

DOCUMENTS ON  
GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY  
1918-1945

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DOCUMENTS ON GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY  
1918-1945

SERIES D (1937-1945)

VOLUME VIII

THE WAR YEARS

September 4, 1939-March 18, 1940

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## PREFACE<sup>1</sup>

In June 1946 the British Foreign Office and the United States Department of State agreed to publish jointly documents from captured archives of the German Foreign Ministry and the Reich Chancellery. Although the captured archives go back to the year 1867, it was decided to limit the present publication to papers relating to the years after 1918, since the object of the publication was "to establish the record of German foreign policy preceding and during World War II." The editorial work was to be performed "on the basis of the highest scholarly objectivity." The editors were to have complete independence in the selection and editing of the documents. Publication was to begin and be concluded as soon as possible. Each Government was "free to publish separately any portion of the documents." In April 1947 the French Government, having requested the right to participate in the project, accepted the terms of this agreement.

In accordance with the understandings on the basis of which the project was originally undertaken, the editors have had complete freedom in the selection and editing of the documents.

The eighth volume of this series begins on September 4, 1939, the day following the entrance of the United Kingdom and France into the war; it ends on the eve of the Hitler-Mussolini meeting at the Brenner Pass on March 18, 1940, with a new active phase of the conflict immediately in the offing. Because so many of the main strands of German policy during the war years are intertwined the chronological arrangement of documents begun with volume VI has been continued. A topical arrangement of the analytical list at the beginning of the volume is designed to ease the problem of those who wish to read on selected subjects.

German relations with the Soviet Union bulk largest in this volume. The newly achieved German-Soviet accord was tested severely, first in Poland, and then in the Baltic States and Finland; and the task of working out the details of the new political, military, and economic collaboration presented numerous problems. Many documents heretofore unpublished, particularly on German-Soviet economic discussions, are included in the selection. Next in importance, in terms of

<sup>1</sup> In each of the first four volumes published in the series there appears a "General Introduction." The editors have not felt it necessary to repeat this introduction in the present and succeeding volumes. Interested readers may wish to refer to it for information on the nature of the German Foreign Ministry archives on which this publication is based, their present condition, and some of the principles which have guided the editors in their work.

active negotiations on significant matters, were German relations with Italy. Italian readjustment to the new facts of German policy was not easy, and a phase of tension is documented here; but by March 17 that phase was over, and Hitler and Mussolini could anticipate meeting at the Brenner in an atmosphere of cordiality.

Relations with Belgium and the Netherlands were dominated by German military plans for prosecuting the war in the West. In order to give a relatively adequate conception of the interconnection of military planning and foreign policy, all so-called Führer directives for the conduct of the war which fall in the period of this volume are being published, some for the first time. In Norway, not only the Navy, but the Aussenpolitisches Amt as well, shared in the formulation of policy. The topic is therefore noteworthy not only for its intrinsic interest, but because it illustrates the way in which foreign policy in the Third Reich was sometimes shaped by the competing pressures of various State and Party organs.

During this period German policy toward the neutrals had two main objectives: to counteract the workings of the Allied blockade, and to discourage the neutrals from a closer alignment with Britain and France. These objectives are particularly evident in regard to the United States, Turkey, the Middle East, Latin America, and the smaller states of Europe. At the same time Germany sought to strengthen her ties with friendly powers, particularly Japan and Spain, and to overcome their unconcealed misgivings about German-Soviet collaboration.

The various countries occupied by Germany during the war years, beginning in this volume with Poland, present problems of peculiar difficulty to the editors. The amount of documentation on the occupied countries in the files of the Foreign Ministry varies greatly from one case to another, and it is often difficult to determine precisely where to draw the line between occupation policy and foreign policy. In general the editors intend to document where they can aspects of occupation policy which impinge significantly on foreign policy. In this connection, however, they are mindful of the fact that the documents published in connection with the trials at Nuremberg have a wider range. No attempt has therefore been made to duplicate the Nuremberg publications except in the case of documents which appear to be of overriding importance for an understanding of German foreign policy.

The documents in this volume were selected jointly by the American, British, and French editors. For the footnotes and other editorial matter the American editors have entire responsibility. The Division of Language Services of the Department of State produced the translations, which were then reviewed by the American editors, and the

technical preparation of edited copy for the printer was done by the Foreign Relations Editing Branch under the direction of Miss Elizabeth A. Vary.

Readers should bear in mind that it is as a source book for the study of history, and not as a finished interpretation of history, that these documents are presented. It has been the aim throughout to keep any interpretative comment out of the footnotes and to use them exclusively for the factual elucidation of the text.

ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS<sup>1</sup>

## BALTIC STATES

Date	Subject	Doc. No	Page
<b>1939</b>			
Sept. 4	<i>The State Secretary to the Legation in Estonia</i> Authorizes a formal declaration that Germany would respect the German-Estonian Non-Aggression Pact during the war.	3	3
Sept. 9	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Foreign Minister's Secretariat</i> Ribbentrop has decided to have the Vilna question taken up with Lithuanian officials.	36	34
Sept. 9	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Dienststelle Ribbentrop</i> Kleist reported discussing with Škirpa Lithuanian claims and possible Lithuanian action looking to occupation of Vilna.	41	38
Sept. 12	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Dienststelle Ribbentrop</i> Kleist recommended to the Lithuanian Minister dividing the Vilna question into military and political phases, reserving the latter for later.	57	54
Sept. 13	<i>The Minister in Lithuania to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Lithuanian Commander in Chief has reiterated his country's interest in the Vilna question but has stated that she is reluctant to give up her neutrality.	58	55
Sept. 14	<i>The Minister in Lithuania to the Foreign Ministry</i> Zechlin notified Minister President Černius that the imminent collapse of Poland made a decision on Vilna imperative; Černius replied that Lithuania could not abandon her neutrality but hoped to register her claims to the territory.	65	62
Sept. 16	<i>An Official of the Foreign Minister's Secretariat to the Legation in Lithuania</i>  The Foreign Minister directs that Minister Zechlin drop the subject of Vilna.	76	75
Sept. 17	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Political Department</i> Woermann denounced as insolent the alleged Lithuanian complaints to Britain and France about German pressure in the Vilna question; the Lithuanian Minister replied that the story had already been denied in Kaunas.	84	83
Sept. 18	<i>The Minister in Latvia to the Foreign Ministry</i> Kotze describes Latvian anxiety about Soviet intentions and requests instructions.	89	91

<sup>1</sup> The documents in this volume have been arranged chronologically. For the convenience of readers who wish to trace topics through the volume the analytical list of documents is arranged alphabetically by countries, with the addition of four subject headings: "Directives for the Conduct of the War," "Peace Moves," "Propaganda," and "Sea Warfare."



## BALTIC STATES—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc.No.	Page
1939			
Sept. 19	<i>The Minister in Estonia to the Foreign Ministry</i> Frohwein reports that Estonian Foreign Minister Selter inquired about German support for the Baltic countries against possible Soviet expansion; Frohwein replied that there had been no change in German-Estonian relations as defined in the German-Estonian Non-Aggression Pact.	98	101
Sept. 20	<i>The Minister in Estonia to the Foreign Ministry</i> Frohwein reports that the Soviet attitude in the incident of the Polish submarine <i>Orzel</i> and the favorable progress of Estonian-Soviet economic negotiations have eased tension in Estonia; he requests instructions as to the German attitude toward the economic talks.	107	107
Sept. 20	<i>The Foreign Ministry to the Legation in Latvia</i> Authorizes Kotzé to make reassuring statements to the Latvian Government and to make reference to Hitler's speech of September 19 and to the communiqué of September 19 by the German and Soviet Governments.	110	110
Sept. 20	<i>Outline of a Defense Treaty Between the German Reich and the Republic of Lithuania</i>	113	112
Sept. 21	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Instructions to clarify the Vilna situation in a friendly discussion with Molotov and Stalin; the German view is that this territory is to go to Lithuania.	114	113
Sept. 21	<i>The Minister in Estonia to the Foreign Ministry</i> Frohwein describes the situation arising from the escape of <i>Orzel</i> from Estonian internment; Molotov has stated that the Soviet search for <i>Orzel</i> is not directed against Estonia.	119	119
Sept. 22	<i>The Minister in Lithuania to the Foreign Ministry</i> Zechlin reports that Foreign Minister Urbšys has repeated that Lithuania has national aspirations but wishes to achieve them by peaceful means.	121	121
Sept. 22	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Schulenburg quotes Molotov as saying that the Soviet Government will respect the agreements on the Vilna question but will consider it further in connection with the final Baltic settlement.	123	123
Sept. 25	<i>The Minister in Estonia to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Estonian Government is studying the draft of a military alliance between the Soviet Union and Estonia as presented by Molotov; an early reply is expected.	130	129
Sept. 27	<i>An Official of the Foreign Minister's Secretariat to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Forwards to Ribbentrop a telegram from the Legation in Estonia regarding the Soviet demand for a Soviet-Estonian alliance.	141	147

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

XV

## BALTIC STATES—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939 Sept. 27	<i>An Official of the Foreign Minister's Secretariat to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Forwards to Ribbentrop a communication by Selter on the Estonian attitude toward the Soviet demand for a military alliance; Estonia intends to yield as little as possible and to maintain existing good relations with Germany.	142	147
Sept. 28	<i>The State Secretary to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Hitler has ordered resettlement of the Volksdeutsche from Estonia and Latvia; preliminary measures are being taken but the actual arrangements will depend on Ribbentrop's current negotiations in Moscow.	153	162
Sept. 28	<i>The State Secretary to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Himmler has suggested a procedure for resettling Volksdeutsche from Estonia and Latvia, with German protection if necessary.	154	162
Sept. 28	<i>The State Secretary to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Expresses the need for an agreement in Moscow as to the treatment of the Volksdeutsche in case Russian troops march into Estonia.	156	164
Sept. 28	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Political Department</i> Woermann told the Lithuanian Minister he did not know whether negotiations involving Lithuania were proceeding in Moscow; Woermann had reports only of the Soviet-Estonian negotiations, in which Germany had no part.	164	169
Sept. 29	<i>The Minister in Estonia to the Foreign Ministry</i> Estonian officials are expressing gratitude to Germany for a toning down of Soviet demands; Estonia will accept these, but wishes to continue good relations with Germany.	168	174
Oct. 1	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Political Department</i> The Soviet Government has called for immediate negotiations with Latvia.	174	182
Oct. 3	<i>The Minister in Latvia to the Foreign Ministry</i> Requests instructions as to how to answer statements that Germany has given up political influence in the area around Latvia.	181	198
Oct. 3	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov says he intends to tell the Lithuanian Foreign Minister that the USSR 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 USSR appears a donor.	182	199
Oct. 3	<i>The Director of the Political Department to the Legations in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania</i> Instructions to make no statements on German-Russian relations and their possible effects on the Baltic States.	184	200
Oct. 4	<i>The Minister in Latvia to the Foreign Ministry</i> Warns that disorders may follow publication of Russian demands on Latvia; requests protection and evacuation of Volksdeutsche and Reichsdeutsche	190	206

## XVI

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

## BALTIC STATES—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939			
Oct. 4	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Instructions to request Molotov not to speak of the strip of Lithuanian territory.	191	207
Oct. 5	<i>The Minister in Lithuania to the Foreign Ministry</i> In reply to anxious inquiries by the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry, Zechlin stated that Germany did not regard German-Lithuanian frontier rectification as pressing.	187	215
Oct. 5	<i>The State Secretary to the Legation in Estonia</i> Instructions to inform Estonian Government that Germany is assuming protection for Volksdeutsche and plans their orderly evacuation; their property he safeguarded.	199	218
Oct. 5	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> The Lithuanian Minister express satisfaction that the German Government has withdrawn its claim to frontier rectification.	200	219
Oct. 6	<i>The State Secretary to the Legation in Latvia and Estonia</i> Instructions to proceed with the evacuation and to set up commissions to handle the details, particularly economic.	207	232
Oct. 7	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Legations in Estonia, Latvia, and Finland</i> In strictest secrecy informs the German Ministers that the Moscow negotiations of September 28 delimited German and Soviet spheres of influence in Eastern Europe; these countries plus Lithuania fall outside the German sphere.	213	238
Oct. 11	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Soviet Government has expressed surprise at the impending "panicky" emigration of Germans from Latvia and Estonia; this would seriously compromise the action of the Soviet Government.	239	266
Oct. 13	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Instructions to reply to the Soviet Government that the evacuation in no way compromises Soviet actions; emigration is being carried out calmly on the basis of the Moscow agreements and will remove a source of possible friction.	252	282
Oct. 14	<i>The Minister in Lithuania to the Foreign Ministry</i> Urbšys, just returned from Moscow, quotes Stalin and Molotov as saying the Soviet Union desires no sovietization of Lithuania; Lithuanian troops will enter the Vilna territory on October 10; talks are continuing in Moscow on the Soviet garrison for Lithuania and on economic relations.	254	284
Oct. 27	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov has asked that German naval operations be confined to the Swedish side of the Baltic, lest they be construed as a demonstration in Finland's favor.	305	347

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

XVII

## BALTIC STATES—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939			
Oct. 28	<i>The State Secretary to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Instructions to notify Molotov that the German Naval Command will defer to Soviet wishes in the Baltic and will notify the Soviet Government of future measures that may affect Russian interests.	309	351
Oct. 29	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov was dissatisfied with a German communication on naval operations in the Baltic; the Soviet Government regards German operations in the Soviet sphere as contrary to the agreement and requests that they be kept west of 20° longitude.	313	357
Nov. 9	<i>The State Secretary to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Germany will take an accommodating attitude toward the Soviet request to refrain from naval operations east of 20° longitude but reserves all rights.	341	393

## BELGIUM

1939			
Sept. 7	<i>The Ambassador in Belgium to the Foreign Ministry</i> Belgian popular sentiment is generally anti-German, but will be influenced by military events. The Government's neutrality policy reflects the wishes of the people.	19	18
Oct. 11	<i>The Ambassador in Belgium to the Foreign Ministry</i> Shift of Belgian defense forces to the northern and eastern frontiers reflects the changed estimate of the situation after the end of the Polish campaign. The neutrality policy will be firmly maintained. A German invasion, the only one believed likely, would meet the resistance of a united nation.	243	270
Oct. 13	<i>The Embassy in Belgium to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Chief of the Belgian General Staff inquired about concentrations of German armor and motorized troops around Cologne. He emphasized Belgian determination to maintain neutrality.	251	281
Oct. 16	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in Belgium</i> Instruction to state that reports of German troop concentrations around Cologne are false, to express surprise at the transfer of Belgian troops from Belgian-French to Belgian-German border, and to call attention to anti-German tone of Belgian press.	262	292
Oct. 26	<i>The Ambassador in Belgium to the Foreign Ministry</i> A member of the Belgian Senate informed Bülow of the proceedings of a secret session of the Foreign Policy Committee of the Senate at which Foreign Minister Spaak had vigorously defended the Government's neutrality policy.	302	344
Nov. 7	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> The Belgian Ambassador attempted to discuss possible violation of Belgian territory. Weizsäcker evaded this discussion. The Ambassador was further disturbed about German press comments on the Belgian King's visit to The Hague.	331	382

## BELGIUM—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939 Nov. 8	<i>The Ambassador in Belgium to the Foreign Ministry</i> Reports having heard that the visit of King Leopold to The Hague was undertaken because of news received concerning German preparations for attack near the Belgian and Dutch border.	334	386
Nov. [12]	<i>The Ambassador in Belgium to the Foreign Ministry</i> Foreign Minister Spaak asked the reason for Germany's threatening actions toward Belgium in the face of Belgium's correct attitude.	319	400
Nov. 14	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> At the opening of economic policy discussions with Belgium the Germans protested against a Belgian policy which might restrict or cut off imports of raw materials from Belgium.	357	409
Nov. 17	<i>The Ambassador in Belgium to the Foreign Ministry</i> Following the recent panicky excitement caused by fear that a German invasion was imminent public sentiment has calmed down. The press had adopted a moderate tone. Strong suspicions of Germany's intentions still remain.	365	415
Nov. 18	<i>Memorandum by an Official of Economic Policy Department</i> The Belgian economic negotiator is informed that the Belgian conception of neutrality in the economic field was unsatisfactory to Germany and that Germany must reduce exports to Belgium to the extent that shipments of raw materials to Germany had been cut off. Preparation had been made to stop exports of German coal.	376	419
Dec. 15	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> The Belgian Ambassador discussed the position in the pending economic negotiations, the sincerely neutral attitude of the Belgian King, and the prospects for an end of the war, which he viewed as very slight. Weizsäcker maintained an attitude of reserve.	456	536
1940 Jan. 11	<i>The Ambassador in Belgium to the Foreign Ministry</i> M. Spaak discussed the remarks he had made in the Chamber on December 19, 1939, stressing the unity of the Belgian people in support of the Government's neutrality policy. Any attack on Holland would create a new situation requiring reexamination.	522	645
Jan. 12	<i>Memorandum by the Head of Political Division II</i> The Belgian Counselor of Embassy presented a note verbale protesting against flights of German planes over Belgian territory. He mentioned also the plane which made a forced landing at Mechelen-sur-Meuse on January 10.	528	656
Jan. 12	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in Belgium</i> Requests immediate detailed report of the conversation between Major Reinberger, one of the officers on the German courier plane forced down at Mechelen-sur-Meuse, and the German Air Attaché. Requests also details of the destruction of the courier baggage.	529	658

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

XIX

## BELGIUM—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940			
Jan. 13	<p><i>The Ambassador in Belgium to the Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>Major Reinberger informed the Air Attaché that he had burned the courier baggage except for unimportant fragments which he was prevented from destroying. Close watch will be kept to observe any Belgian military measures which might be taken in consequence of this incident.</p>	531	659
Jan. 13	<p><i>The Ambassador in Belgium to the Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>The Belgian Government announced that defense measures had been taken. It has not been possible to learn details of troop movements. It is assumed that measures were taken as a result of alarming reports reaching the Belgian General Staff lately.</p>	532	660
Jan. 13	<p><i>Memorandum by the Director of the Political Department</i></p> <p>The Belgian Ambassador requested an interview with the State Secretary concerning flights of German aircraft over Belgian territory.</p>	534	662
Jan. 14	<p><i>The Ambassador in Belgium to the Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>Belgian Defense Ministry has ordered next to final mobilization step. Defense measures apparently occasioned by German flights over Belgian territory, reports of German troop movements near the frontiers, and the contents of the partly unburned documents carried on the courier plane forced down on Belgian territory.</p>	538	666
Jan. 14	<p><i>Memorandum by an Official of Political Division I</i></p> <p>By the Foreign Minister's orders the Chief of the General Staff of the Luftwaffe was contacted, who stated that there had been no substantial increase in flights over Belgian territory, but that in view of the political considerations such flights would be reduced so far as consistent with military requirements.</p>	540	667
Jan. 15	<p><i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i></p> <p>The Belgian Ambassador discussed flights by German aircraft over Belgian territory, while Weizsäcker asked the reasons for Belgium's defense measures directed against Germany.</p>	541	668
Jan. 17	<p><i>The Ambassador in Belgium to the Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>The Belgian Foreign Minister explained that defensive military measures had been taken because of reports of German troop movements toward the Belgian frontier and because of the nature of the documents found as a result of the German courier plane landing in Belgium on January 10. Belgium had no intention of calling in Britain and France and would adhere to the policy of neutrality.</p>	544	674
Jan. 17	<p><i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i></p> <p>The Belgian Ambassador stated that Belgian defense measures were justified by the documents found when a German plane had made a forced landing in Belgium on January 10. These documents conveyed the impression that Germany had aggressive intentions against Belgium. Weizsäcker disclaimed adequate information for a discussion of the affair.</p>	551	681

XXANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

BELGIUM—Continued

Date	Subject	No.	Page
1940 [Jan. 31]	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in Belgium</i> Instructions to call on the Belgian Foreign Minister to state that reports of German troop movements against the Belgian frontier are false, that nothing was known in Berlin about the documents which fell into Belgian hands as a result of the forced landing of the courier plane, and to defend German military moves as justified by movements of British, French, and Dutch troops and stationing of Belgian troops on the German frontier.	585	722
Feb. 1	<i>The Ambassador in Belgium to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Rexist leader Degrelle requests support for a new newspaper which would advocate Belgian neutrality. The Ambassador favors a subsidy for an initial 3-month trial period.	587	724
Feb. 1	<i>The Ambassador in Belgium to the Foreign Ministry</i> Called on Belgian Foreign Minister to present German views on Belgian military dispositions. M. Spaak affirmed Belgian intention to pursue a policy of neutrality and denied contact between the Belgian military command and French and British General Staffs.	588	725
Feb. 21	<i>The Foreign Ministry to the National Socialist War Veterans League</i> The Foreign Ministry desires that no support be given to young men from Eupen-Malmédy in escaping Belgian military service by flight to Germany. The flight of any considerable number would weaken the German element there.	632	807

BULGARIA

1939 Sept. 18	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Political Department</i> The Bulgarian Chargé d'Affaires handed in his Government's neutrality declaration and discussed what attitude Bulgaria should take if Russia should seize Bessarabia and simultaneously offer Dobruja to Bulgaria.	92	93
Oct. 10	<i>The Legation in Bulgaria to the Foreign Ministry</i> King Boris is afraid that Yugoslav interference with arms shipments from Germany to Bulgaria might compel him to obtain war material from Russia.	229	252
Oct. 12	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> The Bulgarian Minister informed Weizsäcker that a proposal for a Russo-Bulgarian assistance pact, recently advanced by Molotov, was rejected by the Bulgarian Government.	247	277
Dec. 4	<i>The Minister in Bulgaria to the Foreign Ministry</i> King Boris expressed concern over Russian aspirations in the Balkans and inquired about Germany's views on that subject, particularly in view of Russia's offer of a mutual assistance pact to Bulgaria. Richt-hofen requests instructions for a reply.	415	484

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

XXI

## BULGARIA—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939 Dec. 15	<i>The State Secretary to the Legation in Bulgaria</i> In reply to the Bulgarian King's inquiries, Richtshofen is to state that Germany could not support Bulgaria in a conflict with Russia, but that she did not expect such a conflict.	454	533
1940 Jan. 24	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in Bulgaria to the Foreign Ministry</i> During his recent visit in Sofia Menemencioğlu tried unsuccessfully to commit Bulgaria to a formula of strict neutrality and had to be satisfied with a reaffirmation of a common determination to maintain neutrality as expressed in the communique published.	564	694

## DENMARK

1939 Sept. 9	<i>Memorandum by Ambassador von Hassell</i> Describes his official visits to Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Finland to discuss problems of neutrality.	42	39
Sept. 14	<i>The Minister in Denmark to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Danish press argues that the nonaggression treaty with Germany and Hassell's assurances will allow Danish food exports to remain at their normal level.	66	63
Sept. 17	<i>The Director of the Economic Policy Department to the Legation in Denmark</i> Instructions to inform the Danish Government that although Germany recognizes Denmark's neutral rights, she also insists on her own belligerent rights.	83	82
Sept. 26	<i>The Minister in Denmark to the Foreign Ministry</i> Reuthe-Fink told the Danish Government that Germany reserves the right to employ the same measures as Britain toward supplies from neutral countries; he warns Berlin, however, that actually to sink normal Danish transports would do almost irreparable political harm.	136	136
Oct. 10	<i>Circular of the Foreign Ministry</i> Describes the terms of a Danish-German agreement on Danish food and fodder cargoes to and from England; German consent is provisional, and may be revoked on due notice.	234	256

## DIRECTIVES FOR THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR

1939 Sept. 9	<i>Directive No. 3</i>	43	41
Sept. 25	<i>Directive No. 4</i>	135	135
Sept. 30	<i>Directive No. 5</i>	170	176
Oct. 9	<i>Directive No. 6</i>	224	248
Oct. 18	<i>Directive No. 7</i>	276	316
Nov. 20	<i>Directive No. 8</i>	377	430
Nov. 29	<i>Directive No. 9</i>	399	463



## XXII

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

## FAR EAST

Date	Subject	Doc.No.	Page
1939 Sept. 5	<i>Ambassador Mackensen to State Secretary Weizsäcker</i> Shiratori told Plessen of Japanese reaction to the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact and mentioned the possibility of German mediation between Japan and the Soviet Union.	11	8
Sept. 8	<i>The Ambassador in Japan to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Japanese have handed over a note stating that in view of war conditions, they wish to postpone signing of the trade agreement scheduled for October 1; any political motivation is denied.	27	26
Sept. 8	<i>The Ambassador in Japan to the Foreign Ministry</i> Foreign Minister Abe says that despite her neutrality and her disappointment over the Nazi-Soviet Pact, Japan wishes to continue to develop friendly relations with Germany; Ott thinks efforts to end the China war are now Japan's main concern.	29	28
Sept. 8	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Weizsäcker suggests the possibility of a return of the German Ambassador to China be kept open in case "Japanese policy proves unreliable"; Ribbentrop refuses.	32	31
Sept. 9	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Ambassador in Japan</i> Ribbentrop expounds the line toward Japan, which is approved by Oshima: vital Japanese interest in German victory; need for Russo-Japanese settlement; combination of these powers with Axis against Britain.	40	36
Sept. 13	<i>Memorandum by the Head of Political Division VIII</i> Steps taken by Japan since the outbreak of war indicate an intention to use the war to terminate the China Incident and to drive French and British influence from China; if France and Britain resist, Japan may be drawn into the German camp.	61	57
Sept. 16	<i>The Ambassador in Japan to the Foreign Ministry</i> Ott has obtained assurances that Oshima can remain as Ambassador in Berlin, but he seems to be insisting on his own recall.	75	74
Sept. 16	<i>The Ambassador in Japan to the Foreign Ministry</i> Ott suggests matters on which German influence with Russia might lead to a Russo-Japanese settlement: whether this in turn would result in committing Japan against Britain will depend on development of the military situation in Europe.	77	75
Sept. 16	<i>Ambassador Schulenburg to State Secretary Weizsäcker</i> The Ambassador in Moscow gives an account of the efforts of the Japanese Ambassador there to improve Soviet-Japanese relations and of his own encouragement of these efforts.	79	77
Sept. 18	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Belatedly and with some embarrassment Oshima presented Japan's protest against the German-Soviet Pact, suggesting that it "be allowed to disappear in the files."	93	94

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS XXIII

## FAR EAST—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939			
Sept. 20	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Political Department</i> Oshima said that if Russia would abandon Chiang Kai-shek and recognize the new Chinese Government being set up by Japan, it would greatly assist the difficult process of changing the attitude of the Japanese Army toward Russia.	112	111
Sept. 25	<i>Memorandum by the Head of Political Division VIII</i> Ribbentrop explained to the visiting Japanese general, Count Terauchi, the advantages of an understanding with Russia to facilitate a move by Japan into Southeast Asia; the Japanese assented to these ideas in general terms.	132	131
Sept. 27	<i>The Ambassador in Japan to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Japanese General Staff requested some gesture in Japan's behalf during Ribbentrop's visit to Moscow, since still closer Russo-German ties would bring a setback to efforts for a settlement between Japan and Russia.	140	146
Oct. 5	<i>The Ambassador in Japan to the Foreign Ministry</i> Behind the facade of unity imposed by the Abe Cabinet there is sharp factional struggle in Japan, and far-reaching foreign policy decisions are not to be expected in the near future.	198	216
Oct. 5	<i>Memorandum by the Head of Political Division VIII</i> The Chinese Counselor of Embassy suggested German soundings in Japan for peace with China, pointing to the German interest in turning Japan against Britain; Chiang, he said, would also be willing to follow an anti-British course.	201	220
Oct. 7	<i>The Ambassador in Japan to the Foreign Ministry</i> The acceptance of Oshima's resignation is related to the decline in the political influence of the pro-German Army group; this situation, the General Staff indicates, is certain to be only temporary.	212	237
Oct. 8	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Political Department</i> Woermann opposes taking up the Chinese bid for German mediation in the Sino-Japanese war; there is no sign that Japan would welcome such a move, and so long as Japan's future course is uncertain there is no German interest in freeing her from involvement in China.	217	243
Oct. 16	<i>The Ambassador in Japan to the Foreign Ministry</i> The elements favoring agreements with Britain and America are unlikely to retain control of Japanese policy for long against the determined pro-German Army circles; concessions to Japan by Russia or German military successes against Britain would have great influence.	264	298
Oct. 24	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Foreign Ministers' Personal Staff</i> Hitler assured Oshima of his continuing belief in close German-Japanese relations based on their parallel interests; in the war against Britain, however, he wanted no military assistance as Germans preferred to deal with their military problems alone.	292	333

## FAR EAST—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939			
Oct. 24	<i>The Ambassador in Japan to the Foreign Ministry</i> Shiratori, confident of the early collapse of the weak Abe Cabinet's efforts to get an agreement with America, asks for German assistance in promoting a Soviet-Japanese pact on the basis of Soviet abandonment of Chiang Kai-shek.	293	335
Oct. 27	<i>The Director of the Political Department to the Embassy in Japan</i> The Foreign Minister requests that the Embassy give Oshima every assistance after his return to Japan, including facilities for secret communication with the Foreign Minister.	307	349
Nov. 3	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in Japan</i> Ribbentrop authorizes a statement to Shiratori for his confidential use that Germany will continue to exert its influence on Russia for a policy of neutrality by the latter in the China conflict.	325	372
Nov. 11	<i>An Official of the Embassy in China to the Foreign Ministry</i> Prime Minister Kung has offered to sell Germany tungsten ore pledged to Britain and other countries provided it is paid for with arms and munitions, and provided the transaction is kept secret.	345	397
Nov. 17	<i>Minute by Ambassador Ritter</i> The Foreign Minister refused to consider shipment of any arms to China, but is willing to give other German products in exchange for raw materials from China.	368	418
Dec. 5	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> Japan's attitude on trade and economic warfare issues since the outbreak of the war has been very unsatisfactory," although a slight improvement has been noted more recently; representations to the Japanese Ambassador are suggested.	421	490
Dec. 12	<i>Memorandum by the Chief of Protocol</i> Ribbentrop stressed to the new Japanese Ambassador, Kurusu, his support for many years of German-Japanese collaboration and pointed out that in the present situation Japan's real interest lay in a German victory over Britain.	448	524
Dec. 31	<i>The Ambassador in Japan to the Foreign Ministry</i> Ott reports that the Japanese Cabinet, after failure of its negotiations with America and Russia, is near collapse, but sharp internal divisions will permit no clearer foreign policy line for the present.	406	585
1940			
Jan. 17	<i>The Ambassador in Japan to the Foreign Ministry</i> The new Yonai Cabinet, strongly under the influence of high finance and court circles, is expected to resume efforts for an agreement with America; a personal appeal of the Emperor was needed to get Army support for the Cabinet.	419	676

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

XXV

## FAR EAST—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940			
Jan. —	<i>The State Secretary to the Embassy in Italy</i> A draft telegram, withheld in favor of a personal statement by the Foreign Minister, asks that the Italians be told to refrain from advising the Japanese against an agreement with Russia and in favor of an agreement with America.	549	678
Jan. 22	<i>Minute by the Head of Political Division VIII</i> The Chinese Counselor of Embassy came to inquire whether Germany would follow Italy in giving open support to Wang Ching-wei; Knoll replied that no German decision had been taken and Germany had not been consulted about the Italian move.	558	688
Jan. 24	<i>State Secretary Weizsäcker to Ambassador Ott</i> Representations made in Rome will soon lead to recall of the troublesome Italian Ambassador in Tokyo; the Italians stress anti-Bolshevism but this attitude represents no danger so long as the Balkans remain quiescent.	567	698
Feb. 1	<i>Memorandum by the Head of Political Division VIII</i> Ambassador Kurusu urged that Germany not attack the Netherlands and Belgium or open a land campaign; he argued that in time most of the German aims could be achieved by negotiation and suggested that Japanese mediation would be available.	590	728
Feb. 17	<i>The President of the German-Japanese Society to the State Secretary</i> Kurusu told Admiral Foerster he always urged the Americans to stand aside and await an opportunity for mediating the conflict; Foerster said the Japanese would be well-advised to promote economic rivalry between Britain and America in the Far East.	619	783
Feb. 23	<i>The Embassy in Japan to the Foreign Ministry</i> Stahmer finds that although the Japanese Government remains noncommittal toward the European war, the influence of pro-German elements in the Army is on the increase, and popular sentiment is largely pro-German.	630	806
Mar. 1	<i>The Embassy in Japan to the Foreign Ministry</i> It is urged that economic concessions to Japan are needed in order to give support to the political line Germany is following toward Japan.	639	820
Mar. 2	<i>The Ambassador in Japan to the Foreign Ministry</i> There are signs that unless economic concessions are made by Germany Japan's attempt to ease her relations with Britain and America may lead to a curtailment of German-Japanese trade.	646	835
1939			
Sept. 6	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Finnish Minister in Moscow attributes Molotov's friendlier attitude toward Finland to the German-Soviet Pact.	12	12

## FINLAND—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc.No.	Page
1939			
Sept. 20	<i>The Minister in Finland to the Foreign Ministry</i> Blücher reports that the Finnish Foreign Minister apparently would like German aid in settling the Åland question with the Soviet Union.	106	106
Sept. 27	<i>An Official of the Foreign Minister's Secretariat to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> The Finnish Foreign Minister states that Finland will never accept demands such as those the USSR has imposed on Estonia.	143	148
Sept. 27	<i>The Minister in Finland to the Foreign Ministry</i> Political report on Finland and the war; the sudden changes in her position; realistic thinking by Finnish officials; the decline of German popularity.	147	151
Oct. 2	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> The Finnish Minister asks what significance the German-Soviet agreements have for Finland; Weizsäcker replies that Germany wishes friendly relations with Finland.	178	195
Oct. 6	<i>The Minister in Finland to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov has asked that a Finnish plenipotentiary come to Moscow; Blücher remained noncommittal when the Finnish Foreign Minister intimated he would like to know if Germany would support Finland in case of excessive Soviet demands.	206	231
Oct. 7	<i>The Director of the Political Department to the Legation in Finland</i> Germany cannot intervene in the impending Russian-Finnish discussions.	215	240
Oct. 9	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> The Finnish Government wishes to know whether Germany is indifferent to the Soviet advance in the Baltic.	221	246
Oct. 9	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> The Swedish Minister expresses uneasiness concerning possible Soviet demands on Finland; Weizsäcker replies that Germany claims no interests there.	223	248
Oct. 9	<i>The State Secretary to the Legation in Finland</i> Germany is not in a position to intervene in the Soviet-Finnish conversations.	225	250
Oct. 10	<i>The Minister in Finland to the Foreign Ministry</i> Finland is in a state of emergency and anti-German sentiment is increasing; Blücher endorses Finnish requests for some form of support in Moscow.	226	251
Oct. 10	<i>The Minister in Finland to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Finnish Foreign Minister has asked whether Germany will allow Sweden to give military aid to Finland.	227	252
Oct. 10	<i>The Minister in Finland to the Foreign Ministry</i> Recommends that Germany allow Sweden to support Finland only if Sweden guarantees ore shipments to Germany and denies Britain and France access to the Baltic.	228	252

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

XXVII

## FINLAND—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939			
Oct. 10	<i>The Minister in Finland to the Foreign Ministry</i> Because of her economic interests, Germany should ask the USSR to lessen her demands on Finland.	230	253
Oct. 10	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Legation in Finland</i> Instructions to prevent ex-President Svinhufvud's reported visit to Germany to win support against the Soviet Union.	232	255
Oct. 11	<i>The State Secretary to the Legation in Finland</i> Instructions to avoid commitments regarding Finland; Germany is limited by the obligations of the Non-Aggression Pact with the Soviet Union.	240	267
Oct. 11	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Foreign Minister's Secretariat</i> Ribbentrop has agreed to voluntary evacuation of Germans from Finland.	241	268
Oct. 19	<i>The Minister in Finland to the Foreign Ministry</i> Finnish mobilization is complete and Finland seems to enjoy the moral support of the whole world, except Germany; Finnish sympathy for Germany seems to be evaporating.	278	319
Nov. 30	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Attolico advised the Finnish Minister not to seek German mediation in the Russo-Finnish conflict but to take account of realities.	404	469
Dec. 2	<i>Circular of the State Secretary</i> Instructions to avoid any anti-Soviet note in conversations regarding the Russo-Finnish conflict; rather, justify the Soviet action.	411	479
Dec. 4	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Political Department</i> Through the good offices of Sweden, Finland has asked the Soviet Union for negotiations to settle the present conflict; Finland requests German support.	416	485
Dec. 5	<i>The State Secretary to the Legations in Finland and Sweden</i> Molotov has rejected the Finnish proposal for negotiation; Germany will reject the Finnish request for support; there is no basis for German mediation.	417	486
Dec. 5	<i>The Minister in Finland to the Foreign Ministry</i> Blücher warns that Germany cannot afford to lose her influence and economic interests in Finland; continuation of the war will make such loss inevitable.	418	488
Dec. 7	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in Norway to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Norwegian Foreign Minister asks (1) whether Germany and the Soviet Union are negotiating, as reported, about Soviet occupation of ports in northern Norway and (2) what attitude Germany would take to shipment of arms through Norway to Finland.	424	495
Dec. 7	<i>Minister Blücher to State Secretary Weizsäcker</i> Warns that Soviet activities in Finland are already injurious to Germany and may become worse.	426	496
Dec. 7	<i>Circular of the Foreign Minister</i> Again instructs Missions abroad to support the Soviet point of view in the Finnish conflict.	429	501

## FINLAND—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939			
Dec. 9	<i>The Embassy in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Recommends granting Soviet request for German ships to supply Soviet submarines in Gulf of Bothnia.	433	507
Dec. 9	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Legation in Norway</i> Instructions to express astonishment at inquiry about alleged German-Soviet negotiations about northern Norway; Germany's naval measures are based not on the Finnish conflict but upon her war with Britain and France.	434	608
Dec. 10	<i>Memorandum by an Official of Political Division I</i> Hitler and Raeder have agreed to the Soviet request for German ships to supply Soviet submarines in the Gulf of Bothnia.	437	621
Dec. 18	<i>Minister Blücher to State Secretary Weizsäcker</i> Recommends that Germany play the role of "honest broker" in the Russo-Finnish conflict.	471	655
Dec. 19	<i>The Minister in Finland to the Foreign Ministry</i> Requests authorization to deny a report that Germany has threatened Sweden with military action if she intervenes in the Russo-Finnish conflict.	473	558
Dec. 20	<i>The State Secretary to the Legation in Finland</i> Instructions to avoid discussions of hypothetical cases such as the alleged warning to Sweden; this in fact has not been made.	475	559
Dec. 24	<i>The Minister in Finland to the Foreign Ministry</i> The difference between the Italian and German attitudes toward Finland is attracting attention.	485	678
1940			
Jan. 2	<i>State Secretary Weizsäcker to Minister Blücher</i> A visit to Berlin by Blücher would be inopportune at present; Germany's situation allows no equivocation vis-i-vis the Soviet Union.	500	696
Jan. 4	<i>The Minister in Finland to the Foreign Ministry</i> Blücher warned Finnish Foreign Minister Tanner of possible complications if Finland accepted aid from Germany's enemies; Tanner seemed to be seeking German mediation.	500	613
Jan. 4	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Economic Policy Department</i> A Finnish request that Germany permit transit of war material to Finland has been denied.	507	614
Jan. 8	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Despite initial reverses there is no doubt of the ultimate victory of the Soviet Union over Finland; the Soviet Union has warned Sweden and Norway against supporting Finland; settlement of the conflict would be advantageous to Germany.	513	629
Jan. 10	<i>Ambassador Schulenburg to State Secretary Weizsäcker</i> Molotov and Potemkin have spoken of Italian unfriendliness toward the Soviet Union; Potemkin hinted that Germany might use her influence in Rome toward moderation; Molotov has not yet rejected Finnish suggestions for negotiations.	521	648

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XXIX

## FINLAND—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940			
Jan. 11	<i>Minister Blücher to State Secretary Weizsäcker</i> Now that the Finnish conflict has revealed Soviet military and political weakness, Germany is in a position to change her policy toward the Kremlin and take a stronger line to put an end to the fighting.	526	650
Jan. 17	<i>The State Secretary to the Minister in Finland</i> Instructions to reply to Tanner's inquiry of January 4 that the German Government sees no prospects at the moment of ending the Russo-Finnish conflict.	547	677
Jan. 17	<i>State Secretary Weizsäcker to Ambassador Schulenburg</i> Expresses doubt whether anything can be done in Rome to tone down Italian criticism of the Soviet Union; mediation between Finland and the Soviet Union also appears unlikely at the moment.	548	678
Jan. 18	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> The decision not to attempt mediation in the Russo-Finnish conflict was made by the highest authority.	552	682
Jan. 19	<i>The Minister in Finland to the Foreign Ministry</i> Reports informing Tanner that the German Government saw no prospects for ending the conflict; Tanner said Finland remained ready to discuss matters.	554	684
Jan. 19	<i>The Minister in Estonia to the Foreign Ministry</i> Records a conversation with General Laidoner, Estonian Commander in Chief, on the latter's talks with Stalin in December 1939; Laidoner surmises that agreement is still possible and that the Soviet Union does not intend to incorporate Finland.	556	685
Jan. 25	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Tippelskirch assesses advantages and disadvantages for Germany of the Russo-Finnish conflict; Germany is incurring some resentment and some economic losses, and there is danger of spread of war into the North; meanwhile the blow to Soviet prestige is helpful to Germany, and recent events are forcing the Soviet Union closer to her.	574	706
Jan. 25	<i>Memorandum of the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Molotov told Schulenburg that the conflict with Finland would not last much longer; the Soviet Government demanded only that Finland fulfill its earlier demands; it did not intend to destroy Finland's independence but could not permit a hostile government to control strategic territories close to its borders.	575	708
Feb. 10	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Political Department</i> Woermann denied to the Finnish Minister that Germany was trying to dissuade Sweden from aiding Finland; a different situation would arise if British or French forces arrived in Norway or Sweden en route to Finland.	606	761
Feb. 13	<i>Memorandum by the Minister to Finland</i> Ribbentrop authorized Blücher to suggest to Tanner that he ask Ribbentrop to sound out the Soviet Government whether it would be willing to send a representative to talk to a Finn in Berlin.	612	774



## XXX ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

## FINLAND—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940			
Feb. 17	<i>The Minister in Finland to the Foreign Ministry</i> Blücher told Tanner that he saw no chance of mediation by Germany or another neutral; he then offered a personal suggestion that Ribbentrop be asked to try to arrange a secret meeting between Paasikivi and a Soviet representative in Berlin.	617	778
Feb. 19	<i>The Foreign Minister's Secretariat to the Minister in Finland</i> Instructions to be noncommittal in future talks with Tanner so as to arouse no false hopes.	620	784
Feb. 20	<i>The Minister in Finland to the Foreign Ministry</i> When Tanner asked about the proposed Russo-Finnish talks in Berlin, Blücher remained noncommittal as instructed; Tanner declined to state whether Finland was seeking military assistance from Germany's enemies; Blücher thinks Finland is wavering between negotiating with the Soviet Union and appealing to the Western Powers.	622	785
Feb. 22	<i>The Minister in Finland to the Foreign Ministry</i> Soviet forces have scored their first major success against Finland; Finnish officials may be seeking British and French troops; if these came via Narvik they would cut off Germany's supply of Swedish iron ore.	628	802
Mar. 3	<i>The Minister in Finland to the Foreign Ministry</i> Blücher was informed by former Foreign Minister Hackzell that Finnish-Soviet negotiations through Swedish mediation are well advanced; certain territorial questions are still unsettled.	651	848
Mar. 7	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Instructions to notify Molotov that Germany has consistently rejected foreign urgings that she attempt to mediate in the Soviet-Finnish conflict.	661	869
Mar. 8	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Encloses a memorandum on a Molotov-Schulenburg conversation of March 5 on the Finnish-Soviet conflict; Schulenburg congratulated the Soviet Government for recent military successes; Molotov stated the demands the Soviet Union had tendered Finland through Swedish mediation; these would be increased if the Finns remained obstinate.	661	880
Mar. 10	<i>Unsigned Memorandum</i> Weizsäcker informs Bohle of Ribbentrop's decision to allow a slow and cautious return of Reichsdeutsche from Finland to Germany; any semblance of an organized movement must be avoided.	666	893
Mar. 13	<i>The Minister in Finland to the Foreign Ministry</i> Blücher assesses the effects for Northern Europe of the Treaty of Peace of March 12 between Finland and the USSR; the Soviet Union is much stronger in the Baltic area; the spread of the war has been checked; Germany has lost much of her popularity in Finland.	672	914

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

XXXI

## FRANCE

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939 Sept. 8	<i>The Ambassador in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Spanish Ambassador in Paris reports that Bonnet is still trying to find a basis for a peace after completion of the Polish campaign.	25	24
Sept. 17	<i>Memorandum by the Minister in Luxembourg</i> Radowitz reported the call made upon him by Henri Blanche, an old friend now employed in the Quai d'Orsay, regarding a means for terminating the war between France and Germany.	87	88
Oct. 2	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Attolico gave Weizsäcker a report by the Italian Ambassador in Paris stating that the majority of the French cabinet would be favorably inclined toward a peace proposal that would not appear as submission to a fait accompli.	180	197
Oct. 7	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Political Department</i> Fritz Spieser, an Alsatian autonomist, has written a letter to the Führer advocating a plebiscite and eventual union with the Reich; since the Führer in his speech of the previous day renounced all claims to Alsace-Lorraine, a new policy is not feasible as long as there is any hope for a peace with France before the outbreak of major hostilities.	214	239
Nov. 16	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> The Italian Ambassador said that Marshal Pétain is regardful as an advocate of a peace policy in France and will play a role if the question of peace should become acute.	363	414
1940 Jan. 3	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Ribbentrop is planning to send an emissary to Moscow on a secret mission with the aim of contacting the Soviets about a possible cooperation between the Germans and the French Communists.	501	597
Jan. 26	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Attolico said that according to reports from the Italian Embassy in Paris Weygand in Syria was urging action against Russia from Rumanian territory and that home Cabinet members were in favor of it; other Ministers, however, as well as General Gamelin and the British Government opposed the plan.	578	711

## GREAT BRITAIN

1939 Nov. 3	<i>Circular of the Foreign Ministry</i> Encloses an extract from a letter of October 23 from the Minister in the Netherlands regarding popular sentiment in Britain on the war. Britain would like a peace which would mean an end to German aggression. Failing that continuance of the war is favored.	326	372
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## GREAT BRITAIN—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939 Nov. 11	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Received from the Italian Ambassador an excerpt from a report of the Italian Ambassador in London describing an interview with Sir Alexander Cadogan on prerequisites for peace. Cadogan was described as concerned over possible Russian gains from a prolongation of the war. Lord Halifax and Vansittart were reported as sharing these concerns.	348	399
Nov. 20	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Received from Italian Ambassador an excerpt from a report of the Italian Ambassador in London to his Government indicating that the British Government was still prepared to consider proposals for ending the war provided these contained guarantees against recurring German aggressions.	375	426
1940 Jan. 23	<i>The Minister in Eire to the Foreign Ministry</i> Various representatives of British peace movements have attempted to contact the legation and are interested especially in whether a statement could be made about the future of Poland and Bohemia. The legation, as instructed, had maintained an attitude of reserve and the Minister had maintained a similar attitude in a talk with De Valera on the possibility of a settlement of the war.	559	690
Jan. 27	<i>Minister Zech to State Secretary Weizsäcker</i> Zech says that he might have means of communication with the Duke of Windsor, who is reported to be dissatisfied with his present post. He inquires whether it is desired that he should cultivate this relationship further.	580	713
Feb. 19	<i>Minister Zech to State Secretary Weizsäcker</i> Reports that the Duke of Windsor had stated that at the Allied War Council extended discussions had taken place of the situation which would arise if the Germans should invade Belgium. The military favored making the main resistance behind the Belgian-French border, while this at first was opposed by the political authorities.	621	785
Feb. 21	<i>The Minister in Eire to the Foreign Ministry</i> Reports that Lord Tavistock, Chairman of the British People's Party, had sought an interview, which had been refused.	624	789
Mar. 2	<i>State Secretary Weizsäcker to Minister Zech</i> Has received Zech's letters of January 27 and February 19. Without making reply to Zech's request for directions contained in his letter of January 27. Weizsäcker suggests that any further information of the type given in these letters be forwarded in the form of a report, but addressed to him personally.	648	837

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS XXXIII

## GREECE

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939 Sept. 19	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano told Mackensen that current Greek-Italian discussions would probably result in a joint communique emphasizing the friendly nature of the relations between the two countries; a pact of neutrality, nonaggression, and consultation might follow later on.	96	98
Oct. 28	<i>The State Secretary to the Legation in Greece</i> Metaxas is to be told that chartering a considerable portion of the Greek merchant fleet to England would be considered by Germany as a serious departure from neutrality.	310	351
Nov. 1	<i>The Minister in Greece to the Foreign Ministry</i> With regard to the chartering of Greek ships by Britain, Prime Minister Metaxas stated that his Government in conformity with its policy of neutrality wanted to stay clear of the matter but that it had no legal means of preventing such transactions by individual ship owners.	319	368
1940 Feb. 14	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Weizsäcker objected to remarks by the Greek Minister criticizing German airplane deliveries to Bulgaria and referring to the fear of Germany which existed in the Balkans; he promised, however, to look into Greek complaints concerning German deliveries.	614	775

## THE HOLY SEE

1940 Mar. 11	<i>Unsigned Memorandum</i> In a conversation between the Foreign Minister and the Pope there was discussed the fundamental relationship between the National Socialist State and the Catholic Church, and the prospects for a basic settlement between them. The Foreign Minister considered that a comprehensive settlement was necessary, but would be possible only at some later date.	668	896
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## HUNGARY

1939 Sept. 5	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Foreign Minister's Secretariat</i> The Foreign Minister impressed on the Hungarian Minister in Berlin that Hungary must not attack Rumania in any circumstances.	8	6
Sept. 5	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Political Department</i> Since the Hungarian Minister inquired about the ban on deliveries of war material to Hungary, Woermann asks Ribbentrop to authorize a reply.	9	6
Sept. 8	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Legation in Hungary</i> On a journey to Germany, which was to remain secret, Csáky promised that Hungary would not take any action against Rumania without first consulting Germany and even offered to conclude a nonaggression pact with Rumania; Csáky is now to be informed that Ribbentrop considers such a pact not to be opportune.	30	29

## HUNGARY—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc.No	Page
1939 Sept. 10	<i>The Minister in Hungary to the Foreign Ministry</i> Csáky handed to Erdmannsdorff a Hungarian note stating that national honor as well as fear of an attack compelled Hungary to decline the German request for the transit of German troops over a railway line in Hungarian territory. Csáky said that this request as well as the continued anti-Hungarian propaganda over the Slovak radio had compromised his pro-German policy.	45	42
Sept. 11	<i>The Minister in Hungary to the Foreign Ministry</i> Hungary is prepared to permit the transport of German war material over the railway in question in closed cars without military escort.	48	46
Sept. 11	<i>The Minister in Hungary to the Foreign Ministry</i> Csáky, greatly agitated over a Slovak note requesting permission to move military transports through Hungarian territory, stated that Hungary would flatly reject such a demand and would dispatch troops to the Slovak border.	49	46
Sept. 11	<i>An Official of the Foreign Minister's Secretariat to the Legation in Hungary</i> The matter of the transit of German troops over a Hungarian railway line is now closed but the Foreign Minister wishes to convey to Csáky that Germany's request was reasonable and not in the nature of an ultimatum.	61	48
Sept. 13	<i>Note by the Minister in Hungary</i> Hungary's interpretation of an earlier agreement with Germany on cooperation in the exploitation of oil fields in the Carpatho-Ukraine is not considered satisfactory by State Secretary Keppler.	62	59
Sept. 14	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Legation in Hungary</i> Ribbentrop is astonished at Hungary's threatening reply to the request for the transit of Slovak cars over the Hungarian railways and wishes to advise Csáky to act cautiously toward Slovakia which is under German protection.	67	63
Sept. 18	<i>Minister Erdmannsdorff to State Secretary Weizsäcker</i> Csáky, who wishes to visit Mussolini, has asked Erdmannsdorff to find out whether the Foreign Minister would object to such a trip.	95	97
Oct. 3	<i>Memorandum by the Deputy Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> In a conversation with Prime Minister Teleki Clodius reviewed the whole complex of German-Hungarian economic relations.	185	201
Oct. 11	<i>The Minister in Hungary to the Foreign Ministry</i> Csáky told Erdmannsdorff confidentially that Hungary was fortifying her border with Rumania as a defensive measure against a possible Russian attack across that country.	238	265
Oct. 13	<i>The State Secretary to the Legation in Hungary</i> Erdmannsdorff is to observe greatest possible reserve and to avoid any statements on the subject of Russo-Hungarian relations.	253	283

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

XXXV

## HUNGARY— Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939 Nov. 3	<i>The Regent of Hungary to the Führer and Chancellor</i> Horthy assures Hitler of Hungary's friendship and offers his good offices, in case "confidential negotiations" should be desired; he complains about attempts by "contemptible" Arrow Cross leaders and some members of the German community in Hungary to sow discord between the two countries.	328	376
Dec. 13	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> Criticizing Finland's policy, Ribbentrop rejected a Hungarian suggestion that Germany mediate in the Russo-Finnish conflict; furthermore, Germany would consider Hungary's complying with a Turkish request for deliveries of ammunition as aid given to an ally of France and Britain.	450	529
Dec. 18	<i>Minute by an Official of the Economic Policy Department</i> Asks for decision by the Foreign Ministry on the importance attached to complying with Hungarian requests for war material deliveries for reasons of foreign policy.	469	549
1940 Jan. 17	<i>The Deputy Director of the Economic Policy Department to the Foreign Ministry</i> On signing economic agreements with Hungary including secret protocols concerning German assistance in Hungary's rearmament, Clodius praised that country's economic cooperation with Germany shown especially in the concessions made to Germany in the question of the exchange rate.	545	675
Feb. 23	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> The Hungarian Minister informed Ribbentrop that the United States had requested Hungary's views on a future peace settlement and inquired about the Sumner Welles visit; Ribbentrop stated that Germany would fight on until her enemies sued for peace.	631	807

## IRELAND

1939 Oct. 8	<i>The Minister in Eire to the Foreign Ministry</i> Irish neutrality is being strictly observed and has wide popular support. It should also be supported by Germany. Caution should be exercised in submarine warfare, in application of the blockade to Ireland, and in treatment of the Irish question in the press and on the radio, while interference in Irish internal conflicts should be avoided.	216	241
Nov. 14	<i>The Minister in Eire to the Foreign Ministry</i> Again advises against German aid to the Irish Republican Army or any interposition in Irish affairs at the moment. Reports that existence of the Legation is worrying the British and that therefore great care is necessary in its activities and in the conduct of German propaganda.	355	405
Nov. 30	<i>The Minister in Eire to the Foreign Ministry</i> No signs of change in British policy with respect to Ireland. Urges special consideration for Ireland in case of intensified sea warfare.	401	466

## IRELAND—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc.No.	Page
1939 Dec. 16	<i>The Minister in Eire to the Foreign Ministry</i> Action of other German agencies such as the Fichtebund or the Propaganda Ministry in establishing connections with radical Irish nationalists should be pursued only with utmost care.	465	545
1940 Jan. 24	<i>The Consulate General at Genoa to the Foreign Ministry</i> Inquires whether German Government is prepared to assist in the return to Ireland of John Russell, then in New York.	562	693
Feb. 10	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Political Department</i> It would be technically possible to transport Russell to Ireland by submarine, but the time for such an action has not yet arrived.	605	760

## ITALY

1939 Sept. 4	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> On receiving Hitler's message Mussolini denied he had intended to participate in a mediation requiring withdrawal of German troops from Poland; he called the Anglo-French declaration of war "idiotic" and promised every assistance.	1	1
Sept. 7	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> The Italian Ambassador said he had heard that there was criticism of Italy's attitude among the German public and asked whether it would not be possible to publish Hitler's letter to Mussolini; Ribbentrop refused.	23	22
Sept. 7	<i>Ambassador Mackensen to State Secretary Weizsäcker</i> The Ambassador transmits a German Labor Front official's report on Italian disaffection over the recent developments and urges more care be taken to inform Italy in advance of actions planned by Germany.	24	22
Sept. 8	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> It is recommended that talks be undertaken with Italy to revise trade plans made in anticipation of war, since Italy's neutrality will enable her to supply more and Germany should supply less.	33	32
Sept. 9	<i>The Embassy in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Mussolini told the German Military Attaché of his gratification over the campaign in Poland, and suggested that an honorable peace offer to a new Polish Government would make a strong impression in France, which had no stomach for the war anyway.	38	35
Sept. 14	<i>Foreign Minister Ribbentrop to Reichsleiter Ley</i> Ribbentrop asks Ley to help combat charges made by an Italian labor official that Germany's action against Poland was contrary to an agreement to postpone war, and that Italy was not kept informed of negotiations with Russia.	63	64
Sept. 15	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Ambassador Attolico asked about the possibility of a "really magnanimous" peace offer and said that Mussolini felt that the Western Powers might respond; Weizsäcker said he knew nothing of any such intended offer by Germany.	73	72

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

XXXVII

## ITALY—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939 Sept. 19	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano said he thought a generous peace offer might end the war, but probably only after France had been exposed to sharp military action by Germany; Franco, he said, was now again solidly aligned with the Axis after his first dismay over the pact with Russia.	97	99
Sept. 23	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> For the third time in recent days Attolico has urged that a peace offer be made before full scale war begins in the West. Weizsäcker has confirmed that this is also Mussolini's view and suggests to Ribbentrop that these ideas should not be ignored.	127	125
Sept. 23	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Attolico inquired whether Germany would object to Italian leadership of a Balkan Mediterranean bloc against British economic pressure, while agreeing in principle. Weizsäcker said the German view would depend on the vigor with which the bloc opposed the British.	128	126
Sept. 27	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Weizsäcker told Attolico that Germany had nothing against Italian leadership of the Balkan States against Anglo-French blockade measures, but would be interested if the move assumed a political character.	145	150
Sept. 27	<i>Ambassador Mackensen to State Secretary Weizsäcker</i> Mackensen forwards a communication from a Labor Front official in Rome indicating that he has had little success in persuading State Secretary Cianetti to abandon his view that Italy had not been kept fully informed of German intentions.	148	154
Sept. 27	<i>Ambassador Mackensen to [State Secretary Weizsäcker]</i> Mackensen urges that transshipment of strategic materials be arranged via Italy even without assurance that they will reach Germany, since if the goods remain in Italy the latter's war economy will benefit.	149	156
Oct. 2	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Foreign Minister's Secretariat</i> In a conversation with Ciano, Hitler outlined his ideas for the future of Poland, indicated that he expected no Anglo-French response for peace to his planned Reichstag speech, and stated that, in the coming military showdown German victory was certain.	176	184
Oct. 4	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> Minister Funk agrees that, with the acquisition of Polish mines it will be possible to give Italy 2,000,000 tons more of coal, but transportation remains a problem.	192	207
Oct. 6	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Mussolini stated his satisfaction with the line drawn between the Russian and German spheres, declaring that Bolshevism remained Bolshevism and could not be trusted; he expressed himself as well pleased with the progress of Italy's preparations.	205	226



## ITALY—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc.No	Page
1939 Oct. 9	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Attolico said that reaction in enemy countries to the Führer's speech had not been favorable but thought more time should be given; he said Rome had the impression that no move for peace on its part was desired, but would be glad to act if Germany desired it.	222	247
Oct. 10	<i>The Embassy in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano asked that resettlement of South Tirol Germans be speeded because Italian opinion was restive; Clodius in turn pressed Italy to expedite transit shipments to Germany and to resist British blockade measures more vigorously.	231	253
Oct. 10	<i>The Embassy in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Clodius obtained access to a highly secret survey of Italian oil reserves which indicates the Army has only one month's supply, although he is assured that the Navy has other stocks adequate for one year.	236	263
Oct. 12	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano asked for immediate action to get the evacuation of Germans from South Tirol under way; they were provoking incidents in defiance of Italian sovereignty, while the German negotiators were making unreasonable demands on property questions.	244	272
Oct. 12	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano said that while the Duce still entertained some hope of a peace he himself did not; moreover, he was convinced that Hitler's estimate of Germany's military superiority would prove as accurate as it had in the case of Poland.	245	274
Oct. 13	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano said he would recommend to Mussolini that Italy accede to Ribbentrop's urgent request that Italy unequivocally refute Chamberlain's lie that Hitler had refused Mussolini's mediation; Ciano said he expected massive attacks against Britain and France in the immediate future.	249	279
Oct. 16	<i>The Embassy in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Italians have withdrawn their promise to transship raw materials to Germany because of the danger of British retaliation against Italy's own vital imports; Clodius has warned of the bad impression this would make in Berlin.	260	290
Oct. 17	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano asked Mackensen to convey to Berlin his denial of press reports that Italy intended to place herself at the head of a bloc of Balkan neutrals and veer away from the Axis.	266	305
Oct. 18	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Attolico complained that evacuation of Germans from the South Tirol was still being delayed by trivial objections having to do with the payment of transportation costs.	275	315

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

XXXIX

## ITALY—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939 Oct. 19	<i>The Embassy in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Renewed intervention with Mussolini has won a promise that Italy will give every possible aid to German imports of raw materials to the extent that this can be done without involving Italy prematurely in war with Britain and France.	277	317
Nov. 3	<i>Circular of the State Secretary</i> The Führer's statement of October 6 on repatriation of German minorities has been wilfully misinterpreted; such agreements will be made only where Germany thinks necessary and not at all with regard to the northern and western frontiers; press discussion should be avoided.	327	374
Nov. 14	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in Italy</i> It is learned that the Rumanian initiative for a Balkan bloc now embraces also the idea of a defensive entente with general staff consultations; Ciano should be asked whether the Duce's attitude toward a Balkan bloc has changed.	354	404
Nov. 15	<i>The Director of the Political Department to the Embassy in Italy</i> Rather than merely awaiting a convenient opportunity the Foreign Minister asks that Ciano be approached at once for a statement on the present Italian attitude toward a Balkan neutral bloc.	359	411
Nov. 16	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano replied to questioning about the Balkan neutral bloc project that Italy's attitude was unchanged and that participation in it had not been pressed upon her by any of the Balkan States.	362	414
Nov. [18]	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Molotov is to be told in reply to his inquiry about the proposed Balkan neutral bloc that in the German view it would not safeguard neutrality in the area but instead would increase Anglo-French influence there.	372	423
Nov. 21	<i>Memorandum of the Foreign Minister</i> Attolico called to contest the German view that Britain made her alliance with Poland only after Italy's decision to stay out of the war was known; Ribbentrop promised to reexamine the evidence and stated that Germany had full confidence in the Duce.	379	434
Nov. 22	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> In view of the fact that Mussolini has shown himself disturbed over the slowness of the South Tirol evacuation, and because the situation there is tense, Mackensen suggests that the rate of removals be increased temporarily to 100 persons a day.	382	437
Nov. 25	<i>Ambassador Ritter to the Embassy in Italy</i> It is requested that the Spanish Foreign Minister's intention to oppose the Allied blockade against German exports by neutral convoys be supported in Rome.	388	449

## ITALY—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939			
Nov. 26	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano said that in order to avoid use of the word "neutrality" which would have had to appear in a formal note, he has made only oral protests to the British and French against their new blockade measures.	389	450
Nov. 27	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in Italy</i> The necessity that Italy join other neutrals in protecting herself against the latest depredations of British blockade warfare, especially in view of the loss of German coal shipments, is to be pointed out to both Ciano and Mussolini.	394	458
Nov. 29	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Italian officials appear unworried by the possibility of British interference with seaborne coal shipments from Germany, apparently because the British have given some assurances.	398	462
Nov. 30	<i>The Consulate General at Milan to the Foreign Ministry</i> Reports that there has been offered for sale a number of documents abstracted from the British Embassy in Rome. Suggests that Theo Kordt be sent from Bern to evaluate the material.	400	466
Dec. 1	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano said that Italy would not tolerate interference with coal shipments by sea and that he had warned the British Ambassador sharply; convoys were not planned since there had been no interference thus far and such duty would wear down the fleet.	406	471
Dec. 2	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Mussolini expressed anger at British molestation of Italian shipping and promised to sharpen his protests still more if it continued; he stressed the economic value of Italian neutrality to Germany and warned against too intimate ties with Russia.	410	477
Dec. 3	<i>The Consulate General at Milan to the Foreign Ministry</i> Kordt reports that the material abstracted from the British Embassy in Rome includes political correspondence of the Embassy from 1933 through 1938 and recommends its purchase. Arrangements are made to conclude the transaction.	414	483
Dec. 8	<i>The Embassy in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Fascist Grand Council has confirmed Italy's nonparticipation in the war, justifying it by a reference to Russian gains in the Baltic region and Poland; the statements on Axis policy and the British blockade are satisfactory.	428	500
Dec. 10	<i>Memorandum of the Dienststelle Ribbentrop</i> Ribbentrop instructed Dr. Ley to avoid any discussion of foreign policy in his conversations with Cianetti, Ciano, and the Duce: it was later learned that he had disregarded these directives and made most detailed statements on German policy and military aims.	436	509

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

XLI

## ITALY—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939 Dec. 21	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Magistrati argued to Weizsäcker that Ciano's recent speech had had a strong pro-German tone; the State Secretary replied that the British, French, and neutrals seemed to have taken a different view.	478	561
Dec. 26	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> Difficulties have arisen with the Italians over coal deliveries by rail because after demanding one million tons per month they have been unable to provide their one-third share of the necessary coal cars.	489	576
Dec. 28	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> Ribbentrop told Attolico that he had had certain apprehensions about Ciano's recent speech but attached no further importance to the matter; he expressed surprise at Italy's anti-Russian attitude since Russia threatened neither Germany nor Italy.	493	581
Dec. 29	<i>The Embassy in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano conveyed confidentially that the Italian Ambassador was being summoned home from Moscow because the Russian Ambassador had left Rome a month earlier on the occasion of demonstrations against the Russian attack on Finland.	494	583
1940 [Jan. 31	<i>The Duce to the Führer and Chancellor</i> Discusses Ciano's speech of December 16, changes in Spanish opinion, Italy's "correct but cool" relations with Britain and France, her bad relations with the Soviet Union, her sympathy with Finland, and the effectiveness of British propaganda in Italy, especially in regard to the German-Soviet agreement and the present condition of Poland; warns against closer German ties with the Soviet Union and argues that at present Italy is more useful to Germany out of the war than she would be in it.	504	604
Jan. 3	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Embassy in Italy</i> Reviews Italo-German relations since 1935; the Axis is not popular with the Italian people but depends on Mussolini, who is loyal in his conduct toward Germany but hampered by Italy's military unpreparedness, which he seeks to overcome.	505	609
Jan. 4	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Negotiations seem to be in progress between Italian firms and the British and French Governments for large-scale deliveries of goods, excluding war material in the narrow sense which the Italian Government apparently prefers to sell to neutrals.	509	617
Jan. 10	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> Ribbentrop expressed to Attolico his astonishment at the strong anti-Bolshevist tone of Mussolini's letter of January 3 and rejected the possibility of a settlement with Britain and France through creation of a Polish state.	518	636

## ITALY—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940			
Jan. 11	<i>Ambassador Mackensen to State Secretary Weizsäcker</i> Transmits a warning from a man known to be close to Mussolini about the growing success in Italy of British and French assertions that Germany is on the side of the Bolsheviks; the informant says Italy not acquiesce in any Soviet advance against Rumania or Hungary.	527	652
Jan. 16	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Transmits translation of an Italian note explaining the delivery of certain items of military equipment to the French; this private trade is necessary to enable Italy to build up her raw material imports and to prevent tightening of the blockade.	542	670
Jan. 18	<i>State Secretary Weizsäcker to Ambassador Mackensen</i> In Weizsäcker's personal opinion Mussolini's letter of January 3 represents a friendly warning, which if disregarded would give the sender freedom of action.	553	683
Jan. 22	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Attolico raised the question of Belgium's alarm over the incident of January 10; Weizsäcker countered by asking what Italy's role had been.	557	688
Jan. 28	<i>The Embassy in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Expecting that the sea route from Holland to Italy will soon be closed, the Italians ask for additional coal cars for deliveries to Italy; they take this very seriously, but no impossible commitments should be made.	581	714
Jan. 29	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Attolico expects that Rome will soon ask about Hitler's reply to Mussolini's letter of January 3; Attolico thinks Mussolini sees a new situation in Europe, with the Western Powers recognising Bolshevism as the principal enemy; this might lead to an understanding between the Axis and them, without necessarily dividing Moscow and Berlin.	583	717
Feb. 1	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> An interministerial conference on coal deliveries to Italy decided that in present circumstances only 500,000 tons per month could be promised, and this only after winter is over.	589	726
Feb. 2	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Foreign Minister's Personal Staff</i> During Magistrati's farewell visit Hitler said that he was not yet ready to reply to Mussolini's letter of January 3; he foresaw no settlement with Britain and France, hoped that the Balkans would remain completely quiet, and expected the Soviet Union to overcome the misguided Finns in May or June.	591	732
Feb. 3	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in Italy</i> Germany can promise only to deliver a minimum of 500,000 tons of coal per month, using 6,000 Italian cars; this is a firm commitment, and will be exceeded if at all possible.	592	736

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

XLIII

## ITALY—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940			
Feb. 3	<i>The State Secretary to the Embassy in Italy</i> If Italy finds she must trade with Britain and France, Germany at least is entitled to expect that such trade will not materially strengthen these countries against Germany; Germany also expects Italy to go further in economic aid to Germany and in resisting the blockade in the Mediterranean.	593	738
Feb. 6	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Embassy in Italy</i> Ribbentrop said in a conference in Berlin on the propaganda program in Italy that it was absolutely essential to get Italian understanding for Germany's orientation toward the East; Stalin's aims were primarily revisionist, and there was no danger of the bolshevization of Europe.	596	742
Feb. 8	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> The British Ambassador demanded of Ciano that Italy include planes and weapons in her deliveries to Britain, for otherwise Britain could not allow transport by sea of German coal to Italy; Ciano's refusal, on Mussolini's orders, has led to sharp deterioration, in Anglo-Italian relations.	599	751
Feb. 20	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> In reply to Mackensen's expression of German concern at Italy's handling of various economic questions Ciano stated that Italy would do her utmost to live up to her agreements; he would, however, take up the questions again with Mussolini.	623	786
Feb. 22	<i>The Embassy in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Mussolini's order to provide copper and hemp for Germany constitutes a real sacrifice for the Italian economy; Germany should accordingly grant Italy's urgent request for small quantities of certain chemicals.	627	800
Feb. 24	<i>German-Italian Commercial Agreement, Signed in Rome, February 24, 1940</i> Fourth Secret Protocol; lists products to be exchanged in the present abnormal situation; coal deliveries at the rate of 500,000 tons per month by land can be guaranteed only if Italy makes 5,000 coal cars available at all times.	634	809
Mar. 2	<i>Ambassador Ritter to the Embassy in Italy</i> Instructions to investigate reports that the British and French have notified Italy that beginning March 1 they will confiscate German coal going from Rotterdam to Italy on Italian or other ships, and to ascertain the Italian attitude.	647	837
Mar. 3	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Confirms that Britain has given notice that German coal will no longer be permitted to go by sea to Italy; Ciano will lodge a sharp protest with the British Chargé d'Affaires today and publish it tomorrow.	652	849
Mar. 7	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov says the rumors concerning improvement in Russo-Italian relations are being spread by the Italians.	657	866

## ITALY—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc.No	Page
1940 Mar. 7	<i>Ambassador Ritter to the Embassy in Italy</i> Neutral protests against British and French blockade measures having proved ineffective, Germany now contemplates comparable countermeasures, subject to Hitler's final decision; Italy is to be given advance notice but not consulted.	662	870
Mar. 8	<i>The Führer and Chancellor to Benito Mussolini</i> Replies to Mussolini's letter of January 3; defends the decision to act against Poland; discusses Axis economic cooperation in the face of the Allied blockade; contends that a reasonable relationship can now be established between Germany and the Soviet Union; denies any German obligation to support Finland; asserts that Germany will gladly unburden herself of Poland when the time comes; states his view on the Balkans, Turkey, Spain, Japan, and the United States; calls for closer cooperation between Germany and Italy, including a solution of the coal problem.	663	871
Mar. 10	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Foreign Minister's Secretariat</i> Ribbentrop delivered Hitler's letter of March 8 to Mussolini and underlined several points; Germany could provide 1 million tons of coal per month and would discuss other economic problems; captured Polish documents showed the "monstrous war guilt of the United States"; Ribbentrop emphasized that the Soviet Union had renounced the idea of world revolution, was turning toward Russian nationalism, and constituted no threat to the Balkans; the Russo-Finnish conflict, Sumner Welles' mission, Poland, and Germany's military readiness were discussed.	665	882
Mar. 11	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Foreign Ministry</i> Ribbentrop's account of his conversation of March 10 with Mussolini (see document No. 665).	667	894
Mar. 11	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Foreign Minister's Secretariat</i> In a second conversation with Ribbentrop Mussolini commented on Hitler's letter of March 8; the Duce stated his views on Communism, Italo-Soviet relations, the probable entry of Italy into the war, her military and economic position, Japanese policy, the military situation in the Mediterranean, the desire of the United States for neutrality; Ribbentrop stated that Hitler was interested in a permanent understanding with the Catholic Church.	669	898
Mar. 12	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Foreign Ministry</i> Ribbentrop's summary of his second conversation with Mussolini (see document No. 669); the actual date of Italy's entry into the war is to be discussed at the forthcoming Brenner Pass meeting of Hitler and Mussolini.	670	909
Mar. 14	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Instructions to inform Molotov of Ribbentrop's talks in Rome and at the Vatican; German interest in an improvement of Italo-Soviet relations should be emphasized.	675	919

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

XLV

## ITALY—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 Mar. 18	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov denied any Soviet responsibility for the strained relations with Italy; Mussolini's words about desiring better relations were encouraging but the Soviet Government would wait for concrete proof; despite this display of indifference, Schulenburg thinks the Soviet Government would welcome more normal relations with Italy.	684	935

## LATIN AMERICA

1939 Sept. 17	<i>Memorandum by the Head of Political Division IX</i> Political and economic measures taken by Germany with a view to the forthcoming Pan-American Conference at Panama.	86	86
Sept. 28	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in Argentina to the Foreign Ministry</i> Sentiment in Argentina is anti-German at present; the country will remain neutral as long as possible because of materialistic considerations.	150	157
Oct. 17	<i>The Director of the Political Department to the Embassy in Spain</i> Instructions to thank the Spanish Government for its efforts to promote neutrality of Latin American states; Spain has much to gain by such efforts.	265	304
Oct. 27	<i>The Director of the Political Department to the Embassy in Italy</i> Establishment of a closed zone around the Americas by the Panama Conference is disadvantageous for Germany; she will allow Great Britain and France to take the lead in rejecting it.	306	347
Dec. 16	<i>The Minister in Uruguay to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Uruguayan Government has granted <i>Graf Spee</i> only 72 hours for repairs instead of the 14 days requested.	460	541
Dec. 16	<i>The Legation in Uruguay to the Foreign Ministry</i> Captain Langsdorff of <i>Graf Spee</i> requests OKM decision on whether to scuttle the ship or accept internment, if a break-through to Buenos Aires is not possible.	461	542
Dec. 16	<i>The State Secretary to the Legation in Uruguay</i> Instructions to redouble efforts for extension of time limit for repair of <i>Graf Spee</i> .	462	542
Dec. 16	<i>Memorandum by an Official of Political Division I</i> OKM has ordered Langsdorff to attempt to extend the time limit, authorized him to try to take <i>Graf Spee</i> to Buenos Aires, and forbidden him to allow her internment in Uruguay; Ribbentrop has ordered further representations to the Uruguayan Government.	463	543



## LATIN AMERICA—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939 Dec. 16	<i>The Minister in Uruguay to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Uruguayan Council of Ministers will not grant more than a 72-hour period for repairs to <i>Graaf Spee</i> ; Uruguay is being subjected to great pressure from Great Britain and France; the Legation regards destruction of the ship preferable to internment in Uruguay.	464	543
Dec. 17	<i>The Minister in Uruguay to the Foreign Ministry</i> <i>Graf Spee</i> was blown up outside the 3-mile limit; on the basis of a formal complaint by her Captain to the Minister, the latter is protesting to the Uruguayan Government that its refusal to give more time represented a most flagrant disregard of international law and custom.	467	547
Dec. 22	<i>The Minister in Uruguay to the Foreign Ministry</i> DNB's patently false reports about alleged improper conduct of British sailors here merely impugns the credibility of all DNB reports and plays into the hands of enemy propaganda.	479	562
Dec. 28	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Legation in Uruguay</i> Instructions to adopt an aggrieved manner toward the Uruguayan Government but otherwise to negotiate matter-of-factly with it.	492	581
1940 Jan. 25	<i>The Minister in Mexico to the Foreign Ministry</i> A Mexican ex-General has approached the Legation to request financial support for an effort to occupy British Honduras.	570	701

## LUXEMBOURG

1939 [Sept. 6]	<i>Memorandum of the Legation in Luxembourg</i> The Luxembourg Minister of State had been informed that Germany was not satisfied with Luxembourg's intention to close down ore and iron industry in case of war. A statement of the German interpretation of economic neutrality was to be made to the Luxembourg Minister of State on September 6.	17	15
Sept. 6	<i>Memorandum of the Legation in Luxembourg</i> Conveyed a statement to the Luxembourg Minister of State indicating that the German interpretation of economic neutrality meant a continuation of normal trade relations.	18	17
Sept. 7	<i>The Minister in Luxembourg to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Luxembourg Government declares that it cannot accept the German view that stoppage of the Luxembourg ore and iron industry would be a unilateral action directed against Germany and inconsistent with neutrality. Such stoppage, however, is not planned and the Government will attempt to maintain the normal interchange of goods so far as possible.	20	19

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

XLVII

## MIDDLE EAST

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939			
Sept. 6	<i>The Legation in Iran to the Foreign Ministry</i> Iran wants to continue and expand her trade with Germany but the Soviets obstruct the transit of goods; the German economic delegation at present in Tehran suggests the conclusion of an agreement with the Soviet Government to facilitate the transit of German goods to Iran.	14	13
Sept. 13	<i>The Director of the Political Department to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> A move to restore the exiled Amanullah dynasty to power in Afghanistan is under consideration; Schulenburg is requested to ascertain the Soviet Government's reaction to such a scheme.	60	56
Oct. 17	<i>The State Secretary to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> At a suitable occasion Schulenburg is to feel out Molotov regarding Russia's intentions in Iran and Afghanistan, and he should also ascertain Russian views on Afghan internal affairs.	269	307
Oct. 28	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Economic Policy Department</i> Iran is greatly concerned over Russia's general intentions toward her as well as over the specific difficulties arising from the transit through Russia of Iran's trade with the outside world which are intensified by a failure to arrive at a new economic agreement with the Soviets; the Iranians request that German influence be brought to bear on Moscow in favor of a settlement of these problems.	312	353
Nov. 14	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Schulenburg discussed with Molotov the question of Soviet countermeasures against the concentration of British, French, and Turkish forces in the Near East.	353	404
Nov. 18	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov informed Schulenburg that the Soviets intended to increase their troops in Transcaucasia and that Germany was free to exploit this fact in her propaganda; the Soviets had no objection to German plans to utilize ex-King Amanullah.	369	419
Dec. 12	<i>Under State Secretary Habicht to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Instructions to arrange contacts with the Russian authorities for Dr. Kleist who is in Moscow on a special mission.	445	521
Dec. 12	<i>Memorandum of the Aussenpolitisches Amt</i> While the Aussenpolitisches Amt favors continued cooperation with the present Afghan Government, the Foreign Ministry has now adopted the view of Minister von Hentig that this Afghan Government must be eliminated by insurrections and the power of ex-King Amanullah restored.	449	527

XLVIII ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

MIDDLE EAST—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939 Dec. 18	<i>The Embassy in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov told Kleist who had proposed a scheme of joint Russo-German operations in the Middle East that he was favorably disposed toward the idea, but would need more detailed information.	468	548
Dec. 18	<i>Memorandum of the Aussepolitiches Amt</i> Through a policy of cooperation with the present Afghan Government, the Aussepolitiches Amt has succeeded in establishing a strong German position in Afghanistan which, however, is being jeopardised by the present attempts of the German Foreign Ministry to restore to power former King Amanullah in a revolution which would be supported also by the Soviets; it is suggested that the Foreign Ministry desist from such attempts and that instead Germany ought to persuade the Afghan Government to assist preparations for an invasion of British India.	470	550

NETHERLANDS

1939 Sept. 5	<i>The Minister in the Netherlands to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Netherlands Foreign Minister asked that inquiries be made in Berlin as to whether the Netherlands could secure antiaircraft artillery from Germany. Minister Zech favored granting the request if possible.	7	5
Sept. 10	<i>The Director of the Economic Policy Department to the Legation in the Netherlands</i> Germany is in principle prepared to supply the Netherlands with antiaircraft artillery. It would be desirable to send personnel for instructional purposes also.	44	42
Sept. 10	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> The Netherlands Minister presented a note protesting the flight of a German military plane over Dutch territory. Weizsäcker assured him that the flight must have been in error inasmuch as orders had been issued against any violation of Netherlands territory.	47	45
Oct. 7	<i>The Minister in the Netherlands to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Netherlands Foreign Minister thought British reaction to the Führer's speech showed a chance existed for peace. It would be necessary to influence British public opinion, possibly with detailed proposals for disarmament.	210	235
Oct. 18	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> The Netherlands Government was interested in having Germany continue imports from the Netherlands Indies and would encourage shipments via the Siberian railway and facilitate provision of foreign exchange. Possibility of such shipments is to be investigated.	274	314
Oct. 27	<i>The Minister in the Netherlands to the Foreign Ministry</i> Netherlands defense measures are now primarily directed against Germany. A German attack, however, is believed unlikely as it would be contrary to Germany's own interests, for it would unite the Belgians and French against Germany and antagonise the United States.	308	349

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

XLIX

## NETHERLANDS—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939			
Nov. 2	<i>The Minister in the Netherlands to the Foreign Ministry</i> Rumors of German plans to invade the Netherlands have been spread by the British and French. Foreign diplomats have been told by the Netherlands Foreign Ministry that it considers these rumors groundless.	322	370
Nov. 10	<i>Memorandum by the Deputy Director of the Political Department</i> The Netherlands Minister presented a note protesting German seizure of two Englishmen and two Dutch citizens on Netherlands territory near Venlo on November 9.	344	395
Nov. 22	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Foreign Minister's Personal Staff</i> The Führer directed that in future all flights by German aircraft over neutral territory should be denied, unless they could be absolutely proven.	383	438
Nov. 23	<i>Memorandum of a Conference of the Führer With the Principal Military Commanders, November 23, 1939</i> The Führer in a speech outlines his thinking on military matters.	384	439
Dec. 12	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> Pressure will be put on the Dutch in the course of economic negotiations by a threat to cut off shipments of commodities of importance so long as rubber and tin cannot be secured from the Netherlands Indies. Arms deliveries are to be made only against raw materials.	447	523
1940			
Jan. 11	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Cultural Policy Department</i> Caution in liquidation of credits extended by the Hollandsche Buitenland-Bank in Poland prior to the war is recommended, but retention of the Bank for further use as a camouflaged German corporate agent in other areas is advised.	523	647
Jan. 13	<i>Minute by the Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> Information had been received about the visit of former Netherlands Prime Minister Colijn to Rome for the purpose of exploring possibilities of peace.	535	662
Jan. 13	<i>Minute by the Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> The Netherlands Foreign Minister had expressed the hope that planes and anti-aircraft guns under contract could be delivered even though new contracts were out of the question.	536	663
Jan. 14	<i>The Minister in the Netherlands to the Foreign Ministry</i> An intelligence report states army leaves canceled. However, no alarm given, and up to 6 p. m. no troop movements from North Holland.	539	667

L

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

## NETHERLANDS—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No	Page
1940 Jan. 19	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> The Netherlands Minister was asked about his Government's defensive measures, which Weizsäcker charged were directed one-sidedly against Germany. M. de With declared Dutch preparations had been made equally toward all directions and his country would defend itself against any attack.	555	685
Feb. 12	<i>The Chief of the Security Police and of the Security Service to the Foreign Minister</i> Forwards a report from a confidential agent acquainted with Netherlands Foreign Minister Kleffens to the effect that the Netherlands Government would not go along with Belgium in seeking British and French aid, and in case of a German march through southern Limburg would offer only local resistance. The informant might be available as a medium of contact with the Netherlands Government.	611	772
Feb. 24	<i>Memorandum by an Official of Political Division II</i> The Netherlands Legation presented a note protesting flights of German planes over Dutch territory and a memorandum listing such violations from September 8, 1939, to February 3, 1940.	633	808
Feb. 25	<i>The Legation in the Netherlands to the Foreign Ministry</i> German economic negotiators are warned of effects of German submarine attacks on Dutch ships on course of economic negotiations. German delay in promised deliveries of armament was also causing annoyance in the Netherlands. Settlement of both of these issues is urged.	636	811

## NORWAY

1939 Sept. 25	<i>Note of the Aussenpolitisches Amt</i> Quisling plans to visit Germany soon; arrangements have not yet been made with Göring.	133	133
Sept. 28	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> Summary of an interministerial conference on wartime trade relations with Norway, Sweden, and Denmark.	165	170
Sept. 30	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in Norway to the Foreign Ministry</i> German successes have impressed Norwegian public opinion; from fear of German and Soviet countermeasures, Norway is unlikely to tolerate British violations of her neutrality.	171	178
Oct. 3	<i>Extract From War Diary of the Naval Staff</i> The Naval Staff is to study the advisability of acquiring bases in Norway and Denmark.	188	204
Dec. 11	<i>The Minister in Norway to the Foreign Ministry</i> Bräuer reports that Quisling is en route to Berlin to talk to German officials there; his visit has been prepared not by the German Legation in Oslo but by an unofficial agent (Noack) who should be reminded of the limitations of his authority.	441	515

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

LI

## NORWAY—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939 Dec. 12	<i>Report of the Commander in Chief of the Navy to the Führer, December 12, 1939, at Noon</i> Raeder told Hitler of his conversation the previous day with Quisling and Hagelin; Hitler will consider Quisling's ideas and perhaps speak to him personally; Sweden and the Russo-Finnish conflict were also discussed.	443	519
Dec. 14	<i>Minister Altenburg to Minister Bräuer</i> Noack has been instructed to abstain from "high policy" in Norway; Grundherr has persuaded Quisling to give up his plan to speak to Ribbentrop or Hitler.	452	532
Dec. 15	<i>The State Secretary to the Legation in Norway</i> Instructions to make discreet inquiries about Quisling's attitude toward Great Britain and the Soviet Union.	453	533
Dec. 15	<i>The Minister in Norway to the Foreign Ministry</i> In the Russo-Finnish conflict Norway indirectly supports Finland but strives to remain neutral; volunteers are allowed to join Finnish forces; Norway is concerned about Soviet intentions in the North and German in the South; Communist activity is reported in northern Norway.	459	539
Dec. 17	<i>The Minister in Norway to the Foreign Ministry</i> Describes Quisling's career and ideas; he now attacks Bolshevism, favors collaboration of the Germanic peoples, and is disconcerted by German-Soviet cooperation.	466	546
Dec. 22	<i>Stabsleiter Schickedanz to Reichsminister Lammers</i> Rosenberg told Hewel that German action in Norway could be explained as a safeguard for the Soviet Union in the Russo-Finnish conflict, and promised to keep Ribbentrop informed.	480	562
Dec. 23	<i>The State Secretary to the Legation in Norway</i> Rosenberg has sent Scheidt of the Aussenpolitisches Amt to Oslo to consult with Quisling and his associates; Bräuer is instructed to maintain discreet contact with Scheidt and to come soon to Berlin for instructions.	483	569
1940 Jan. 3	<i>Memorandum by the Minister to Norway</i> The Norwegian Government's strong will to neutrality might be undermined by aid to Finland but hardly by British proposals for bases on the Norwegian coast; at present strict neutrality is regarded as Norway's only effective armament.	503	603
Jan. 5	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Aussenpolitisches Amt</i> Scheidt describes his trip to Norway, December 24-January 2; Swedish and Norwegian public opinion is visibly anxious about events in Finland; pro-British sentiment is strong in Norway and is not being properly countered by Germany; Quisling was alarmed that Bräuer knew of his relations with Germany; a report that the Norwegian Government disavowed certain commitments by Hambro may be a calculated indiscretion.	511	620

## NORWAY—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940			
Jan. 11	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Aussenpolitisches Amt</i> Scheidt records various statements by Grundherr minimizing the likelihood of British intervention in Norway and questioning the wisdom of German policy in the Russo-Finnish conflict.	525	650
Jan. 13	<i>Extract From War Diary of the Naval Staff</i> "Study North" is being developed; Raeder thinks British occupation of Norway is imminent, but his Operations Staff does not entirely agree; preliminary planning is necessary in any case.	537	663
Jan. 23	<i>Minister Bräuer to Senior Counselor Grundherr</i> Warns that Scheidt might be compromised by his association with the former Nazi leader in Oslo.	561	692
Jan. 24	<i>The Minister in Norway to the Foreign Ministry</i> Describes a conversation with Foreign Minister Koht regarding Churchill's proposal that the European neutrals join Britain and France in war against Germany; Koht dismissed the proposal as provocative and silly, and stated his preference for the ideas expressed by Halifax.	565	695
Jan. 24	<i>The Minister in Norway to the Foreign Ministry</i> Recommends replying to recent Norwegian notes in such a way as to strengthen Norway's neutral position; Koht stated that Norway was convinced Germany intended to respect her neutrality.	566	697
Jan. 25	<i>An Official of Political Division I to the Legation in Norway</i> Notification that the motor tanker Altmark probably carrying captured seamen, is expected to enter Norwegian waters about January 25, with orders to pass through without stopping.	568	699
Jan. 25	<i>The Minister in Norway to the Foreign Ministry</i> There has been no interference with German shipping in Norwegian waters and none is likely; Germany should watch and support Norway's will to neutrality.	571	702
Feb. 17	<i>The Director of the Political Department to the Legation in Norway</i> Reports that Altmark has been molested in Norwegian waters by a British destroyer; instructs Legation to point out to Norwegian Government at once that Norway's neutrality has been violated and that there is danger of further violations.	615	776
Feb. 17	<i>Memorandum by the Naval Attaché in Norway</i> Chronology of the Altmark incident, February 15-17.	618	779
Feb. 21	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Aussenpolitisches Amt</i> Scheidt reports on his activities in Norway from January 20 to February 20; he considers Quisling's views on Anglo-Norwegian relations more cogent than Bräuer's and recommends additional German support for Quisling.	626	791

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS LIII

## NORWAY—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 Mar. 1	<i>Directive by the Führer and Supreme Commander of the Wehrmacht</i> Directive for <i>Weserübung</i> (occupation of Denmark and Norway).	644	831
Mar. 2	<i>Memorandum by the Minister to Norway</i> Argues that Britain will probably abstain from intervention in Norway and that Norway will strive to defend her neutrality; concedes that external events might change this likelihood; proposes continued pressure on Norway but no preventive measures for the present.	650	846
Mar. 17	<i>The Minister in Norway to the Foreign Ministry</i> Notes Northern skepticism as to proposed British and French support for Finland finds less concern as to possible Allied landings in Norway now that the Russo-Finnish conflict is settled; questions whether the Allies will violate Norwegian neutrality so long as Germany respects that of the various neutrals.	682	932

PEACE MOVES <sup>1</sup>

1939 Sept. 25	<i>Unsigned Note</i> Rosenberg reports the receipt of a communication from Baron de Ropp, with whom he had had conversations during August, asking whether a meeting could be arranged in Switzerland for the end of September. He requests instructions from the Führer.	134	134
Sept. 26	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Foreign Minister's Secretariat</i> Dahlerus asked Hitler and Göring about prospects for negotiating with Britain; Hitler was skeptical of a British will to peace, but did not reject Dahlerus' plan for an unofficial meeting in Holland; the question of Poland must be excluded from any talks but otherwise Hitler expressed willingness to join in guaranteeing the status quo in the rest of Europe.	138	140
Oct. 2	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Davignon spoke of Belgium's determination to defend her neutrality and possible diplomatic steps toward peace.	179	195
Oct. 3	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> The Spanish Ambassador stated his Government's readiness to offer its good offices as mediator, provided promising proposals are made and a Rump Poland is provided for.	186	203
Oct. 5	<i>Unsigned Note</i> A member of the Aussenpolitisches Amt invited Baron de Ropp to come to Berlin for discussions. De Ropp replied that the Air Ministry did not consider it suitable for him to make such a journey.	203	224

<sup>1</sup> Other documents dealing incidentally with peace moves will be found under geographical headings in this table.



## PEACE MOVES—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No	Page
1939 Oct. 10	<i>Unsigned Note</i> Memorandum of a conversation between Baron de Ropp and a representative of Rosenberg in which the war aims of Britain and Germany were discussed in general terms. De Ropp declared that the British Air Ministry was not in sympathy with present British policy. Arrangements were made for further contacts.	235	257
[Oct. 11]	<i>Memorandum of the Foreign Ministry</i> Lists official and unofficial offers of mediation from Spanish, Italian, Dutch, Norwegian, Finnish, Swedish, and American sources.	242	268
Oct. 12	<i>Circular of the Acting Director of the Press Department</i> Chamberlain has outrageously rejected Hitler's constructive peace offer; the German people will now know what their enemies are after.	246	275
Oct. 14	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in Norway to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Scandinavian Kings are reported willing to serve as mediators and would welcome an initiative from one of the belligerents before Soviet pressure on Sweden begins.	255	286
Oct. 15	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Legation in Finland</i> With Chamberlain's rejection of Hitler's peace offer, the subject is closed.	259	289
Oct. 19	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Foreign Minister's Personal Staff</i> A Belgian Embassy official, just returned from Brussels, reports some optimism there regarding peace prospects; London and Paris are said to be waiting for a neutral diplomatic initiative, possibly by Roosevelt.	281	321
Oct. 20	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov had informed Schulenburg of a Butler-Maisky conversation in London. Butler is said to have stated British readiness to make peace at once under certain guarantees, and Molotov received the impression that the British might welcome a Russian mediation. Schulenburg asked Molotov to inquire whether Maisky so interpreted Butler's words.	285	325
[Undated]	<i>Unsigned Note</i> Memorandum of a further conversation between Baron de Ropp and a representative of Rosenberg in which de Ropp inquired about German plans for the Baltic States and Poland, spoke of a so-called "English party" opposed to the policies of the present British Government, and indicated his belief that Rosenberg would play an important role in future peace negotiations.	318	363
Nov. 7	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the State Secretary's Secretariat</i> Text of an offer of good offices by the Sovereigns of Belgium and the Netherlands.	332	383

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

LV

## PEACE MOVES—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939 Nov. 8	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Weizsäcker told Attolico that Halifax's speech of November 7 was obviously designed to head off the Belgian and Dutch offer of good offices or any similar move; that in Hitler's absence there was as yet no German reaction to the offer; and that the Low Countries must energetically maintain their neutrality.	336	387
Nov. 9	<i>The Minister in Sweden to the Foreign Ministry</i> Forwards a message from Dahlerus for Göring requesting no definite action be taken on the Dutch-Belgian mediation offer until Dahlerus has been able to ascertain British opinion.	337	388
Nov. 11	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Legation in Sweden</i> The German Government is not interested in Dahlerus' sounding out British opinion, as Britain has already unequivocally rejected the German position.	346	397
Nov. 14	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> Davignon handed over another note from Queen Wilhelmina and King Leopold, independent of the previous peace effort, whose results Ribbentrop termed "catastrophic"; Ribbentrop warned that a pro-Allied attitude might be dangerous for Belgium.	356	407
Nov. 18	<i>Circular of the Foreign Minister</i> Instructions for possible conversations about peace moves; Allied intransigence has destroyed any chance of mediation; Germany has accepted the challenge and will fight to final victory.	373	424
Dec. 19	<i>The Minister in Denmark to the Foreign Ministry</i> On December 17 a Danish merchant, Pless-Schmidt, discussed a peace proposal with Halifax, who showed "lively interest"; the plan entailed partial restoration of Poland and Czechia, return of German colonies, a European alliance excluding the Soviet Union, and a guarantee of Finland and the Baltic States; Pless-Schmidt will be in Berlin shortly.	472	557
1940 Jan. 11	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Foreign Minister's Secretariat</i> Attolico presented a memorandum on opinion in France; he attributed to Mussolini the view that some sort of restoration of Poland would deprive the Allies of their motive for war and thus logically lead to peace.	524	648
Jan. 17	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Bishop Berggrav of Norway has discussed problems of peace with various Protestant clergymen and with Halifax; the Bishop thinks a new initiative by Hitler, going beyond his October 6 speech to offer some hope for a federated Europe, might have fruitful results.	550	679
Mar. 1	<i>Consul General Krauel to State Secretary Weizsäcker</i> Reports from Geneva on various political matters: Burckhardt's coming visit to Berlin; Allied disappointment that Germany has not taken the offensive in the West; Allied strategic views, etc.	645	833

## LVI ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

## PROPAGANDA

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939 Sept. 8	<i>Command of the Führer</i> The Propaganda Ministry is the central agency for propaganda; other agencies shall work in genuine collaboration with it; disputes regarding foreign policy propaganda shall be composed by the Foreign Minister and the Minister of Propaganda, and presented to the Führer only by both Ministers.	31	30

## PROTECTORATE

1939 Dec. 15	<i>The Representative of the Foreign Ministry in the Protectorate to the Foreign Ministry</i> A political report points out that German policy in the Protectorate as laid down by the Führer will avoid provoking the Czechs but will crush Czech defiance ruthlessly; the Czech attitude is characterized as "wait and see and take no risks."	458	538
1940 Jan. 31	<i>The Representative of the Foreign Ministry in the Protectorate to the Foreign Ministry</i> A report on a conversation with Neurath on the problems arising from the recent flight of two Czech members of the Protectorate Government.	586	723

## RUMANIA

1939 Sept. 11	<i>The Minister in Rumania to the Foreign Ministry</i> Foreign Minister Gafencu told Minister Fabricius that in spite of rumors to the contrary, Polish soldiers and cabinet members who had crossed into Rumania were being interned and prevented from political activities.	50	47
Sept. 12	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Legation in Rumania</i> Gafencu's statements on the proposed treatment of Polish refugees in Rumania is not completely satisfactory; Germany demands especially that the Polish-Rumanian border be closed, that refugees be interned, and that no armament shipments pass through Rumania.	55	52
Sept. 14	<i>The Minister in Rumania to the Foreign Ministry</i> On behalf of the Rumanian cabinet, Gafencu assured Fabricius confidentially that in dealing with the various groups of Polish refugees Rumania would maintain strict neutrality.	64	61
Sept. 16	<i>The Minister in Rumania to the Foreign Ministry</i> Prime Minister Tatarescu offered Germany large scale deliveries of Rumanian products in return for large quantities of war material from the Polish booty.	74	73
Sept. 19	<i>An Official of the Foreign Minister's Secretariat to the Legation in Rumania</i> The Foreign Minister requests Fabricius to inform the Rumanian Government of Germany's satisfaction that the problem of Polish refugees was being handled in the spirit of neutrality and also to suggest Rumanian cooperation in the seizure of Polish gold.	100	102

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

LVII

## RUMANIA—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939			
Sept. 20	<i>The Director of the Economic Policy Department to the Legation in Rumania</i> Germany is prepared to supply Rumania with war material from the Polish booty in return for petroleum and feed grain; the Rumanians may draw up a list of the items desired.	111	111
Sept. 22	<i>The Minister in Rumania to the Foreign Ministry</i> In connection with the murder of Minister President Calinescu the Rumanian Government asked that members of the Iron Guard be prevented from leaving Germany and that the German press disassociate itself from the Iron Guard.	120	120
Sept. 20	<i>The Legation in Rumania to the Foreign Ministry</i> German-Rumanian economic negotiations were concluded which provided for an increase of about 100 million RM over the level of 1938 in the trade between the two countries.	166	172
Oct. 24	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Political Department</i> Woermann told the Rumanian Minister of Germany's displeasure at seeing a reference to the Anglo-French guarantees to Rumania included in Turkey's recent pact with Britain and France.	296	337
Nov. 12	<i>Memorandum by the Deputy Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> The Foreign Minister ought to make it clear to General Keitel that war material from the Polish booty which is now being claimed by the Army must be delivered to Rumania to maintain that country's petroleum exports to Germany.	350	401
Nov. 21	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> Although the Army finally agreed to let Rumania have some war material from the Polish booty, it is not enough in Clodius' opinion and the possibility of further concessions to the Rumanians will be discussed with the High Command of the Wehrmacht.	380	435
Nov. 28	<i>The Minister in Rumania to the Foreign Ministry</i> Gafencu said that Rumania had abandoned the idea of the neutrality bloc since Germany and Italy were opposed to it.	392	457
Nov. 30	<i>The Director of the Economic Policy Department to the Legation in Rumania</i> Concern is felt over the recent drop in Rumanian oil deliveries and the Rumanian Government should be asked to commit itself to deliver 100,000 tons of oil, the minimum required by the German economy; if necessary, certain German armament deliveries ought to be made contingent upon specific Rumanian oil deliveries.	402	467
Dec. 6	<i>The Legation in Rumania to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Rumanian Minister President promised to guarantee the delivery of specific amounts of oil in any event and offered to pay also in petroleum for any additional armament deliveries; however, he remained strongly opposed to any increase in the exchange rate of the reichsmark.	422	493

## RUMANIA—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939 Dec. 8	<i>The Minister in Rumania to the Foreign Ministry</i> Fabricius remained noncommittal whom Gafencu, stating that Rumania would fight for Bessarabia, inquired whether in such an event Germany could at least be counted upon to lend diplomatic support to Rumania and to supply her with arms; Fabricius believes, however, that Germany should play an active part in arranging a territorial settlement between Rumania and her neighbors instead of leaving to Italy the initiative in this matter.	127	498
Dec. 14	<i>The Legation in Rumania to the Foreign Ministry</i> In spite of Anglo-French pressure and the counsels of his advisers, King Carol has agreed to a 15 percent increase in the exchange rate of the reichsmark; though this meets German demands only in part, it would be politically unwise to insist upon a larger increase.	451	530
Dec. 15	<i>The State Secretary to the Legation in Rumania</i> Fabricius should avoid a direct reply to Gafencu's questions about Germany's attitudes in the event of a Russo-Rumanian conflict; instead he should express Germany's hope that suitable Rumanian concessions would lead to a peaceful settlement, without, however, giving the impression of having been instructed to apply pressure or to attempt mediation.	455	535
Dec. 25	<i>The Minister in Rumania to the Foreign Ministry</i> Informed by Gafencu that the Rumanian Government for humanitarian reasons had agreed to the departure for Switzerland of Polish President Moscicki, Fabricius protested and called it an affront.	488	575
Dec. 28	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Legation in Rumania</i> Ribbentrop approves Fabricius' attitude toward President Moscicki's departure and instructs him to threaten Gafencu with consequences if such a case should occur again.	491	580
Dec. 30	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Legations in Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece, and Yugoslavia</i> Minister Killinger has been assigned the task of watching and counteracting enemy organizations and enemy propaganda in the Balkans; for camouflage purposes he will work on economic and cultural matters.	495	584
1940 Jan. 3	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> A meeting under Göring's chairmanship discussed at length economic policies with regard to Rumania and considered, among other things, appointment of a technical commissioner to assure delivery and transportation of Rumanian raw materials.	502	598
Jan. 4	<i>Foreign Minister Ribbentrop to Field Marshal Göring</i> Ribbentrop objects to Göring's criticism of Foreign Ministry officials at the meeting on Rumania; he intends to send Clodius to Bucharest as special representative for economic and transport questions, but he will be replaced by Neubacher eventually.	508	615

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

LIX

## RUMANIA—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 Jan. 13	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Legation in Rumania</i> Neubacher is being sent to Bucharest as "special representative for economic questions."	533	661
Feb. 8	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Neubacher was authorized by Ribbentrop to state in Bucharest that the Foreign Minister did not anticipate a Russian attack on Rumania.	601	755
Mar. 7	<i>The Legation in Rumania to the Foreign Ministry</i> An interim agreement has been signed providing for German arms deliveries to Rumania in return for Rumanian oil.	660	868
Mar. 16	<i>Foreign Minister Ribbentrop to Field Marshal Göring</i> The recent agreement with Rumania is economically very advantageous since it will provide Germany with large amounts of oil at low pre-war prices.	678	925

## SEA WARFARE 1

1939 Sept. 11	<i>Circular of the Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> Authorizes Missions to inform Governments of Oslo States that Germany is prepared to supply coal to replace that received heretofore from Britain and Poland.	52	49
Sept. 15	<i>Circular of the Director of the Political Department</i> Instructions to notify the Governments of the Oslo States that Germany reserves full freedom of action to counter any acceptance by them of the restrictions on trading with Germany now reportedly demanded by Britain.	71	70
Sept. 21	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> The Legation in Denmark has been instructed to deny that Germany has completely changed her position regarding neutral shipping; Germany still favors normal trade but cannot allow Britain to make exceptions in her own interest.	118	117
Sept. 27	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Political Department</i> Records an agreement with the Navy to warn neutral governments that merchant ships which use their radio when ordered to stop, or which zigzag or proceed without lights, expose themselves to danger; the Navy and Foreign Ministry will confer again before issuing orders to sink enemy merchant ships without warning; the Führer will probably soon order unrestricted submarine warfare in a designated area; United States neutrality laws are being studied.	144	148
Oct. 3	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Political Department</i> Woermann has notified the Navy that because of peace efforts now in progress, the Foreign Ministry recommends a cautious policy of submarine warfare at present.	187	203

<sup>1</sup> Other documents dealing incidentally with sea warfare will be found under geographical headings in this table.

## SEA WARFARE—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939 Oct. 14	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Recommends that the OKW be asked certain technical questions regarding unrestricted submarine warfare; technical and political considerations must be balanced.	256	286
Oct. 17	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Summarizes current practice in naval warfare and contemplated additional measures; decisions will come only after further consultations.	270	307
Oct. 19	<i>Circular of the State Secretary</i> Instructions to inform neutral governments that German forces will attack all ships in British and French convoys and that neutral merchant ships running without lights may be mistaken for enemy ships.	279	319
Oct. 24	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Describes arrangements for daily consultation between Foreign Ministry and the Wehrmacht.	295	336
Oct. 31	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> A conference in Göring's office agreed to request Hitler's permission for air attacks on enemy convoys, including neutral vessels; Weizsäcker recommended that attacks be strong enough to dissuade neutrals once and for all from accepting enemy convoy in the areas involved.	317	362
Nov. 13	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Foreign Minister's Personal Staff</i> Intensification of submarine warfare is planned in the foreseeable future.	352	403
Nov. 15	<i>Memorandum by an Official of Political Division I</i> Isolation of Great Britain is to be achieved not by proclamation but by gradual intensification of naval measures; Germany can use the danger zone fixed by the United States.	361	413
Nov. 17	<i>Memorandum by Ambassador Ritter</i> The Navy intends to torpedo without warning, regardless of location, all enemy passenger vessels known to be armed as well as all tankers (except those of the United States, Soviet Union, Italy, Spain, and Japan) in the danger zone fixed by the United States; the Foreign Ministry is inclined to approve this despite certain reservations for reasons of policy and International law.	367	417
Nov. 28	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Defines the jurisdiction of the Foreign Ministry and the OKW in the general conduct of the war.	397	461

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LXI

## SLOVAKIA

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939 Oct. 21	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Foreign Minister's Personal Staff</i> In a conversation -with the Slovak Minister, Hitler praised Slovakia and criticized the national and social policies of Hungary's rulers; although resettlement of ethnic groups referred to in his recent Reichstag speech applied primarily to the Baltic countries, it was nevertheless one of his long-range objectives.	286	326
Nov. 15	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Foreign Minister's Secretariat</i> Informed that the Slovak Government was planning a public statement denouncing Anglo-French efforts to restore Czechoslovakia, Ribbentrop urged the Slovak Minister to consult Berlin first.	360	412
Nov. 21	<i>Treaty Signed at Berlin, November 21, 1939</i> The German-Slovak Treaty reuniting with Slovakia territories which had been incorporated into Poland in 1920, 1924, and 1938.	381	436
Dec. 1	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Political Department</i> Ribbentrop told Karmasin, the State Secretary in the Slovak Government, that an effort would be made to increase the number of German advisers in the administration and national economy of Slovakia, but that the fact of Germany's influence in Slovakia must be kept secret from the outside world.	409	476

## SOUTH AFRICA

1940 Jan. 26	<i>The Consul at Lourenço Marques to the Foreign Ministry</i> Reports that a German agent has had a conversation with Dr. Malan and that General Hertzog was influenced thereby.	577	711
Feb. 22	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Dienststelle Ribbentrop</i> A German agent has gone to South Africa and communicated to Hertzog and Malan a statement that upon conclusion of peace Germany will recognize and guarantee the national territory of the Union of South Africa. It was also stated that Germany recognized the Union of South Africa as the leading white state in the South African area. Upon response from the opposition leaders the statement could be made an official offer.	629	804

## SPAIN

1939 Oct. 1	<i>The Ambassador in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> Franco expressed to Stohrer his gratification over the German victory in Poland but showed concern over Russia and suggested that a Polish buffer might lessen the danger of a direct contact.	173	181
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LXII ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

SPAIN—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939 Oct. 5	<i>The Ambassador in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> Stohrer reports some details of an alleged convention between the Spanish Minister of the Interior, Serrano Suñer, and the French Ambassador in which Suñer severely criticized France's past policy toward Spain.	204	225
Oct. 19	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> Wiehl urges granting of Spain's request for negotiations on the continuation of Spanish-German trades in spite of the war, particularly since Italy has agreed to facilitate transit through her territory; Wiehl also proposes that Göring's permission be obtained for the sending of Wohlthat to Spain as chief negotiator.	282	322
Oct. 19	<i>The Ambassador in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> Stohrer will transmit information based on reports from Spanish missions abroad which is given to him regularly by the Spanish Foreign Minister and the Under State Secretary as reports coming from "August" or "Wilhelm."	284	324
Dec. 22	<i>Protocol Signed at Madrid on December 22, 1939</i> Germany and Spain reaffirm their desire for mutual trade which was expressed in earlier agreements and express their intention of continued cooperation, even though events have made it impossible to develop German-Spanish economic relations in the manner envisaged in July 1939.	482	568
1940 Jan. 25	<i>The Director of the Economic Policy Department to the Embassy in Spain</i> The Foreign Minister instructs Stohrer to insist on Spain's making the promised deliveries of lead and requests him to make another protest if Spain, on the basis of new agreements with France and Britain, should supply these countries with strategic materials in excess or pre-war shipments.	572	704
Feb. 10	<i>The Ambassador in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> Stohrer asks whether there has been a change of policy, as the Sofindus Company is striving for a monopoly position in Spanish exports to Germany which is in contradiction to present directives and agreements.	604	759
Feb. 17	<i>The Ambassador in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> According to certain reports Johannes Bernhardt will return to Spain equipped with great powers; his powers and responsibilities ought to be strictly defined and limited to avoid recurrence of conditions that existed during the Civil War.	616	777
Mar. 16	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Prussian State Ministry</i> A conference on Spain under Göring's chairmanship discussed problems of German-Spanish economic activities; Göring orders that economic policy matters arising from agreements with Spain be handled by Wohlthat and that Bernhardt be sent to Spain as head of Sofindus; however, he will be subject to directives from State Secretary Jagwitz, and must refrain from any political activity, since this will rest exclusively with the German Embassy in Spain.	679	927

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS LXIII

## SWEDEN

Date	Subject	Doc. No	Page
1939 Oct. 16?]	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Foreign Minister's Personal Staff</i> Summary of a conversation between Hitler and Sven Hedin; Germany's relations with Great Britain, the Soviet Union, Poland, Finland, and Scandinavia were discussed.	263	293
Oct. 24	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Legal Department</i> A Foreign Ministry conference decided to take up with the Naval High Command the possibility of postponing notification to Sweden that Germany did not recognize her claim to a 4-mile zone of territorial waters; important economic negotiations with Sweden are pending.	297	338
Oct. 24	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Legal Department</i> The Naval Staff will consider the Foreign Ministry's views on Swedish territorial waters; the disputed extra mile constitutes a real gap in Germany's control of shipping.	298	340
Oct. 25	<i>Memorandum by an Official of Political Division I M</i> The High Command of the Navy intends to extend operations against merchant shipping into the Åland Sea; the Foreign Ministry wishes to consider the question before the Soviet Government is notified.	300	342
Oct. 26	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Legal Department</i> Raeder wishes the Foreign Ministry to approach the Swedish Government immediately to secure a free hand for German Naval Forces outside the 3-mile zone of Swedish territorial waters.	304	346
Nov. 9	<i>The Director of the Economic Policy Department to the Legation in Sweden</i> Instructions to discuss naval operations as well as economic negotiations; Germany recognizes Sweden's neutral commercial rights but to counter British measures she will cut off Swedish exports if they appear destined ultimately for Britain; Germany can recognize only the usual 3-mile limit; the Legation is authorized to break off negotiations temporarily, at its discretion.	340	391
Nov. 18	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> Sweden is demanding recognition of the 4-mile limit and easing of German shipping controls; she offers to maintain the 1938 volume of ore shipments, but Germany insists on the 1939 volume; it will be difficult to supply coal to Sweden because of transportation problems.	374	425
Dec. 12	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> Suggests that Germany release arms and munitions to Sweden, as requested, in return for additional quantities of copper, nickel, tool steel, etc.	446	522
Dec. 22	<i>Special Protocol</i> Conversations between the German and Swedish Government Committees concerning German-Swedish trade in 1940.	481	564

LXIV ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

SWEDEN—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 Jan. 9	<i>The Minister in Sweden to the Foreign Ministry</i> Sweden has declined the League of Nations invitation to participate in an action in support of Finland as irreconcilable with neutrality; Sweden would resist any attempt to send British or French troops or arms through Swedish territory but would allow transit of arms belonging to Finland; Wied warned that this exception might involve dangers.	515	633
Jan. 12	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Records a conversation with the Swedish Minister, who emphasized Sweden's neutrality in the Soviet-Finnish conflict but feared possible involvement; Weizsäcker agreed that Scandinavian neutrality was desirable but saw no room for mediation.	530	658
Mar. 4	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Foreign Minister's Secretariat</i> Sven Hedin asked Hitler whether Germany could not mediate between the Soviet Union and Finland; Hitler replied that Finnish policy was senseless and that Germany had now reached an understanding with the Soviet Union; Stalin had turned from bolshevism to Russian nationalism and was pursuing understandable ends; Hitler added that Germany would not prevent Sweden from aiding Finland but warned against British duplicity; the Finns should seek an agreement directly with the Soviet Union.	654	862

SWITZERLAND

1939 Nov. 10	<i>The State Secretary to the Legation in Switzerland</i> Instructions to warn the Swiss Government that the forthcoming League of Nations session must not be used for anti-German demonstrations.	343	394
Dec. 7	<i>The Minister in Switzerland to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Swiss Government has demanded that the League of Nations session deal only with the Russo-Finnish conflict and has reserved freedom of action in case other matters are discussed.	425	495
1940 Feb. 12	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Weizsäcker gave the President of the Swiss National Council assurances of Germany's strong desire to keep Switzerland out of the war; these assurances could be mentioned privately but must not be quoted as an official "declaration."	610	772

TURKEY

1939 Sept. 5	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov says the Soviet Government is using its considerable influence with Turkey in the sense desired by Germany.	6	5
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## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

LXV

## TURKEY—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939 Sept. 6	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in Turkey</i> Ribbentrop instructs Papen not to discuss Turkish-Italian relations with the Turks and to note the fact that the Führer and the Duce are in complete agreement on Axis policies.	16	15
Sept. 8	<i>The Ambassador in Turkey to the Foreign Ministry</i> Papen states that it was Saracoglu who raised the question of Turkish-Italian relations in a conversation; Papen complains that his efforts to keep Turkey out of the war are not being supported by the Italian Ambassador.	28	27
Sept. 14	<i>Ambassador Papen to Foreign Minister Ribbentrop</i> Papen suggests that German policy should attempt to detach Turkey from her commitments to Britain and France by bringing about a guarantee of Turkey's possessions and of the status quo in the Balkans by Russia, Italy, and Germany.	69	66
Sept. 15	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Weizsäcker told Attolico that Turkey showed no inclination to adventure.	72	72
Sept. 17	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Stalin says that an assistance pact with Turkey is being negotiated; he believes the pact advantageous since it would insure Turkish neutrality.	81	80
Sept. 18	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Ribbentrop should discuss the proposed Turkish-Soviet agreement with the Italians; Germany should concur only if the USSR is not obligated to action against Germany, Italy, and Bulgaria.	91	93
Sept. 20	<i>The Ambassador in Turkey to the Foreign Ministry</i> A Turkish spokesman stated that the alliance treaties between Turkey and the Western Powers now being negotiated would be rather limited in scope and that Turkey would intervene in a Mediterranean conflict only if she herself was attacked; the Turks are worried about Russia and exasperated at Germany.	105	105
Sept. 21	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Schulenburg is to convey orally to Stalin and Molotov Germany's objections to a Russo-Turkish mutual assistance pact; if, nevertheless, such a pact should be concluded, Russia ought to insist on a reservation taking into account the Russo-German Non-Aggression Pact and should also put pressure on Turkey to desist from concluding a definitive military alliance with the Western Powers.	116	114
Sept. 23	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Although Turkey's pacts with the Western Powers will enter into effect only if Turkey is attacked, it would be useful if in addition Turkey could promise the Russians not to let the Straits be misused by Britain and France.	126	124

## TURKEY—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939 Sept. 27	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Hitler received the new Turkish Ambassador and told him that good political relations between Germany and Turkey were advisable and offered rich prospects.	146	151
Sept. 29	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Molotov is to be informed that in Ribbentrop's opinion it would be in the greatest interest of Germany and Russia to obtain assurances from Turkey that she would prevent passage through the Straits of Anglo-French troops or war material.	167	173
Oct. 2	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Schulenburg is to inform Molotov that Ribbentrop was very anxious that the Soviet Government should prevent Turkey from the final conclusion of assistance treaties with the Western Powers.	175	183
Oct.	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov stated that although Turkey seemed to have become closely involved with the Western Powers the Soviets would attempt to "neutralise" matters in conformity with Germany's wishes; he also emphasized that they would never tolerate Anglo-French pressure on Bulgaria.	183	200
Oct. 4	<i>The Ambassador in Turkey to the Foreign Ministry</i> Papentold the Turkish Minister President that a Turkish pact with the Western Powers would be considered by Germany as sabotage of her peace efforts and asked whether Turkey would change her policy.	189	205
Oct. 5	<i>Memorandum by the Chief of Protocol</i> On receiving the new Turkish Ambassador, Ribbentrop reviewed German-Turkish relations and criticized Turkish plans for a pact with the Western Powers; he assured Turkey that neither Germany nor Italy had aggressive designs on Turkey.	202	222
Oct. 7	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Instructions to emphasize to Molotov that if the USSR 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.	211	236
Oct. 9	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</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.	219	244
Oct. 13	<i>The Director of the Political Department to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> A Turkish-Russian assistance pact may be signed soon.	250	280
Oct. 17	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov told Schulenburg that no results had been obtained in the negotiations with the Turkish Foreign Minister who was about to leave Moscow.	268	306

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS LXVII

## TURKEY—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939 Oct. 21	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Weizsäcker asked Attolico to let him know if the Italian Government should decide on a démarche in Ankara on the subject of the Anglo-French-Turkish pact which was directed primarily against Italy.	287	329
Oct. 21	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> The Foreign Minister has ordered that the members of his Ministry are not to receive Ambassador Papen during his present stay in Berlin nor are they to have political conversations with him.	288	330
Nov. 3	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Ambassador in Turkey</i> Papen is instructed to make a statement to the Turkish Foreign Minister to the effect that Germany considers Turkey's treaty with the Western Powers an intentional affront and reserves the right to take appropriate measures if it should lead to practical consequences affecting Germany.	324	371
Nov. 6	<i>The Minister in Rumania to the Foreign Ministry</i> Gafencu emphasized that the Rumanian Ambassador in Ankara was not conducting negotiations on the Anglo-French-Turkish pact but was trying to get Turkey's agreement to the establishment of a bloc of neutral states.	329	378
Nov. 7	<i>The Director of the Economic Policy Department to the Embassy in Turkey</i> In the present economic negotiations with Turkey Germany's policy is to pay for badly needed chromium with industrial deliveries and light military equipment, but not with heavy armament.	330	380
Nov. 8	<i>The Director of the Economic Policy Department to the Embassy in Turkey</i> Information is requested, as to whether Turkey's dependence on German industrial deliveries, particularly spare parts, might make it possible to obtain more favorable terms in the economic negotiations with Turkey.	333	385
Nov. 9	<i>The Ambassador in Turkey to the Foreign Ministry</i> The démarche concerning Turkey's pact with the Western Powers has been carried out according to instructions; in view of the opinion expressed by the Russian Ambassador that both countries had an interest in preventing the Allied Near Eastern Forces from operating in the Balkans, it is suggested that joint large scale operations against Britain be started in the spring.	338	389
Nov. 9	<i>The Ambassador in Turkey to the Foreign Ministry</i> Papen favors a speedy conclusion of an economic agreement with Turkey rather than waiting until the Turks are more pliable; as Saracoglu indicated that Germany could obtain chromium only in exchange for certain types of military equipment, Papen suggests that submarine motors be included in such deliveries.	339	390
Nov. 11	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> In a conversation with the Turkish Ambassador Ribbentrop severely criticized Turkey's foreign policy and stated that Turkey had joined the anti-German front.	347	398

## TURKEY—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	
1939 Nov. 11	<i>The Director of the Economic Policy Department to the Embassy in Turkey</i> The delivery of submarine motors to Turkey would require a special decision by the Führer which could be requested only if it was a matter of decisive importance for Germany's war economy.	351	403
Nov. 14	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Schulenburg encloses the copy of a memorandum which the Turkish Ambassador had handed to Molotov and which dealt with the Rumanian proposal for a Balkan neutrality bloc.	358	410
Nov. 17	<i>The Ambassador in Turkey to the Foreign Ministry</i> Saracoglu told Papen that Turkey agreed to a general settlement of their mutual economic relations on the basis of the German proposals; he also agreed with Papen that a complete defeat of Germany, as desired by Churchill, was not in Turkey's interest.	366	416
Nov. 27	<i>The Ambassador in Turkey to the Foreign Ministry</i> Papen told Saracoglu that a Turkish refusal to deliver chromium would be considered an unfriendly act; Saracoglu denied such intentions but said that Turkey could promise deliveries only when the actual size of the chromium output was known.	390	451
[Nov.—]	<i>Unsigned Memorandum of the Economic Policy Department</i> Germany's refusal to deliver heavy guns and Turkey's cutting off chromium ore deliveries have led to a crisis in German-Turkish economic relations; it is suggested that Germany agree to negotiate agreements on trade in other goods, since the Turks are not likely to yield to German economic pressure.	391	452
Dec. 1	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in Turkey</i> Ribbentrop states that Saracoglu had not given a satisfactory explanation for his unfriendly remarks on Germany in a recent interview and that furthermore his statements on chromium deliveries are unsatisfactory; Papen is to insist on a straight answer as to whether available chromium supplies will be sold to the Allies and the United States.	408	475
1940 Jan. 6	<i>The Ambassador in Turkey to the Foreign Ministry</i> A satisfactory agreement concerning certain Turkish deliveries has been reached; Germany's dilatory tactics are resented by the Turks who suspect Germany of having held up deliveries to put pressure on Turkey; speedy acceptance of the remaining Turkish demands is urged.	512	628
Jan. 9	<i>The Director of the Economic Policy Department to the Embassy in Turkey</i> Further Turkish demands are also approved but only in order to pave the way for subsequent transactions which would supply Germany with badly needed chromium; it is explained confidentially that Germany is not interested in a large amount of trade but in the best possible distribution of German exports among countries supplying Germany with vital imports.	516	634

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS LXIX

## TURKEY—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 Jan. 9	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Economic Policy Department</i> German chromium needs are estimated to be 12,000 tons a month. There is a possibility of obtaining 40,000 tons of Turkish chromium via Hungary, if permission is granted to export 200,000 Hungarian time fuses to England.	517	635
Feb. 5	<i>The Ambassador in Turkey to the Foreign Ministry</i> According to information received, the French see no other way to win the war than by intensifying the blockade and by drawing the Balkans and Russia into the war, a view not shared by the British; these differences strengthen Turkey's bargaining position.	595	742
Feb. 21	<i>The Ambassador in Turkey to the Foreign Ministry</i> Papen reports on the difficulties arising in the economic negotiations with Turkey and requests instruction as to how badly Germany needs Turkish chromium.	625	790
Mar. 1	<i>The Ambassador in Turkey to the Foreign Ministry</i> The statement of the Turkish Minister President that his country could not be brought into the war by outside influences represents a success for Germany's policy, which, however, might even be enhanced by a Russian statement that would reassure the Turks.	638	819
Mar. 14	<i>The Ambassador in Turkey to the Foreign Ministry</i> Papen told Saracoglu he was prepared to ask Berlin to deliver heavy armament to Turkey if the Turkish Government would promise to defend Turkish neutrality against the Western Powers; by forcing Saracoglu to choose between loyalty to his allies and the need to pacify Russia, Germany might be able to precipitate his fall.	674	918
Mar. 17	<i>The State Secretary to the Embassy in Turkey</i> Weizsäcker expresses doubts whether the Turks would be willing to make political concessions to Germany of the kind suggested by Papen; he also questions whether Germany has an interest, in improved Russo-Turkish relations.	680	930
Mar. 17	<i>Memorandum by the Deputy Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> The Foreign Minister, on the basis of a directive by the Führer, has approved delivery of three ships to Turkey, provided Turkish chromium deliveries form a considerable portion of the payment.	681	931
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS			
1939 Sept. 4	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov promises speedy reply to the German suggestion of September 3 on military occupation of the Soviet sphere.	2	2



## UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939			
Sept. 5	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov deprecates premature military occupation of the Soviet sphere.	5	4
Sept. 5	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Economic Policy Department</i> Schnurre recommends that Göring be reminded that the Foreign Ministry is in charge of economic negotiations with the Soviet Union.	10	7
Sept. 6	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> 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.	13	12
Sept. 6	<i>The Deputy Director of the Economic Policy Department to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Instructions to notify the Soviet Government that Germany intends to have ships discharge cargoes at Murmansk for rail shipment to Leningrad, where other German ships will receive them.	15	14
Sept. 7	<i>The Foreign Ministry to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Instructions to notify the Soviet Government of German proposal to send Schnurre to conduct economic negotiations with Mikoyan in Moscow.	21	20
Sept. 9	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Instructions to suggest again to Molotov the need for information on Soviet military intentions in Poland.	34	33
Sept. 9	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov extends congratulations on the entry of German troops into Warsaw.	35	34
Sept. 9	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov says that Soviet military action will take place in the next few days.	37	35
Sept. 9	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Describes Soviet military preparations.	39	36
Sept. 10	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</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.	46	44
Sept. 13	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Denies rumors of an armistice between Germany and Poland.	59	56

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

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UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939			
Sept. 14	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov wishes to know when Warsaw will fall so that he may say Poland has collapsed and Russian minorities require protection.	63	60
Sept. 15	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</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.	70	68
Sept. 16	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</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.	78	76
Sept. 17	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Stalin says the Red Army will cross the frontier today; he alters the text of the note to be handed to the Polish Ambassador so that it is satisfactory to Germany.	80	79
Sept. 17	<i>An Official of the Economic Policy Department to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Ribbentrop has reserved decision on the timing of Schnurre's trip to Moscow because of the political situation; a larger program of raw material deliveries from the Soviet Union is being considered.	82	81
Sept. 18	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Stalin doubts if German High Command will withdraw to the agreed line; Schulenburg requests authority to dispel his doubts.	90	92
Sept. 18	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the 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.	94	95
Sept. 19	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Instructions to tell Stalin that German agreements with the USSR will be kept; they are the foundation of friendly relations between Germany and the USSR.	101	103
Sept. 19	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> Göring has asked that an attempt be made to secure some sort of German control of the railway from Breslau to Rumania.	102	103

## LXXII ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

## UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc.No.	Page
1939 Sept. 20	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> An urgent request for clarification of the demarcation line between German and Soviet spheres; Molotov says that Stalin is astonished at an obvious violation of the Moscow agreement.	103	104
Sept. 20	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov proposes negotiations in Moscow for a definitive Polish settlement.	104	105
Sept. 20	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> A short delay in Schnurre's arrival would probably not offend the Soviet Government; Soviet ability to export raw materials is limited.	108	108
Sept. 20	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Soviet Government insists that the upper San form part of the demarcation line in Poland; Molotov proposes a communiqué to this effect.	109	109
Sept. 21	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Ribbentrop accepts Molotov's proposed communiqué on the demarcation line in Poland; there are still certain details to be worked out, however.	115	113
Sept. 22	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Text of the communiqué to be issued by the Soviet Government on the demarcation line in Poland.	122	122
Sept. 23	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Willingness to come to Moscow to effect a definitive Polish settlement.	124	123
Sept. 23	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Soviet Government welcomes Ribbentrop's projected visit.	125	124
Sept. 25	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</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.	131	130
Sept. 26	<i>Minute by the State Secretary</i> Weizsäcker analyses the situation at the end of the Polish war for the forthcoming Moscow negotiations; herecommends advising Soviet Government not to intervene in the Balkans so long as Britain does not; he considers the question of a Rump Poland.	137	137
[Sept. 28]	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Foreign Ministry</i> Ribbentrop describes his conversation with Stalin and Molotov regarding Poland and Lithuania; he requests Hitler's judgment on two proposed territorial settlements.	152	159

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

LXXIII

## UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939			
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.	157	164
Sept. 28	<i>Confidential Protocol</i> Providing for exchange of nationals residing within the territories under the jurisdiction of the German and USSR Governments.	158	165
Sept. 28	<i>Secret Additional 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.	159	166
Sept. 28	<i>Secret Additional Protocol</i> Both Germany and the USSR will suppress any Polish agitation.	160	166
Sept. 28	<i>Declaration of September 28, 1939, by the Government of the German Reich and the Government of the USSR</i> Affirming that peace should be restored in Europe now that the Polish problem is definitively settled.	161	167
Sept. 28	<i>Foreign Minister Ribbentrop to Chairman Molotov of the Council of People's Commissars</i> An agreement to begin negotiations for a new economic treaty.	162	167
Sept. 28	<i>Foreign Minister Ribbentrop to Chairman Molotov of the Council of People's Commissars</i> Confirming a Soviet promise to facilitate German transit traffic through the USSR with Rumania, Iran, Afghanistan, and the Far East; confirming also a Soviet agreement on the delivery of oil.	163	168
Sept. 30	<i>Circular of the State Secretary</i> Instructions to describe the German-Soviet agreements of September 28 as having eliminated forever any differences with regard to Poland.	169	175
Oct. 2	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Instructions to inform Molotov that the Moscow agreements of September 28 have been discussed with Ciano.	177	194
Oct. 4	<i>Supplementary Protocol Between Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</i> The new boundary in Poland.	193	208
Oct. 5	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov says that he has 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.	194	212
Oct. 5	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov proposes that Teriberka instead of Murmansk be used for establishment of repair facilities for German ships and submarines.	195	213

## UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939 Oct. 5	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> 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; Schulenburg is to inform Molotov of the foregoing.	196	213
Oct. 6	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Economic Policy Department</i> Schedule for negotiations at Moscow.	208	233
Oct. 8	<i>The Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union to the Ambassador in the Soviet Union</i> 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.	218	244
Oct. 11	<i>The Embassy in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> A progress report on the economic negotiations.	237	263
Oct. 12	<i>The Commander in Chief of the Navy to the Foreign Minister</i> Raeder urges that maximum cooperation with the Soviet Government be achieved to facilitate German naval operations.	248	277
Oct. 14	<i>The State Secretary to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Instructions to discuss with Molotov proposed Soviet logistical support and bases for German naval operations.	257	287
Oct. 15	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Instructions to invite Molotov to visit Berlin to ratify the Boundary and Friendship Treaty.	258	289
Oct. 16	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Soviet Government desires ratification of the Boundary and Friendship Treaty on October 19.	261	291
Oct. 17	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov regrets that urgent political business prevents his visiting Berlin at present.	267	306
Oct. 18	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</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 USSR in case of war between Germany and the Western democracies.	271	309
Oct. 18	<i>The Embassy in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Ritter reports that the economic negotiations are proceeding slowly but not too unfavorably.	272	310

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS LXXV

## UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939			
Oct. 18	<i>The Director of the Economic Policy Department to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Inquires whether any details are known of reported Anglo-Soviet economic discussions.	273	313
Oct. 19	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</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.	280	320
Oct. 19	<i>Chief of Protocol Dörnberg to Ambassador Schulenburg</i> Ribbentrop is disappointed by the hunting to be found in the German share of Poland; can arrangements be made for him in the Soviet share?	283	323
Oct. 26	<i>Ambassador Ritter to Minister Schnurre [in Moscow]</i> German officials in Berlin are well satisfied with the progress of economic talks with the Soviet Government; they are ready for a great effort on deliveries to the Soviet Union.	303	345
Oct. 29	<i>The Embassy in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Soviet Government will allow transit of foreign raw materials to Germany via Black Sea ports, provided the operations are properly camouflaged.	314	358
Oct. 30	<i>Ambassador Ritter to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Ritter instructs Schnurre to work for agreement on some tentative round figures for German deliveries to the Soviet Union; the present detailed negotiations are proceeding too slowly.	316	361
Nov. 1	<i>The Embassy in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Schnurre requests details on proposed transit shipments of raw materials to Germany through the USSR; Mikoyan has stressed the need for secrecy.	320	368
Nov. 1	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Göring, Raeder, and Keitel complain of the war material demands of the Soviet delegation in Berlin.	321	369
Nov. 8	<i>Memorandum by an Official of Political Division V</i> Summarizes conversations between Göring and Soviet officials in Berlin; he assures them that their delegation is being shown the latest German planes and equipment.	335	386
Nov. 10	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov offers various advantages to Germany provided the Russian economic demands are met.	342	394
Nov. 18	<i>Ambassador Ritter to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Instructions to inform Molotov that the Soviet delegation has had unprecedented access to information on German production; the German Government strongly desires rapid completion of the negotiations.	371	422
Nov. 20	<i>Ambassador Schulenburg to State Secretary Weizsäcker</i> Discusses Molotov's anger toward Finland, details of the boundary in Poland, Soviet support for German peace efforts, a propaganda move against Turkey, and other questions.	376	427

## UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939 Nov. 23	<i>The Embassy in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Reports estimates current among Military Attachés in Moscow as to Soviet troop dispositions and intentions regarding Finland and Rumania.	385	446
Nov. 24	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Germany has protested the change in railroad gauge between Lwów and <del>Basel</del> <del>Amster-</del> Rumania should begin December 1.	386	447
Nov. 27	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Instructions to invite Molotov to protect certain proposed British blockade measures.	395	459
Nov. 30	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Cancels earlier instructions for Naval Attaché to inquire privately about possible transfer of submarines from Soviet to German navy.	403	468
Dec. 1	<i>Circular Letter of the Foreign Ministry</i> Schnurre distributes material on Soviet delivery orders in preparation for an interministerial meeting of December 2.	407	472
Dec. 2	<i>Memorandum by the Chairman of the Economic Delegation to the Soviet Union</i> Action taken by interministerial meeting regarding the Soviet order list of November 30.	412	481
[Dec. 2]	<i>Unsigned Memorandum</i> Questions in the German-Soviet economic negotiations requiring decision by Hitler.	413	488
Dec. 5	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Keitel complains of friction along the Soviet frontier, particularly in connection with the expulsion of Jews into Soviet territory.	419	489
Dec. 5	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Keitel again complains that Soviet demands for the delivery of German products are increasingly voluminous and unreasonable; the Foreign Ministry intends to curb the Soviet demands.	420	490
Dec. 6	<i>The State Secretary to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Quotes text of circular telegram instructing principal German Missions to express sympathy for Soviet attitude in Finnish-Soviet conflict and to stress British responsibility.	423	494
Dec. 8	<i>Memorandum by Ambassador Ritter</i> To provide 70,000 tons of iron per month to the Soviet Union as planned would necessitate major cuts elsewhere; Ritter states the choices; a Göring letter is appended.	430	502
Dec. 9	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov denounces German complicity in the alleged Italian shipment of planes to Finland; Schulenburg has denied the charges but requests instructions.	432	506

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS LXXVII

## UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No	Page
1939			
Dec. 10	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Forwards for Molotov's attention a DNB denial of reports that arms have recently been shipped by or through Germany to Finland.	435	508
Dec. 11	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> In conversation with the Soviet Ambassador Ribbentrop protests the Tass report of German delivery of munitions to Finland; he also intimates that Soviet demands for military supplies are excessive.	438	512
Dec. 11	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Details of Italian planes destined for Finland via Germany and Sweden.	439	514
Dec. 11	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov accepts German denials regarding alleged shipments of arms to Finland.	440	514
Dec. 11	<i>Ambassador Ritter to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> The demands of the Soviet economic delegation in Berlin far exceed the terms previously agreed upon; Ritter is prepared to make some concessions but proposes to transfer the negotiations back to Moscow.	442	516
Dec. 12	<i>The Director of the Economic Policy Department to the Embassy in Italy</i> Instructions to withdraw consent to shipment of Italian war material through Germany to Finland.	444	521
Dec. 15	<i>Memorandum by Ambassador Ritter</i> Raeder is willing to sell the plans of <i>Bismarck</i> to the Soviet Union, provided the price is high enough.	457	537
[Dec. 19]	<i>The Embassy in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Ritter has rejected Mikoyan's demand for German military deliveries as contrary to the Ribbentrop-Molotov exchange of September 28; he will seek to reopen negotiations on the basis of that exchange.	474	558
Dec. 20	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Expresses approval of Ritter's rejection of Mikoyan's demand of December 19 and authorizes him to take up the matter with Molotov.	476	560
Dec. 20	<i>Unsigned Memorandum</i> The Governor General of the General Government of Poland was informed of a Soviet complaint that Jews were being deported from the Government General to the Soviet Union by official organs of the Reich. He ordered such practices stopped to avoid disturbing necessary friendly relations with the Soviet Union.	477	560
Dec. 23	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Hilger's summary of a Schulenburg-Molotov conversation regarding unsatisfactory progress of the economic negotiations; conflicting interpretations of "industrial deliveries" were presented; Molotov admitted that Germany's involvement in war restricted her ability to deliver arms but charged that she was setting exorbitant prices; a meeting of Ritter and Schnurre with Molotov and Mikoyan was arranged.	484	570



## UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939 [Dec. 24]	<i>The Embassy in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> In stating that the Soviet Union will not adopt German plane types at present, Molotov refers to "exorbitant" prices; negotiations on other points will be resumed.	487	574
1940 Jan. 2	<i>The Director of the Legal Department to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Disputes Molotov's interpretation of "industrial deliveries" in the Moscow negotiations.	498	587
[Jan. 2]	<i>Memorandum by Ambassador Hitler</i> Describes a conference in the Kremlin December 31, 1939, between the German and Soviet economic negotiators; Stalin insisted on the reduced Soviet demands but for the first time used the expression "mutual assistance"; metal production, naval armament, machine tools, and airplanes were the principal issues discussed.	499	588
Jan. 8	<i>The Chief of the High Command of the Wehrmacht to the Foreign Minister</i> Keitel sends Ribbentrop a Wehrmacht memorandum on Germany's strategic and political objectives in the Balkans and the Near East, suggesting that Germany encourage Russia's expansion in the Balkans and the Near and Middle East to prevent a clash of Russian and Italian aspirations in the Balkans.	514	631
Jan. 10	<i>The Foreign Ministry to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Unknown to the Foreign Ministry, several carloads of war material for Finland were allowed to enter Germany; three of these were inadvertently permitted to continue.	519	640
Jan. 10	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Hilger records Schulenburg's conversation of January 7 with Molotov regarding definition of "a more extended period of time" for German deliveries to the Soviet Union; both sides referred to the political basis of the negotiations; Molotov saw no insurmountable obstacle to agreement.	520	641
Jan. 16	<i>Memorandum by Ambassador Ritter</i> Records Hitler's relatively favorable decisions on the reduced Soviet demands.	543	672
Jan. 25	<i>Unsigned Memorandum From the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Schulenburg told Molotov that much of the excitement in the Balkans and Near East seemed to arise from fear of Soviet intentions in these regions; Molotov replied that the Soviet Union had done nothing to warrant any anxiety either there or in Italy.	570	709
Jan. 26 by S	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Political Department</i> Woermann notes that he answered certain questions by Shkvarsev regarding an alleged Soviet effort to get a North Atlantic outlet, German relations with Italy, Vatican broadcasts, and news about Britain.	579	712

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS LXXIX

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940			
Jan. 28	<i>The Embassy in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Urges pressure on German firms to accept Soviet orders; the Russians are becoming suspicious of German willingness and ability to make deliveries.	582	715
Jan. 30	<i>Memorandum by the Chairman of the German Economic Delegation in the Soviet Union</i> Describes a conference in the Kremlin in which Ritter presented the German replies to Stalin's questions of December 31. Stalin discussed the conflicting views on deliveries and proposed dividing the projected agreement into separate treaties for 1940 and 1941.	584	718
Feb. 3	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Instructs Ritter to deliver to Stalin a personal communication by Ribbentrop urging the German view on the deliveries question; Stalin is to be reminded of the political basis of the agreements.	594	739
Feb. 8	<i>Memorandum by the Chairman of the German Economic Delegation in the Soviet Union</i> Describes a conference in the Kremlin at which Stalin replied to Ribbentrop's personal message of February 3; Stalin proposed a single treaty calling for Soviet deliveries during 18 months and German deliveries during 27 months after signature; Ritter said that an agreement on this basis might be possible.	600	752
Feb. 9	<i>The Embassy in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Ritter reports that negotiations for an economic agreement are proceeding favorably and may be completed within a few days.	602	755
Feb. 11	<i>Economic Agreement of February 11, 1940, Between the German Reich and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</i>	607	762
Feb. 11	<i>The Trade Representative of the Soviet Union in Germany to the Chairman of the German Economic Delegation</i> Confirming that certain funds provided under the Credit Agreement of August 19, 1939, may also be used in connection with the Economic Agreement of February 11, 1940.	608	769
Feb. 26	<i>Memorandum by the Chairman of the German Economic Delegation to the Soviet Union</i> Schnurre summarizes the promised deliveries of Soviet raw materials and emphasizes the sacrifices these deliveries will entail for the USSR; 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 USSR, will decisively weaken the effects of the British blockade.	636	814
Mar. 7	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Reports protesting "intolerable" frontier conditions to Molotov, who agreed to take appropriate action.	658	867
Mar. 14	<i>The International Committee of the Red Cross to the High Command of the Wehrmacht</i> Inquires about reports that Polish prisoners of war at Kozielek, Russia, will be brought to Germany.	676	922

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UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc.No	Page
1940 Mar. 15	<i>Memorandum by Ambassador Ritter</i> Babarin complained that German firms are not replying to inquiries by his trade mission.	677	923
1941 Jan. 28	Under State Secretary Hencke to Helmuth Laux Transmits an article based on his experiences while a member of Ribbentrop's party visiting Moscow September 27-29, 1939.		939

UNITED STATES

1939 Sept. 4	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Weizsäcker summoned American Chargé d'Affaires Kirk to deny that the passenger ship <i>Athenia</i> was sunk by German naval forces.	4	8
Sept. 7	<i>Memorandum by Ambassador Dieckhoff</i> President Roosevelt is preparing American opinion for repeal of the arms embargo; the American people, under a barrage of propaganda, are already overwhelmingly anti-German.	22	21
Sept. 8	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Despite the neutrality it stresses the American Government is preparing to seize German funds in case of war, is placing German firms and organisations under surveillance, and has refused asylum to German seamen.	20	26
Sept. 12	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Roosevelt is assured of Congressional support for repeal of the arms embargo; his policy is to insure Allied victory by American material aid, but he would intervene in the war if defeat of the Allies was threatened.	54	51
Sept. 12	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> In view of the very great German interest in keeping the United States neutral it is suggested that the Ambassador be returned to his post in Washington, even if the Americans do not reciprocate by returning their Ambassador to Berlin.		53
Sept. 17	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Political Department</i> Woermann shares Dieckhoff's objections to any direct representations against American neutrality policy, as Roosevelt would construe this as interference in American affairs; a statement of readiness to discuss unproved relations is proposed instead.	85	84
Sept. 18	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Thomsen warns urgently against any German resort to sabotage in America, as this would cut the ground out from under the isolationists whose line is that American interests are not involved in the European war.	88	89

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS LXXXI

## UNITED STATES—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939			
Sept. 24	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> German propaganda should avoid any direct support of the isolationists or any appearance of meddling in American domestic politics, as this would only encourage the will to intervention on the part of an American opinion already overwhelmingly anti-German.	129	127
Sept. 26	<i>The Ambassador to the Holy See to the Foreign Ministry</i> Reports indicate strong sentiment already exists among American Catholics against involvement in the war; Franco's suggestion that the Vatican be asked to exercise influence in this direction is not supported.	139	145
Sept. 28	<i>The Military Attaché in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Additional information on German operations is requested for use in cultivating contacts with the American General Staff.	151	158
Oct. 1	<i>The Embassy in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Measures taken by the American armed forces since the outbreak of war indicate no intention to prepare an expeditionary army for Europe; General Staff influence is on the side of staying out of the European war and building American hemisphere defense.	172	179
<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Oct. 7	Thomson requests guidance on American news service reports from Berlin that semi-official German spokesmen have indicated that Germany would respond to a peace mediation by Roosevelt.	209	234
<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Oct. 9	Repeal of the arms embargo would be an unneutral act, reversing the traditional American position that neutrality policy should not be changed after outbreak of war; in considering a protest, however, it should be remembered that repeal will have no practical effect for some time.	220	245
Oct. 10	<i>The State Secretary to the Embassy in the United States</i> Extreme reserve is to be maintained concerning press reports about the possibility of an American mediation.	233	256
Oct. 21	<i>Chargé d'Affaires Thomsen to Under State Secretary Woermann</i> In response to a query dating from before the outbreak of war Thomsen replies that in his opinion it would be advisable to resume the social relations with American officials which, in both Berlin and Washington, had been cut off for some time.	289	330
<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Oct. 22	A reliable source indicates that Ambassador Kennedy, despite Churchill's expression to him of an expectation of early American entry into the war, has advised against repeal of the arms embargo on the ground that Chamberlain and the Cabinet majority fear intensification of the war.	291	332

## UNITED STATES—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939 Oct. 24	<i>The State Secretary to the Embassy in the United States</i> The Chargé d'Affaires is requested to supply arguments which may be used in formulating the German position on the Pittman Bill providing for repeal of the American embargo on arms shipments.	294	336
Oct. 25	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Repeal of the arms embargo will provide an opportunity to expose the falsity of American policy which supplies arms to Germany's enemies while claiming neutral rights; a formal protest could be based on the charge that America has reversed her legal position from that taken in 1915.	299	341
Oct. 26	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Thomsen reports that the American Government is trying to exploit German seizure of the ship <i>City of Flint</i> to win support for repeal of the arms embargo and urges care in the handling of the case.	301	343
Oct. 30	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> The course of the war thus far has confirmed American opinion in its determination to stay out of the conflict, the more so as there is confidence that American material aid will insure an Allied victory.	315	359
Nov. 3	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Thomsen gives a brief interpretation of the reasons for the vote by the House of Representatives to raise the arms embargo.	323	370
Nov. 16	<i>Memorandum by Ambassador Ritter</i> The Foreign Minister agreed that the Navy should be asked to avoid endangering American lives even outside of the zone from which American shipping was excluded by order of the American Government.	364	414
Nov. 21	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Propaganda activities of the Embassy have been increased since the outbreak of the war; American news correspondents in Berlin are the most effective channel for influencing American opinion, however.	378	432
Nov. 24	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Russian Ambassador Oumansky says he believes America will enter the war against Germany; the necessary pre-condition, an understanding with Japan, will be made more difficult by impeding Soviet-Japanese negotiations, however.	387	448
Nov. 27	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the United States</i> Although no favorable response is expected the United States Government is to be urged, as other governments have been, to take a stand against British violations of international law in interfering with German trade with neutrals.	393	457

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS LXXXIII

## UNITED STATES—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1939 Nov. 28	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> In reply to his representations at the State Department Thomsen was informed that the United States would not join other neutrals in protesting against the British blockade, which was regarded as admissible under international law.	396	460
Dec. 1	<i>The Embassy in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> After three months of the European war American military preparations remain inadequate to permit intervention; adequate ground and air forces will not be available before the late summer of 1940.	405	470
Dec. 8	<i>The Consul General at New York to the Foreign Ministry</i> The trial and conviction of German-American Bund Leader Fritz Kuhn for misappropriating funds has alienated German-Americans from the Bund and confirms that official German agencies should have nothing to do with the Bund.	431	504
Dec. 24	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> President Roosevelt's appointment of a special envoy to the Vatican is motivated by his desire for cooperation with the Pope in a possible mediation effort.	486	573
Dec. 27	<i>Memorandum by Ambassador Dieckhoff</i> Contrary to the view stated in the telegram from Washington, Roosevelt's appointment of an envoy to the Vatican is more likely an election maneuver than an attempt to associate with the Pope in a mediation attempt.	490	579
1940 Jan. 5	<i>The State Secretary to the Embassy in the United States</i> It is requested that confidential arrangements be made for a visit to the United States by the Duke of Coburg, head of the German Red Cross; he has no official mission, but great importance is attached to having the visit go off smoothly.	510	619
Jan. 24	<i>The Ambassador in Belgium to the Foreign Ministry</i> American Ambassador Cudahy said that he would prefer a more neutral American policy than that pursued by President Roosevelt; he intimated, however, that violation of Belgian neutrality was likely to lead to America's entry into the war.	563	693
Jan. 25	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Having learned of the presence in the United States of two agents reported to be on a sabotage mission, Thomsen urges they be relieved of their assignment, warning that such activities are a sure means of bringing the United States into the war.	569	700
Jan. 25	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Although the United States has rebuffed Japanese efforts to get an extension of the trade treaty denounced by the United States, further trade reprisals are unlikely in view of the American desire not to disturb the Pacific area during the European war.	573	705

## UNITED STATES—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 Feb. 7	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Reporting increasing signs that President Roosevelt will seek a third term, Thomsen concludes that his reelection and continuation of his foreign policy must be anticipated, but notes that his foreign policy will necessarily be cautious until after the election.	597	747
Feb. 8	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Under Secretary of State Welles called privately to inform Thomsen of the President's desire to send Welles on an exploratory mission to Rome, Berlin, Paris, and London; assurance was requested that he would be received by Hitler and Ribbentrop.	598	750
Feb. 10	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Simultaneously with announcement of the Welles mission, Secretary of State Hull has announced talks with neutrals on trade and disarmament; both moves reflect American concern and uncertainty over the future course and duration of the war.	603	757
Feb. 12	<i>The Legation in the Netherlands to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Japanese offer of a nonaggression pact to the Netherlands is an answer to the Welles mission; in view of American weakness, increased pressure in the Far East could compel Roosevelt to urge Britain and France to terminate the war in Europe.	609	770
Feb. 14	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the United States</i> Welles is to be told that, although Germany is not informed as to the purpose of his mission, and German views on the international situation have already been made clear in the Führer's speeches, he will nevertheless be received in Berlin.	613	774
Feb. 29	<i>Memorandum by the Führer</i> In the conversations with Sumner Welles the German attitude is to be reserved, no specific issues such as Poland are to be discussed, and no indication is to be given that Germany is in any way interested in discussing possibilities of peace.	637	817
Mar. 1	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Foreign Minister's Secretariat</i> Ribbentrop told Welles that the war had been forced on Germany by Britain and France, who were bent on Germany's annihilation; Welles said that the aim of his mission was to uncover any possibility of avoiding the impending catastrophe.	640	821
Mar. 1	<i>Supplement to the Memorandum of the Conversation Between the Foreign Minister and Sumner Welles on March 1, 1940</i> Welles suggested the humanitarian attitude of the Americans as a reason for poor German-American relations. The Foreign Minister replied that the happiness of the German people today was a tribute to the humane work of the Führer.	641	829

## ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS LXXXV

## UNITED STATES—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 Mar. 1	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> In a private talk with Weizsäcker Welles warned that if Germany pressed for a military victory general ruin would result and the United States could not stand aside, he indicated that his further talks with Mussolini might produce some proposals.	642	829
Mar. 1	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> In a further record of his conversation with Welles, Weizsäcker notes that Welles has promised to transmit a memorandum on economic relations, a subject which he would also like to discuss with Schacht.	643	830
Mar. 2	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Foreign Minister's Secretariat</i> Hitler insisted to Welles that Germany's aim was peace whereas Britain and France were bent on Germany's destruction; after rejection of his peace offers, he now believed the war would have to be fought to a finish in defense of German interests.	649	838
Mar. 4	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Foreign Minister's Secretariat</i> Conversation between Welles and Göring on March 3. Göring in a broad retrospective survey stressed England's responsibility for the continuation of the war.	653	850
Mar. 4	<i>Memorandum by Ambassador Dieckhoff</i> Welles said that he expected success for his mission if Europe remained quiet 4 or 5 weeks more; he indicated he hoped to see Ambassador Dieckhoff back in Washington soon.	655	864
Mar. 5	<i>Memorandum by Ambassador Dieckhoff</i> The American businessman, Mooney, who in a conversation with Hitler spoke of Roosevelt's friendly sentiments toward Germany and his willingness to serve as moderator between Germany and her enemies, seems to be sincere but misled.	656	865
Mar. 7	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Roosevelt, apparently on prestige grounds, has publicly dismissed any thought of returning the American Ambassador to Berlin; the American attitude toward Germany shows no improvement in any way.	659	867
Mar. 12	<i>Memorandum by a Member of the Foreign Minister's Personal Staff</i> A conversation of the Führer with Colin Ross in which Ross described his travels in the United States and discussed American attitudes toward Germany.	671	910
Mar. 13	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Economic Policy Department</i> Welles' memorandum on world trade policy is only a restatement of Hull's often-repeated general principles for freeing world trade; the war will increase the trend to autarky, however, and worsen the American trade position.	673	915



## UNITED STATES—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 Mar. 18	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Despite the cool attitude displayed by American officials the visit of the Duke of Coburg to Washington has been a considerable success.	683	933
<u>YUGOSLAVIA</u>			
1939 Sept. 11	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> The signing of the contracts for armament deliveries to Yugoslavia has been put off on specific instructions from Göring; a change in this policy as suggested by Minister Heeren would seem to require a direct intervention by the Foreign Minister with Göring.	53	49
Sept. 19	<i>The Director of the Economic Policy Department to the Legation in Yugoslavia</i> The Minister is requested to get the text of a recent British note to Yugoslavia and in any case to state explicitly that any commitment by a neutral country to restrict its trade with Germany would be considered as aid to Germany's enemies.	99	102
Sept. 21	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> Göring has given approval to a plan according to which Germany will deliver to Yugoslavia planes, anti-aircraft and antitank guns in return for Yugoslavia's entire output of copper as well as large shipments of lead and zinc.	117	116
Sept. 28	<i>The Minister in Yugoslavia to the Foreign Ministry</i> In a conversation, Prince Paul expressed his concern over Russia's expansion toward the West and the increased influence of Communist Pan-Slavism in South-eastern Europe.	155	163
Oct. 22	<i>The Minister in Yugoslavia to the Foreign Ministry</i> Hitler's recent reference to the resettlement of nationalities in Eastern Europe has caused unrest in Yugoslavia; authorization is requested for a statement to the effect that repatriation of German communities in Yugoslavia is by no means an acute issue at the present time.	290	332
Oct. 28	<i>The State Secretary to the Legation in Yugoslavia</i> Repatriation of German communities in Yugoslavia is not an acute issue and a public discussion of this problem in Southeastern Europe is not desirable at the present time.	311	352
1940 Jan. 2	<i>The Minister in Yugoslavia to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Yugoslav Foreign Minister assured Germany that German-Yugoslav relations would continue to be based on close political and economic cooperation and that attempts to sabotage them would be foiled.	497	586
Jan. 23	<i>The Foreign Ministry to the Legation in Yugoslavia</i> Göring has just given instructions that in Yugoslavia Consul General Neuhausen shall handle all transactions connected with arms deliveries to that country; jurisdiction of the Legation in this matter is not affected thereby.	560	691