p>	303

## VIII. THE SOVIET TREATIES WITH JUGOSLAVIA AND JAPAN, MARCH 25—APRIL 13, 1941—Continued

Date	Subject	Page
1941 Apr. 4	<p><i>Memorandum of the Interview Between the Führer and the Japanese Foreign Minister, Matsuoka, in the Presence of the Reich Foreign Minister and Minister of State Meissner at Berlin, April 4, 1941</i></p> <p>Matsuoka tells of his conversations in Rome; Hitler promises assistance in case of a Japanese war with the United States.</p>	311
Apr. 4	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>Molotov states that a treaty of friendship and nonaggression would be signed between Yugoslavia and the U.S.S.R.; Schulenburg states that the moment chosen is unfortunate and vainly urges that the Soviet Government reconsider the matter.</p>	316
Apr. 5	<p><i>Foreign Office Memorandum—Memorandum on the Present Status of Soviet Deliveries of Raw Materials to Germany</i></p> <p>After the conclusion of the German-Soviet Commercial Agreement of January 10, 1941, Soviet deliveries lagged, probably because of the cooling of political relations; in March deliveries soared, and continue at a high level.</p>	318
Apr. 6	<p><i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i></p> <p>Instructions to tell Molotov that Germany is taking military action in Greece and Yugoslavia to expel the British from Greece; Germany has no political or territorial interests in the Balkans and will withdraw the German troops when their task is finished.</p>	319
Apr. 6	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>Molotov expresses regret at the spread of war.</p>	320
Apr. 9	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>In several conversations, he has been unable to get from Matsuoka a straightforward statement regarding Matsuoka's conversation with Molotov.</p>	321
Apr. 10	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>A Japanese-Soviet neutrality pact may be signed.</p>	321
Apr. 13	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>Matsuoka says that the Neutrality Pact will probably be signed this afternoon.</p>	322
Apr. 13	<p><i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i></p> <p>Describes Stalin's demonstration of his desire for German friendship at the railroad station when Matsuoka was departing.</p>	323

## IX. THE FAILURE OF EFFORTS TO PRESERVE PEACE, APRIL 15-JUNE 22, 1941

Date	Subject	Page
1941		
Apr. 15	<i>The German Chargé in the Soviet Union (Tippelskirch) to the German Foreign Office</i> Sobolev accepts the German position on the demarcation of the German-Soviet boundary, and requests that mixed commissions fix the boundary at once; Tippelskirch warns that any German delay will arouse Soviet mistrust.	325
Apr. 16	<i>The German Chargé in the Soviet Union (Tippelskirch) to the German Foreign Office</i> The Japanese-Soviet Pact, and Stalin's actions at the railroad station are interpreted as evidence of a desire for Soviet-Axis cooperation.	326
Apr. 18	<i>Protocol on the Outcome of the Conference Between the Plenipotentiaries of the Government of the German Reich and the Government of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics To Inquire Into the Observance of the Commercial Agreement Between Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of February 11, 1940</i> Gives the total of Soviet deliveries.	326
Apr. 22	<i>The German Chargé in the Soviet Union (Tippelskirch) to the German Foreign Office</i> Reports a formal complaint against violations of the Soviet frontier by German planes.	328
Apr. 23	<i>The High Command of the Armed Forces to the German Foreign Office</i> Complains of violations of the German frontier by Soviet planes.	329
Apr. 24	<i>The Naval Attaché of the German Embassy in the Soviet Union (Baumbach) to the Naval High Command</i> Rumors of a German-Soviet war are fed by travelers from Germany; the British Ambassador predicts the outbreak for June 22.	330
Apr. 28	<i>Conversation of the Führer with the Ambassador Count von der Schulenburg, on April 28, 1941</i> Schulenburg argues that the U.S.S.R. will not attack Germany, but rather wishes to cooperate with the Axis and will make even further concessions to Germany; Hitler argues that the U.S.S.R. cannot be trusted.	330
Apr. 28	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker)</i> Argues that war with the U.S.S.R. would give Britain new moral strength, and that a German advance even to Moscow and beyond would not bring peace but instead would prolong the war and sacrifice the economic advantages Germany now derives from peace with the U.S.S.R.	333
May 2	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> Every traveler to Moscow brings rumors of war, supported by facts.	334

## IX. THE FAILURE OF EFFORTS TO PRESERVE PEACE, APRIL 15—JUNE 22, 1941—Continued

Date	Subject	Page
1941 May 4	<i>The German Foreign Office to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> Instructions for combatting rumors of war.	334
May 7	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> Believes Stalin has taken the chairmanship of the Council of People's Commissars because he wishes to develop good relations with Germany and because he feels Molotov has failed to achieve this goal.	335
May 12	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> Maintains that recent events fortify the belief that Stalin took the chairmanship in order to avert a war with Germany.	336
May 13	<i>The German Consul at Harbin (Ponschab) to the German Foreign Office</i> Gives the text of an intercepted Soviet dispatch warning that Germany may force a war.	339
May 15	<i>Foreign Office Memorandum</i> Schnurre gives a summary of recent German-Soviet commercial negotiations and of Soviet raw material deliveries; he believes that Germany could ask even larger deliveries.	339
May 15	<i>The German Foreign Office to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> Reports of frontier violations by German planes are being investigated.	341
May 16	<i>The German Minister in Sweden (Wied) to the German Foreign Office</i> Minister Kollontay on forces massed on the western frontier of the U.S.S.R.	342
May 17	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker)</i> Oshima asks about German-Soviet relations and receives an evasive reply.	342
May 17	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> Sobolev says frontier violations by German planes are continuing.	343
May 24	<i>The German Foreign Office to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> Demarcation of the German-Soviet boundary will be arranged shortly; Woermann explains that the purpose of this telegram is to delay a survey of the boundary by a mixed commission.	343
May 24	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> Argues that Soviet policy is directed at the avoidance of a conflict with Germany.	344

IX. THE FAILURE OF EFFORTS TO PRESERVE PEACE, APRIL 15-JUNE 22,  
1941—Continued

Date	Subject	Page
1941		
June 14	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> Molotov gives the text of a Tass dispatch denying rumors of an impending break between Germany and the U.S.S.R.	345
June 15	<i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Minister in Hungary (Erdmannsdorff)</i> Hungary is to be prepared for a German-Soviet break.	346
June 21	<i>The Reich Foreign Minister to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg)</i> The text of the German declaration of war.	347
June 21	<i>Letter from Hitler to Mussolini</i> Defending the decision to attack the U.S.S.R.	349
June 21	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary in the German Foreign Office (Weizsäcker)</i> The Soviet Ambassador protests against frontier violations by German planes; Weizsäcker maintains that there have been wholesale violations by Soviet planes; the formal protest is attached.	353
June 22	<i>The German Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Schulenburg) to the German Foreign Office</i> Melotov asks an explanation for German dissatisfaction with the U.S.S.R.; he wishes to know what has caused the present situation in German-Soviet relations; Schulenburg says he cannot answer because he lacks the pertinent information.	355
June 22	<i>Memorandum of the Conversation Between the Reich Foreign Minister and Soviet Russian Ambassador Dekanosov in the Foreign Office at 4 a. m. on June 22 [1941]</i> Ribbentrop announces that Germany has begun hostilities.	356

## NOTE ON FILES

The documents selected for inclusion in this publication have been taken from the special file of the Reich Foreign Minister, from the regular files of the German Foreign Office, and from the files of the German Embassy in Moscow which were returned to Germany in 1941 shortly before the outbreak of war between Germany and the Soviet Union.

Those from the special file of the Reich Foreign Minister are copies which were separated out from the regular Foreign Office files for the use of the personal office of the Reich Foreign Minister.

Those from the regular files of the German Foreign Office include papers from the files of the Bureau of the Reich Foreign Minister; of the State Secretary; of the Under State Secretary; of the political divisions (*Pol*), especially those of *Pol V*, dealing with the Soviet Union; of Dr. Ritter, the commercial specialist of the Foreign Office; and of Dr. Paul Schmidt, who acted at conferences as interpreter for Hitler and the Reich Foreign Minister.

The documents from the Moscow Embassy files include personal papers of the Ambassador Count von der Schulenburg, the secret political reports of the Embassy, the Embassy's general files on relations of Germany with the Soviet Union, and numerous other files, many of them containing material concerning German foreign policy sent by the Foreign Office to the Embassy for its information.

The documents of the Foreign Office and the Embassy were bound into volumes by the Germans. These volumes have been filmed and the documents published in this collection are identified in each case by the film serial number and the frame numbers on the film, which are printed in the upper left-hand corner of each document. The following list, showing the film serial number and the description of the German file, permits ready identification of the exact location in the German Foreign Office archives of the copy used for this publication.

<i>Film Serial Numbers</i>	<i>German File</i>
F 1-F 20	Special file of the Reich Foreign Minister.
34 (frames 23886-24248)	State Secretary: Russia—July-December 1939.

Film Serial Numbers	German File
34 (frames 23181/1-23885 and 24249-24884)	Under State Secretary (Political Affairs): Soviet Union.
66	Files of Dr. Paul Schmidt, volumes 1 and 2.
67	Files of Dr. Paul Schmidt, volumes 3, 4, and 5.
93	State Secretary: Hungary, volume 4.
103	State Secretary: Russia, volumes 1 and 2.
104	State Secretary: Russia, volumes 3 and 4.
105	State Secretary: Russia, volume 5.
127	Moscow Embassy: <i>Pol 2 Nr. 1</i> , volumes 1-3—Political relations between the Soviet Union and Germany.
147	Bureau of Reich Foreign Minister: Poland Conflict.
155	<i>Pol VIII, Japan 2</i> , volume 5—Political relations between Japan and Germany.
165	Moscow Embassy: <i>Pol g</i> , volumes 3 and 4—Secret Political Papers.
177	State Secretary: Japan, volume 3.
270	Moscow Embassy: <i>Pol g</i> , volume 1—Secret Political Papers.
273	<i>Pol V, Russland 2 Nr. 3 Molotow</i> —Visit of the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and Foreign Commissar Molotov to Berlin in November 1940.
276	Moscow Embassy: Personal files of Ambassador Count von der Schulenburg, Political, volume 1.
292	Moscow Embassy: <i>Sonderakte-Geheim-Politik</i> —Special secret political file.
354	Moscow Embassy: <i>Sonderakte-SD Pol 2. Krieg</i> , volume 2—Special file, Political relations between Germany and other countries. War.
357	Moscow Embassy: <i>Sonderakte-SD Pol 2. Krieg</i> , volume 3—Special file, Political relations between Germany and other countries.

Film Serial Numbers	German File
380	Moscow Embassy: <i>Pol 2 Nr. 3 Balk</i> , volume 3—Political relations of the Soviet Union with the Balkan States.
384	<i>Pol V-Russland 2</i> , volume 3—Political relations of Russia with Germany.
388	<i>Pol V-Russland 2</i> , volume 2—Political relations of Russia with Germany.
407	Under State Secretary (Political Affairs): Incidents in relations between Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, and the Soviet Union.
426	Moscow Embassy: <i>Pol Mil. g</i> , volume 1—Military affairs (secret).
432	Moscow Embassy: <i>Pol 2 Nr. 3 Balt</i> , volume 2—Political relations of the Soviet Union with the Baltic States.
439	State Secretary: Correspondence on political affairs, volume 6.
459	State Secretary: Differences between Rumania and Russia.
472	State Secretary: Correspondence with German diplomatic representatives abroad, volume 6.
485	State Secretary: Memoranda of diplomatic visits, volume 6.
495	State Secretary: Memoranda of diplomatic visits, volume 7.
506	State Secretary: Memoranda of diplomatic visits, volume 8.
644	Political Division: Treaties, Soviet Union, 1939-1941.
695	Moscow Embassy: <i>Pol 2 Nr. 1</i> , volume 1—Political relations between the Soviet Union and Germany. Supplementary to serial 127.
838	Under State Secretary Hencke: Personal, Moscow 1939-1940.
1228	Political Division: <i>Pol geheim, Russland</i> , volume 7—Political affairs, Russia, Secret file.
1337	Files of Dr. Megerle: <i>Megerle 2, 8</i> —Reports from OKW to Reich Government on Soviet Russian aggression against Germany.
1369	Files of Ambassador Ritter: Moscow, volume 1.



<i>Film Serial Numbers</i>	<i>German File</i>
1379	Moscow Embassy: <i>Pol 2 Nr. 1</i> , volume 3—Political relations between the Soviet Union and Germany. Supplementary to serial 127.
1448	Moscow Embassy: <i>Pol g</i> , volume 4—Secret Political Papers. Supplementary to serial 165.

