

DOCUMENTS ON
GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY
1918-1945

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DOCUMENTS ON GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY
1918-1945

SERIES D (1937-1945)

VOLUME IX

THE WAR YEARS

March 18-June 22, 1940

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P R E F A C E ¹

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 exercised complete freedom in the selection and editing of the documents.

This volume opens with the meeting at the Brenner Pass on March 18, 1940, where Hitler disclosed to Mussolini his plans for the offensive in the West, and ends with the signing of the armistice with France at Compiègne on June 22, 1940. The military events, first in Scandinavia and then in the West, dominated policy and set the tasks and opportunities for diplomacy. This volume records the final stages of the political preparation for the Scandinavian operation and for the attack on Belgium and the Netherlands, and introduces the phase of occupation in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Denmark, and Norway. It is to be remarked, again, as in the preface to the previous volume, that the documentation on the occupied countries varies greatly from one case to another; in general it is the policy of the editors to record where possible aspects of occupation policy which impinge significantly on foreign policy.

The coordination of German and Italian policy is one of the major themes of the book. The tone was set by the letters exchanged between Hitler and Mussolini, which increase greatly in number and intimacy at this period. All available letters between the two leaders

¹ In each of the first four volumes published in the series there appears a "General Introduction" which describes some of the principles which have guided the editors in their work.

are being printed except where they deal with trivial matters. German relations with the Soviet Union were not so close as with Italy, but the collaboration—tested especially by further Soviet penetration of the Baltic States—continued without serious strain. It is the policy of the editors to include all documents printed in the Department of State publication, *Nazi-Soviet Relations 1939-1941*, but the present collection provides scope for a wider selection. Thus, whereas *Nazi-Soviet Relations* contains 26 documents on German relations with the Soviet Union and Baltic States for this period, the present volume offers 71 documents on these topics.

In Southeastern Europe and the Middle East Germany was seeking to maintain the status quo until she would be in a still stronger position to dominate the situation. Hungary was especially difficult to restrain, and Rumania, anticipating troubles ahead, announced her desire to align her policy with that of Germany.

German relations with Spain, following the coolness attendant upon the signing of the German-Soviet Pact, showed marked improvement. On the other hand, certain existing stresses in Japanese relations were intensified, and new difficulties arose over economic matters and over Indochina and the Netherlands Indies. In Latin America the main objective of German policy remained to keep these countries, as far as possible, outside the orbit of the United States. German efforts to sway public opinion in the United States and to influence the coming presidential elections form one of the main topics documented in this volume.

The documents have been selected jointly by the American, British, and French editors, but editorial responsibility for this volume lies with the American editors. For assistance in its preparation they wish to express appreciation for the assistance of Foreign Service Officers Halleck L. Rose and Eugene C. Martinson, and of Beverly Smith. They are grateful also to various officials of the Department of State for cooperation and assistance, and particularly to G. Bernard Noble, Chief of the Historical Division, as well as to the members of the American Advisory Committee: Sidney B. Fay, Guy Stanton Ford, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Hajo Holborn, William L. Langer, Conyers Read, Bernadotte E. Schmitt, and Raymond J. Sontag. Most of the translations were drafted by the British translation staff, but the American editors have final responsibility for the translations as well as full responsibility for the footnotes and other editorial matter. The technical preparation of edited copy for the printer was done in the Division of Publishing Services of the Department of State under the direction of Robert L. Thompson, and the editors acknowledge

gratefully his assistance and that of Miss Elizabeth A. Vary and Miss Collie E. Halbert and of other members of the staff of that Division.

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

ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS¹

BALTIC STATES

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 May 30	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Political Department</i> Interview with the Lithuanian Minister concerning further demands made by the Soviet Union on Lithuania as a result of incidents involving Soviet troops stationed in Lithuania.	353	474
June 11	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Political Department</i> The Lithuanian Minister discussed increasing Soviet pressure on Lithuania and described the course of Premier Merkys' conversations with Molotov in Moscow.	415	548
June 13	<i>The Minister in Lithuania to the Foreign Ministry</i> Reports unsatisfactory result of Merkys' interviews with Molotov in Moscow and decision of Cabinet to dismiss certain officials who were objectionable to the Soviet Union.	425	561
June 15	<i>The Minister in Lithuania to the Foreign Ministry</i> Reports 3-point Soviet ultimatum to Lithuania, including changes in Lithuanian form of government to make it acceptable to the Soviet Union. The ultimatum was accepted.	436	572
June 15	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Press Department</i> The Soviet Union regarded acceptance of ultimatum as insufficient and Soviet troops were entering Lithuania. Since no press and radio announcements had been made, the population was quiet.	438	574
June 15	<i>The Minister in Latvia to the Foreign Ministry</i> A Russian attack had occurred on a guardhouse of the Frontier Guard Brigade; details of the attack and inferences to be drawn from it are lacking as yet.	439	574
June 15	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Political Department</i> Interview with the Lithuanian Minister on the course of events in Lithuania. Woermann indicates that Germany will take no immediate stand.	440	575
June 16	<i>The Foreign Ministry to the Foreign Minister</i> Reports information received from Lithuanian Minister that Lithuanian President Smetona and others had crossed the German frontier. Instructions asked in regard to Lithuanian Minister's request for admission of other political refugees.	443	577

¹ 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 or regions, with the addition of three subject headings: "Directives for the Conduct of the War," "Greater German Economic Sphere," and "Sea Warfare."

BALTIC STATES—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940			
June 16	<i>Memorandum by an Official in the Foreign Ministry</i> OKW requests instructions regarding Lithuanian troops who may seek to cross the frontier.	444	578
June 16	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Foreign Ministry</i> Lithuanian President Smetona and his following are to be interned by the Gestapo. Border crossings by Lithuanians are to be permitted but not encouraged; troops are to be disarmed and interned by the Wehrmacht.	445	579
June 16	<i>Memorandum by an Official of Political Division I M</i> Hitler has ordered disarming of Lithuanian troops who cross border. German troops returning to garrisons in East Prussia are to avoid any action connecting this with events in Lithuania.	446	580
[June 16]	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Political Department</i> Minister Kotze in Riga reported receipt there of a Soviet ultimatum similar to that presented to Lithuania. Minister Frohwein in Tallinn reported receipt of a similar Soviet ultimatum there.	448	581
June 16	<i>The Minister in Estonia to the Foreign Ministry</i> Has learned of a Soviet ultimatum expiring the same day calling for two Soviet army corps in Estonia and reformation of Estonian Government in accordance with Soviet wishes.	449	581
June 16	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Political Department</i> Interview with the Lithuanian Minister for an exchange of information on course of events in Lithuania. Woermann again states that Germany will take no stand on happenings there.	451	582
June 16	<i>The Minister in Latvia to the Foreign Ministry</i> Cabinet reported to be discussing the Soviet ultimatum, which will probably be accepted. Kotze interprets the Soviet move as aimed at Germany, but as of a defensive character for purposes of assembling troops and constructing defenses.	452	583
June 16	<i>The Foreign Minister's Secretariat to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Foreign Minister wishes to know at once if the Baltic States are tending to seek German support or are forming a bloc.	453	584
June 17	<i>The Minister in Estonia to the Foreign Ministry</i> Reports Estonian acceptance of Soviet ultimatum. Further details are given from agents' reports concerning the presentation of the ultimatum and additional Soviet charges against Estonia.	458	589
June 17	<i>The Head of Political Division VI to the Foreign Minister</i> Grundherr and Schnurre report on extent of German political and economic interests in the Baltic States. While political ties had not been close, German economic interests there had been on the increase since the war began and Russian influence extended to these areas would be detrimental to the German war effort.	463	593

ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

XV

BALTIC STATES—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 June 17	<i>Circular of the State Secretary</i> Events in the Baltic States concern only those States and the Soviet Union. In view of Germany's friendly relations with the Soviet Union there is no reason for nervousness. Avoid any partisan statement.	465	595
June 17	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Political Department</i> Representatives of Rumania, Finland, and Japan, because of the proximity of those countries to the Soviet Union, have asked for an opinion on the Baltic events. The Finnish Minister said he did not believe his Government would capitulate should the same demands be made on it. Woermann made no statement on the matter.	468	597
June 18	<i>The Minister in Estonia to the Foreign Ministry</i> The President of Estonia said that Soviet demands were increasing and represented an attempt to anticipate a German new order by producing accomplished facts. He urged that in view of German strength and Soviet weakness it would take only slight German pressure to stop the Soviet penetration of the Baltic States.	472	600
June 20	<i>The Minister in Estonia to the Foreign Ministry</i> Forwards an account received from an intermediary of an interview between the President of Estonia and the Soviet representative, Zhdanov, in which the composition of a new Estonian Government was discussed.	494	627
June 22	<i>Memorandum by the Minister to Lithuania</i> Following a review of the Lithuanian crisis Minister Zechlin recommended that preparation be made to resettle the German element in Lithuania, but that the Legation in Kaunas continue to be maintained on its existing scale for the time being.	533	687

BELGIUM

1940 Mar. 21	<i>The Ambassador in Belgium to the Foreign Ministry</i> Belgium's policy of maintaining her neutrality remains unshaken after 6 months of the war, and shows every likelihood of continuing in the future.	8	22
Apr. 13	<i>The Ambassador in Belgium to the Foreign Ministry</i> Sentiment of both the Government and people is favorable to the policy of neutrality which is being pursued. There is no confirmation of British and French pressure on Belgium as yet. The King declared to an informant that he would not be swerved from neutrality and was determined to employ the Belgian Army against any attack.	102	149
May 7	<i>The Ambassador in Belgium to the Foreign Ministry</i> Comments on speech of Minister President Pierlot, which showed that events in Norway had not caused a change in Belgian neutrality policy. Pierlot again emphasized the intention of Belgium to resist any attack.	206	295

BELGIUM—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 May 9	<i>The Ambassador in Belgium to the Foreign Ministry</i> Defensive measures taken by the Netherlands have caused some unrest in Belgium, but the Government after studying the situation has taken no special military measures.	211	298
May 9	<i>Memorandum of the German Government to the Royal Belgian Government and the Royal Netherlands Government</i> Because Belgium and the Netherlands have not maintained their neutrality but have favored Britain and France the Reich Government has commanded the German troops to ensure neutrality by all military means.	214	301
May 10	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> In his interview with Weizsäcker the Belgian Ambassador contested the charges in the German memorandum, saying the world would never believe them, and upheld the Belgian policy of resistance as the only honorable course.	217	309
May 10	<i>The Ambassador in Belgium to the Foreign Ministry</i> Called on Foreign Minister Spaak with the German declaration. Spaak read a memorandum in reply, which charged Germany with attacking Belgium for the second time in 25 years, and declared Belgium was now at war with Germany. Spaak declared Brussels to be an open city, with no troops stationed there.	221	311
May 10	<i>Note Verbale From the Belgian Embassy</i> Formal protest of Germany's unprovoked act of aggression against Belgium.	223	313
May 10	<i>The Ambassador in Belgium to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Foreign Minister's statement was declined by Bülow-Schwante because it was in complete contradiction to the German interpretation of the origin of the conflict.	227	316
May 28	<i>Minute by an Official of Political Division I</i> According to reports from Etdorf, liaison officer of the Foreign Ministry with OKH, a Belgian general called on General Reichenau the previous evening at the order of the King and offered the surrender of the Belgian Army; the Commander of Army Group B made inquiries about providing Laaken Castle as a residence for the King, and requested the views of the Foreign Ministry.	331	453
May 28	<i>Minute by an Official of Political Division I</i> According to the Foreign Minister, the Foreign Ministry has no influence in the matter of a residence for the King. It is exclusively a matter for Hitler, and the Foreign Ministry must keep out of it.	335	456
Undated	<i>Minute by an Official of the State Secretary's Secretariat</i> In view of rumors that the Government will depose the King and proclaim a republic, the Belgian Cardinal Primate was prepared to visit the King and exhort the people to stand behind him.	355	482

ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

XVII

BELGIUM—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 May 31	<i>The Foreign Ministry Representative With Army Group B to the Foreign Minister</i> Account of an interview between the King of the Belgians and the Italian Ambassador in Brussels. There was extended discussion of the King's conduct and of means which he might take to publicize his justification of it.	358	486
June 5	<i>Memorandum by an Official of Political Division I</i> An investigation of the source of the permission for the interview between the King and the Italian Ambassador developed that it had come from Hitler.	390	520

BULGARIA

1940 May 4	<i>The Legation in Bulgaria to the Foreign Ministry</i> Clodius reports that Bulgarian authorities consider alignment with Germany the only policy, both politically and economically, but they believe the military weakness of the country demands official neutrality.	198	284
June 18	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> The Bulgarian Minister presented his country's revisionist claims, which included southern Dobruja and access to the Aegean. Weizsäcker declined to comment, either officially or personally.	478	606

DENMARK

1940 Mar. 27	<i>Ambassador Hitter to the Legation in Denmark</i> The Danish démarche is to be dealt with dilatorily.	15	31
Apr. 1	<i>The Minister in Denmark to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Danish Foreign Minister does not believe there will be any serious British operations in Scandinavian territorial waters.	37	65
Apr. 2	<i>Directive of the Chief of the High Command of the Wehrmacht</i> By order of Hitler, the Kings of Denmark and Norway must not be permitted to escape when their countries are occupied.	41	67
Apr. 8	<i>The Minister in Denmark to the Foreign Ministry</i> To the present, people in Denmark have not fully recognized the gravity of the British threat to the Scandinavian countries.	57	97
Apr. 8	<i>Memorandum by the Head of Political Division VI</i> Truth of the report that Britain had laid mines in Norwegian territorial waters was admitted by the Danish State Secretary. Official Norwegian and Danish Government opinions were as yet unknown.	59	98

DENMARK.—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 Apr. 8	<i>The Minister in Denmark to the Foreign Ministry</i> Should German military demands prove necessary Denmark will probably give way under protest but without armed resistance.	62	100
Apr. 9	<i>The Minister in Denmark to the Foreign Ministry</i> Reports carrying out first démarche. The Danes accepted all German demands under protest after a Cabinet meeting presided over by the King.	66	102
Apr. 9	<i>The Minister and Plenipotentiary of the German Reich in Denmark to the Foreign Ministry</i> Renthe-Fink reports that he was received in his capacity as Plenipotentiary of the Reich in audience by the King and Queen, who expressed the hope for good relations between the Danish population and the German occupation forces.	72	107
Apr. 9	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Cultural Policy Department</i> Records discussion with Oberführer Behrends of the Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle of the policy to be pursued with regard to the German minority in North Schleswig. As Denmark had been assured of territorial integrity the German national group would not be allowed to bring up the boundary question and anti-Danish agitation would not be pursued.	77	115
Apr. 10	<i>The Minister and Plenipotentiary of the German Reich in Denmark to the Foreign Ministry</i> Recommends that Danish independence be observed outwardly at least, so far as consistent with military considerations. Therefore his own position and functions as Plenipotentiary of the Reich should be clearly defined, and he should have precedence over the military commander. The latter's competence should cover only military questions.	81	119
Apr. 10	<i>The Minister and Plenipotentiary of the German Reich in Denmark to the Foreign Ministry</i> In a note from the Foreign Ministry the Danish Government noted the entry of the German troops into the country and announced the decision to adapt to the conditions of the occupation, but protested the violation of Danish neutrality.	87	127
Apr. 12	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Legation in Denmark</i> Defines the position of the Minister and Plenipotentiary of the Reich as the highest German representative to the Danish Government, and as having precedence over the military commander, who will have authority over purely military matters.	97	141
Apr. 13	<i>The Minister and Plenipotentiary of the German Reich in Denmark to the Foreign Ministry</i> Forwards a circular telegram from the Danish Foreign Ministry to all Danish Diplomatic Missions recapitulating the circumstances of the occupation and describing the policy adopted by the Danish Government.	103	150

DENMARK—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 Apr. 15	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Legation in Denmark</i> Have the Danish Government instruct its Missions abroad that Germany has promised to respect Danish territorial integrity and political independence, that relations between the civil and military authorities of the two countries in Denmark are on a friendly basis, and that the relations of their Missions abroad should be governed accordingly.	121	173
Apr. 15	<i>The Minister and Plenipotentiary of the German Reich in Denmark to the Foreign Ministry</i> Gives an account of the occupation. Discusses the economic and political problems arising from the new relationship.	125	177
Apr. 15	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> Notes beginning of economic negotiations in Copenhagen, the intention of which was to turn Danish export trade entirely toward Germany and to have Germany supply Denmark's entire coal requirements.	122	174
Apr. 21	<i>The Minister and Plenipotentiary of the German Reich in Denmark to the Foreign Ministry</i> Circular telegram to all the Danish Missions abroad stresses the correct behavior of the German authorities and urges the Missions to conform to the line followed at home in their attitude to the German Missions.	145	212
Apr. 22	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Legation in Denmark</i> Expresses dissatisfaction with circular telegram sent to Danish Missions abroad and gives text of supplementary telegram to be sent, and not to be altered without the Foreign Minister's consent, which emphasizes close German-Danish cooperation.	151	218
Apr. 22	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Legation in Denmark</i> In the future Renthe-Fink is to take no political, military, or economic measures which have not received prior authorization by Ribbentrop personally.	152	219
Apr. 30	<i>The Minister and Plenipotentiary of the German Reich in Denmark to the Foreign Ministry</i> Draft circular telegram to all Danish Missions announcing expansion of the Government to include all major parties, emphasizing the understanding existing between Germany and Denmark, and giving details of the economic relations between the two countries.	188	268
May 3	<i>The State Secretary to the Legation in Denmark</i> The Foreign Minister approves the draft circular telegram to Danish Missions abroad, with the proviso that the economic negotiations with other powers, mentioned in the telegram, be carried on only with German agreement.	193	278
May 6	<i>Unsigned Memorandum</i> By order of Hitler SS detachments are to be stationed in Denmark to win volunteer recruits and to work for the solidarity of the Germanic nations. This is purely a political matter and arrangements are to be made by the Reich Plenipotentiary.	199	287

DENMARK—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 May 10	<i>Memorandum by the Minister in Denmark</i> German policy in Denmark should be one of noninterference in Danish internal politics, even though such a policy does not help the Danish National Socialists who will have to bide their time. Groups in Germany who have been in touch with the Danish National Socialists should be advised of this policy of noninterference.	231	319
May 21	<i>The Minister and Plenipotentiary of the German Reich in Denmark to the Foreign Ministry</i> Sehsted's efforts to bring about the fall of the Stauning-Munch Government are continuing, since he believes he can count on German aid. In order to avoid difficulties he should be told that a cabinet with no Danish National Socialists would not be welcomed by Germany.	288	397
June 5	<i>Ambassador Ritter to the Legation in Denmark</i> Danish economic negotiations with Switzerland and Latvia were opened without prior German approval; the Reich does not agree to this and requests that negotiations be postponed until German and Danish interests have been brought into line.	389	519
June 20	<i>The Minister and Plenipotentiary of the German Reich in Denmark to the Foreign Ministry</i> As a result of additions to the Danish National Socialists from the Nationalist Farmers' movement, the prospects of a Danish governmental crisis have increased. There is a feeling among some members of the Government that Germany may be backing the National Socialists. Renthe-Fink proposed assurances of noninterference in Danish domestic politics, and again advised a reserved attitude toward the Danish National Socialists.	495	628
June 22	<i>The Minister and Plenipotentiary of the German Reich in Denmark to the Foreign Ministry</i> Renthe-Fink discusses the future relationship of Germany and Denmark under the new order in Europe and the degree of sovereignty which Denmark might be allowed to retain. For regulation of Danish foreign policy he recommends the stationing of German representation in the Danish Foreign Ministry.	532	685

DIRECTIVES FOR THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR

1940 Apr. 4	<i>Cooperation With Italy</i>	46	76
May 9	<i>The Administration of the Occupied Territories of France, Luxembourg, Belgium, and Holland</i>	213	300
May 14	<i>Directive No. 11</i>	246	343
May 24	<i>Directive No. 13</i>	312	427
June 8	<i>Directive No. 14</i>	404	533
June 14	<i>Directive No. 15</i>	433	567

ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

XXI

FAR EAST

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 Mar. 30	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassies in Japan and China and to the Legation in Manchukuo</i> Ribbentrop instructs the German Diplomatic Missions to maintain complete reserve if question of recognition of Wang Ching-wei's Government is broached.	29	54
Apr. 1	<i>Memorandum by the Head of Political Division II</i> The Italian Counselor of Embassy suggests to the German Foreign Office consultation on the subject of recognition of Wang Ching-wei.	36	64
Apr. 5	<i>The Ambassador in Japan to the Foreign Ministry</i> Reports that despite official Japanese press statement opposing British blockade measures in the Sea of Japan, the Japanese Navy would welcome appearance there of German naval forces and would give them all possible assistance.	48	80
Apr. 15	<i>The Ambassador in Japan to the Foreign Ministry</i> Foreign Minister Arita issued a statement of Japan's concern over any development of the European war affecting the status quo in the Netherlands East Indies; the Navy prompted the statement as a warning to Britain and the United States.	123	175
May 10	<i>The Embassy in Japan to the Foreign Ministry</i> After a survey of the political situation in Japan Stahmer concludes that the Japanese Cabinet has little chance of realizing its aim for a settlement with the United States and Britain; anti-British feeling is growing in the wake of German victories; the German Embassy is attempting to promote Soviet-Japanese contacts.	219	310
May 10	<i>The Ambassador in Japan to the Foreign Ministry</i> Ott, in a review of Japan's foreign policy, concludes that while Arita still hopes for a reconciliation with the United States, this goal is blocked by the China conflict; Britain seeks to prevent closer Japanese cooperation with Germany by small concessions in China; Arita in a recent talk expressed distrust of the Soviet Union.	233	321
May 11	<i>The Ambassador in Japan to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Japanese Foreign Minister stressed to Ott Japan's interest in preserving the status quo in the Netherlands East Indies for the sake of Japanese trade and peace in the Pacific; he asked that his press statement of April 15 be handed to the German Government.	234	327
May 17	<i>The Ambassador in Japan to the Foreign Ministry</i> A Japanese spokesman told the press that France, Britain, and the Netherlands had given assurances concerning the Netherlands East Indies, and said it was expected Germany would also do so; Ott considers this an attempt by the Government to undermine its activist critics by committing Germany also to the status quo in the Dutch islands.	261	360

FAR EAST—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 May 17	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Ambassador Kurusu asked that Germany issue a statement to calm the fears of Japanese public opinion concerning action prejudicial to Japan's interests in the Netherlands East Indies; Weizsäcker promised to relay the request, adding only that the Allies were the real enemies of Japanese interests.	262	360
May 18	<i>The State Secretary to the Foreign Minister's Secretariat</i> Weizsäcker suggests that a statement on the Netherlands East Indies seems necessary in view of Japanese pressure; it should attribute the real danger to the Allies and the United States but should contain nothing which prejudices the eventual disposition of the islands or excludes their use by the German Navy during the war.	273	375
May 20	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in Japan</i> The Japanese Foreign Minister is to be informed orally of Germany's disinterestedness respecting the Netherlands East Indies, and told that Germany entirely understands Japan's concern in view of the danger from Britain and the United States.	280	385
May 23	<i>The Ambassador in Japan to the Foreign Ministry</i> The German statement of disinterestedness in the Netherlands East Indies was very well received in the Japanese press, which regards it as better than the statements of Britain, France and the Netherlands, which pledged only the status quo, whereas Germany gives Japan a free hand.	302	414
May 27	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> A new Chinese bid for German mediation in the Chinese-Japanese war has been made; Weizsäcker recommends that no German initiative be undertaken pending outcome of the Japanese attempt to promote a new government at Nanking, but that the Chinese not be entirely discouraged.	327	445
June 11	<i>Memorandum by the Head of Political Division VIII</i> The Chinese Counselor of Embassy was informed that in the opinion of the German Foreign Minister the time was not appropriate to attempt mediation between Japan and China; the Chinese Counselor agreed but said he hoped Germany would keep the possibility open.	414	548
June 12	<i>The Ambassador in Japan to the Foreign Ministry</i> Ott warns against the Italian suggestion that the Japanese be asked to launch a press campaign against the United States; it would arouse the suspicion that Japan was being used as a tool of Axis policy; the Embassy is already using its influence among leading personalities to foster ill will against the United States.	418	551
June 19	<i>The Ambassador in Japan to the Foreign Ministry</i> Ott suggests that the Japanese request of Germany for a free hand in French Indochina might be a good opportunity to seek a formula which would commit Japan to German policy unconditionally.	484	617

ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

XXIII

FAR EAST—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 June 19	<i>Unsigned Memorandum</i> Ambassador Kurusu requested that indirect contacts be prompted between himself and the Chinese Ambassador with a view to seeking a settlement of the war between Japan and China.	491	623
June 20	<i>Minute by the Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> Japanese appreciation for the friendly attitude of Germany in the China conflict comes rather late. German sacrifices on behalf of Japan have received no recognition from Japan. The Japanese attitude in economic relations during the war has been unsatisfactory. Instances of this might be pointed out to the Japanese Ambassador.	502	633
June 20	<i>Memorandum by the Head of Political Division VIII</i> Kurusu said that the tendency of Japan to detach herself from the Western Powers would increase if she could be assured of economic help from Germany, especially in building up heavy industry after the war; for the war period her interest lay in peace with the Soviet Union and expansion to the south.	503	634
June 21	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Weizsäcker replied to a query from Kurusu that there would be no general peace conference; Germany preferred bilateral settlements to a "Congress of Vienna."	510	642
June 21	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Bringing Japan's congratulations on the German victory in Europe, to which he said Japan had contributed by tying down the American fleet, Kurusu informed Weizsäcker that Japan would like to have German support in Indochina.	511	642
June 21	<i>The Ambassador in Japan to the Foreign Ministry</i> Although he has been told that the arrangement for a Japanese control commission in Indochina is only a local affair, Ott considers it evidence of the unreliability of the Yonai Cabinet and urges that no concessions concerning Indochina be made without a firm commitment of Japan to the Axis.	514	654

FINLAND

1940 Mar. 28	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Economic Policy Department</i> In the course of a meeting of officials charged with formulating German economic policy, it was decided to attempt to negotiate with the Finns an immediate trade program providing for the delivery to Germany of vital raw materials.	16	32
Mar. 28	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Schulenburg transmits a memorandum of his conversation with Molotov in which the latter gave an account of the peace negotiations with Finland.	19	37

FINLAND—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 May 21	<i>Memorandum by an Official of Economic Policy Division V</i> The Foreign Minister had taken up the question of arms deliveries to Finland with Hitler, who decided that nothing was to be done along this line for the present.	293	402

FRANCE

1940 Mar. 19	<i>An Official of the Embassy in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> Pétain reported reluctant to join French Government because of his age. He believes the entry into the war was France's greatest mistake.	5	19
May 21	<i>The Embassy in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> Forwards information from the Spanish Minister for Air about French military situation.	297	408
May 22	<i>The Ambassador in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> Reports a French proposal for French Minister Ybarnégaray to visit Franco with a proposal for the freedom of the Mediterranean and termination of British control of Gibraltar and Suez. The Spanish reply expressed belief that such a mission should be undertaken only if success were assured. Italy was informed of the French step.	298	409
May 25	<i>The Ambassador in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Spanish Ambassador in France spoke of Pétain as a leader who could resolve the present difficult situation, but Pétain doubted that Hitler would listen to him.	315	433
May 27	<i>The Ambassador to the Holy See to the Foreign Ministry</i> The opinion that France should leave Britain to fight alone was heard after an audience of Poncet with the Pope.	326	444
June 3	<i>The Ambassador in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> Marshal Pétain was reported to have said it would take a coup d'état to bring him to power, but that it was a possibility.	376	507
June 4	<i>The Ambassador in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> Pétain told the Spanish Ambassador that all members of the Government were hostile to Italy and that no serious proposals would be made to that country in an effort to avert danger.	379	510
June 5	<i>The Ambassador in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> A Spanish report from Paris says that if the new German offensive is successful President Lebrun will resign in favor of Pétain.	391	521
June 7	<i>The Ambassador in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> Indications are that the natives of French Morocco will soon be ready to revolt, and may ask Germany for protection. Stohrer asks consideration of the attitude Germany might take.	397	525

FRANCE—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 June 7	<i>The Ambassador in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> Military Attaché has received report that France has rejected the British advice to ask the United States for troop assistance; plans to make a separate peace as soon as Germans reach Paris.	398	526
June 11	<i>The Ambassador in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> Opinion in the French Council of War reported to be divided as to whether or not a separate peace should be made.	416	550
June 13	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> An unofficial communication through the American Chargé d'Affaires said that Paris was being declared an open city. The form and style of the communication were objected to by Weizsäcker.	426	561
June 16	<i>An Official of the Embassy in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Spanish Ambassador in France reported a stormy session of the French Cabinet at Bordeaux, and believed a decision for peace was imminent, with Spain being asked to act as intermediary.	447	580
June 16	<i>The Ambassador in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Spanish Ambassador in France had been informed that the present Government would resign and that the new one, headed by Pétain, would ask for an armistice.	457	588
June 17	<i>The Ambassador in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> The French Government has requested the Spanish Government to act as an intermediary in asking Germany for peace terms.	459	590
June 17	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Weizsäcker informed the Italian Ambassador of the French request for terms.	460	591
June 17	<i>The State Secretary to the Embassy in Spain</i> Germany acknowledges receipt of the French statement and will confer with Italy.	461	591
June 17	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Weizsäcker presents 15 points for consideration in connection with terms of an armistice with France.	462	591
June 17	<i>Former Emperor Wilhelm II to Adolf Hitler</i> Congratulations on the German victory.	469	598
June 18	<i>Order by the Fiihrer</i> Announces the French request for terms, but directs that military operations are to continue.	477	606
June 18	<i>The State Secretary to the Embassy in Spain</i> France is to be told that Germany will agree on cessation of hostilities if France reaches an understanding on this with Italy as well.	481	614
June 19	<i>The Ambassador in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> The German reply to the French request for armistice negotiations was delivered at 6:25 a. m., and an answer was promised by 10:00 a. m. The French request for negotiations with Italy has reached the Spanish Foreign Ministry.	485	618

FRANCE—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 June 19	<i>The Ambassador in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> The French reply named General Huntziger as head of the armistice delegation and asked that German troops not advance beyond their positions as of noon June 19.	489	621
June 19	<i>The Ambassador in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> If the armistice is delayed the Reynaud faction may gain the upper hand again, as conditions in France are increasingly chaotic, and a revolutionary mood is increasing everywhere.	490	622
June 20	<i>The Ambassador in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Spanish Ambassador in France reported from Bordeaux that the situation in France was still deteriorating. Any agreement with the French must be concluded quickly, because of a plan to transfer high officials to Algiers.	496	629
June 20	<i>The Foreign Ministry to the Embassy in Spain</i> Informs the Spanish Government of a message to the French agreeing to the delegation named.	497	630
June 20	<i>The Ambassador in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> The French Plenipotentiaries are empowered to negotiate with Italy jointly with Germany.	499	631
June 20	<i>The Ambassador in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> France asks Spanish aid in getting an assurance that département Basses Pyrénées will not be attacked; the French Government will then establish itself there.	500	631
June 21	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> The Italian Ambassador gave information about progress of negotiations between France and Italy.	507	640
June 21	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Information from the Italian Ambassador that Mussolini wanted to ask Franco to occupy French Morocco to prevent a rumored move of the French Government to Algeria.	508	641
June 21	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Weizsäcker gave Alfieri the German and French texts of the armistice terms, warning him that this was a secret document and that the conditions were provisional and not definitive.	509	641
June 21/ 22	<i>Unsigned Memorandum</i> Details of the early armistice negotiations. The French were told that the basic provisions of the treaty could not be changed.	512	643
June 21	<i>Unsigned Memorandum</i> A telephone conversation between Generals Huntziger and Weygand in which the former gave a report of the armistice negotiations to date.	513	652
June 22	<i>Unsigned Memorandum</i> Telephoned comments by General Weygand's adjutant on the articles of the armistice treaty.	521	662

FRANCE—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 June 22	<i>Unsigned Memorandum</i> Record of the second day's armistice negotiations. On instructions from his Government, Huntziger put forth several questions and proposed amendments. The armistice treaty was signed.	522	664
June 22	<i>German-French Armistice Treaty</i> Terms of the treaty as signed at Compiègne.	523	671
Undated	<i>Unsigned Memorandum</i> Explanatory notes on the French questions raised and German answers given on various points of the armistice treaty.	524	676
June 22	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> The Italian Ambassador has delivered a communication from Mussolini in which he has reduced the demands in the previously agreed occupation clauses in order to make French acceptance of the armistice easier.	525	679
June 22	<i>Adolf Hitler to Benito Mussolini</i> Acknowledges receipt of Mussolini's communication.	526	680
June 22	<i>The State Secretary to the Foreign Minister</i> Proposals concerning establishment of a peace commission under direction of the Foreign Minister.	527	680

GREAT BRITAIN

1940 Apr. 9	<i>The Director of the Economic Policy Department to the Legations in Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria</i> The neutrality and economic interests of the various Balkan Governments will be endangered if they do not resist the efforts of the English Trading Company to shut out Germany from trade in the Southeast.	74	108
Apr. 23	<i>The Ambassador in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> The impression of the Spanish Ambassador in London is that though outwardly confident the British Government has grave doubts as to victory, and expects a negotiated peace after some further successful action by Germany.	155	222
June 6	<i>The Ambassador in Spain to the Foreign Minister</i> The British Ambassador has spoken of the Government's possible move to Canada and a continuation of the war from there.	394	523
June 19	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> The Swedish Minister in London has observed a growing desire for peace in authoritative circles.	487	620
June 22	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> The Swedish Minister doubted the report that Lloyd George would become Prime Minister, but still believed that a peace trend in Britain was becoming stronger.	529	682

GREATER GERMAN ECONOMIC SPHERE

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 May 30	<i>Memorandum by the Deputy Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> Clodius sets forth his ideas of the future economic organization of the world following a German victory. The Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Denmark, and Norway would be included definitely in a customs and currency union with Greater Germany; the German colonial empire would include the Belgian Congo and other African territories, and the United States would be treated coolly.	354	476
June 1	<i>Memorandum by Ambassador Ritter</i> Discusses the greater economic sphere which he envisages as including some 200,000,000 people; the future exports of Germany which he believes would be greatly increased; the colonial empire in Africa which he estimates could produce all of the requirements for Germany for tropical products; finally discusses the treatment of Ireland in the blockade of Britain and recommends that she be excluded from such blockade.	367	496
June 7	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> Discusses the responsibility for the economic relations of the occupied states. Denmark is treated as a foreign country with a government in existence, but Poland, Norway and the Netherlands are treated more like domestic territory, with foreign economic questions being handled through the German Foreign Ministry.	399	526
June 22	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Goring complains to Weizsäcker that Clodius was negotiating in Rome on division of Balkan products between Germany and Italy and that the Foreign Ministry had usurped the Field Marshal's authority in economic matters by calling a meeting on greater economic sphere policies.	530	683
June 22	<i>Memorandum by the Deputy Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> Clodius reports that he had arranged satisfactorily with the Italians for Rumanian petroleum transports to Italy to proceed so as not to interfere with similar transports to Germany and had also reached agreement on other Balkan economic questions of interest to both countries.	531	684

GREECE

1940 May 8	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> The Greek Minister feared that Germany planned to draw Greece into the war. Weizsäcker did not allay his anxiety, but laid the blame on Britain and France.	210	297
May 25	<i>The Director of the Political Department to the Legation in Greece</i> The Greek Minister has suggested to his Government the possibility of seeking German protection in order to avoid Italian occupation.	318	439

ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

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GREECE—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 June 4	<i>Memorandum for the Foreign Minister</i> Through Herr Deter, manager of the Rheinmetall-Borsig Company in Greece, Metaxas has asked that Germany keep Italy out of the Balkans and guarantee Greek territory. Woermann believes that a substantive answer should not be given.	384	514
June 6	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Political Department</i> Since Greece has already had Italian assurances, Woermann believes that the whole matter of a guarantee of Greek territory should be dropped.	395	524
June 8	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Political Department</i> Varying reports purporting to come from Deter lead Woermann to the conclusion that amateurish politics of this nature could only result in disaster.	403	533
June 14	<i>The Director of the Economic Policy Department to the Legation in Greece</i> Italy's entrance into the war requires Greece to sell her products exclusively to the Axis.	435	572

HUNGARY

1940 Apr. 2	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano said that the talks with Teleki indicated that Hungary would continue to seek to realize its revisionist claims by peaceful means.	40	67
Apr. 17	<i>The Hungarian Minister President to the Führer and Chancellor</i> Teleki proposes a conference among Germany, Italy, and Hungary so that the three countries might be prepared for every eventuality.	135	19
May 1	<i>The Legation in Yugoslavia to the Foreign Ministry</i> Clodius reports that the authorities in Hungary are agreed that her political and economic policies can be conducted only in close concert with the Axis. Such concessions as were made to the British were only to obtain essential raw materials.	182	256
Undated	<i>Unsigned Minute</i> The Hungarian official news agency has published a report that Germany has approached Hungary for permission for troop transit.	207	296
May 15	<i>The Minister in Hungary to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Deputy Foreign Minister of Hungary says that the decision to mobilize the Army was made so as to be ready should Germany request action.	250	348
May 18	<i>The Director of the Legal Department to the Foreign Ministry</i> The message from Hitler to Teleki pointed out the inadvisability of a three-power meeting at this time. The Italian Government agreed with the German view.	271	372

ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

HUNGARY—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 May 20	<i>The State Secretary to the Legation in Hungary</i> Forwards Hitler's letter to Teleki, and asks for the real reason behind Hungary's partial mobilization.	281	387
May 20	<i>The Hungarian Minister President to the Führer and Chancellor</i> Restates Hungary's revisionist claims, but reaffirms that in the common interest of Hungary and the Axis Powers his country will not force the issue, and will cooperate in all ways possible.	284	392
May 26	<i>The Minister in Hungary to the Foreign Ministry</i> Hungary is bringing the third and fourth army corps up to war strength, but only as a precaution. The Italian Minister has not been informed.	321	442
May 27	<i>The State Secretary to the Foreign Minister</i> Asks authorization for the Minister in Hungary to tell the Government there that Germany expects it to inform Italy of the mobilization of the two army corps.	325	444
June 4	<i>The State Secretary to the Legation in Hungary</i> Germany does not want to be made a partner with Hungary in acting mysteriously with respect to Italy.	385	516

ICELAND AND GREENLAND

1940 Apr. 23	<i>The Director of the Political Department to the Embassy in the United States</i> No German statement on the status of Danish possessions is intended.	157	224
Apr. 28	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Political Department</i> Advised the Minister of Iceland in Denmark that his country should not be allowed to fall under British influence.	178	251
May 9	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Reports American action respecting Greenland, including appointment of consuls.	216	307
May 10	<i>The State Secretary to the Legation in Denmark</i> The Danish Government is to be urged to issue a protest against the British occupation of Iceland, with mention of earlier British occupation of the Faroe Islands.	228	316
May 11	<i>The Legation in Denmark to the Foreign Ministry</i> Forwards news received from Danish Minister in Washington about American actions regarding Greenland. Reports that the Danish Foreign Minister is not pleased over the situation, and that the Soviet Chargé d'Affaires had expressed apprehensions over too strong American influence in Greenland.	235	327

ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

XXXI

IRAN

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 Mar. 19	<i>The Minister in Iran to the Foreign Ministry</i> Since Iran is preventing the war from spreading to the Middle East, everything possible should be done to accommodate the Shah with respect to the delivery of armaments.	3	17
May 19	<i>The Minister in Iran to the Foreign Ministry</i> A political report on the relations between the Soviet Union and Iran. The inevitable expansionism of the Soviet Union should be diverted into regions where it will not come into conflict with German and Italian objectives.	277	379

IRELAND

1940 Mar. 28	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Political Department</i> The Foreign Minister directs that Veessenmeyer deal with the matter of an Irish rebellion. Details are arranged for a meeting in Germany between Veessenmeyer and McCarthy.	18	36
May 21	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Political Department</i> The Irish Chargé d'Affaires expressed himself apologetically for de Valera's unfriendly speech, remarking that Ireland wished to maintain neutrality toward all Powers.	291	401
May 23	<i>The Minister in Eire to the Foreign Ministry</i> Feeling in Ireland for Germany has materially deteriorated since the march into Belgium and the Netherlands. Any German intervention in Ireland before a British attack would probably produce a reaction contrary to the aims sought.	310	422
May 24	<i>The Minister in Eire to the Foreign Ministry</i> Details of the arrest of the Irishman, Held, because of contacts with the German, Brandy, and the course proposed to be followed by the German Legation.	314	431
June 1	<i>The Director of the Political Department to the Legation in Eire</i> Brandy had been on exclusively anti-English missions, with activity against the Irish Government expressly forbidden.	361	490
June 15	<i>The Director of the Political Department to the Legation in Eire</i> With respect to the Held trial, Hempel is to say to the Irish Government that since Britain is the major enemy of both nations, Germany counted on the greatest possible understanding by Ireland despite her neutral attitude.	437	573
June 17	<i>The Minister in Eire to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Irish Government also favors caution in handling the Held affair, and understands the German position in the war against Britain.	473	601

IRELAND—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 June 21	<i>The Minister in Eire to the Foreign Ministry</i> Discussion with de Valera of Ireland's foreign policy. Determination to maintain neutrality has been strengthened by the Held affair which has caused a growing distrust of Germany to match the always present distrust of Britain.	506	637

ITALY

1940 Mar. [18]	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Foreign Minister's Secretariat</i> In a meeting at the Brenner, Hitler briefs Mussolini on the war situation and the plans for an offensive in the west. Mussolini claims that he will be prepared for military intervention in from 3 to 4 months but points out that financial limitations will prevent Italy from sustaining a protracted war effort. In case the German offensive in the west is successful, Mussolini will intervene immediately to hasten the end; otherwise he will wait.	1	1
Mar. 21	<i>Circular of the Foreign Minister</i> The Missions are instructed, in discussing the Brenner meeting between Hitler and Mussolini, to avoid speculation regarding a joint peace offensive and to emphasize Germany's determination to pursue war to a victorious end.	9	26
Mar. 21	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Instructs the Ambassador to inform the Soviet Government of the substance of the conversation at the Brenner between Hitler and Mussolini, stressing the identity of views and the belief that no differences exist between Germany, Soviet Union, and Italy.	7	21
Apr. 1	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Reports that he discussed Italian-Soviet relations with Ciano, outlining the impressions that Schulenburg had received from Molotov. Ciano was inclined to temporize.	34	62
Apr. 7	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Ambassador in Italy</i> Instructs the Ambassador to inform Ciano and Mussolini, early on morning of April 9, of German action against Denmark and Norway planned for that date.	56	96
Apr. 8	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Political Department</i> The Counselor of the Italian Embassy requests that his Embassy be kept informed on events in Norway.	64	102
Apr. 9	<i>Adolf Hitler to Benito Mussolini</i> Hitler informs Mussolini of German operations against Norway and Denmark which began that morning, describing the measure as designed to prevent the British from gaining a foothold in Scandinavia, and assures Mussolini that this operation would have no effect on decisions about which he had been informed at the Brenner conference.	68	104

ITALY—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 Apr. 9	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> On receiving Hitler's letter, Mussolini gave his unqualified approval to the German attack on Norway, remarking that he expected great strategic results against Britain.	69	105
Apr. 10	<i>Adolf Hitler to Benito Mussolini</i> Hitler reports on the progress of German operations in Scandinavia which came right in the middle of British preparations for a landing on the Norwegian coast. An occupation of Scandinavia by Anglo-French forces would have been awkward for Germany in her future conduct of the war and would have diverted manpower from the decisive battlefield.	82	120
Apr. 10	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano called the German military achievements greater than Napoleon's, and described the position of the Western Powers as pathetic; he had refused to receive a special emissary from France.	84	125
Apr. 11	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Mussolini was enthusiastic over Hitler's letter; he described the Norwegian action as a master stroke which while employing only a fraction of the German forces would expose the entire English east coast.	86	127
Apr. 11	<i>Benito Mussolini to Adolf Hitler</i> Italy recognizes that her intervention in the war is unavoidable but would like further delay to complete preparations; it remains in the interest of the Axis to keep the Balkans out of the war.	92	131
Apr. 11	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Foreign Minister's Secretariat</i> Hitler told Attolico that the danger of British counteraction in Norway was past; the Norwegian Government had not been reasonable, but German power in Norway was secure in any case; he did not expect Rumania to cause trouble in the Balkans.	93	132
Apr. 18	<i>Adolf Hitler to Benito Mussolini</i> Hitler thanks Mussolini for comprehending the necessity for Germany's action in Scandinavia in view of Britain's plans, with Norway's complicity, to cut off Germany's mineral supplies; Germany's military successes since April 9 are such "as not even the most fervent fantasy would have dared expect"; Hitler agrees that it is better to keep the war far from the Balkan region if possible.	138	200
Undated	<i>Unsigned Memorandum</i> A memorandum which Hitler gave Mackensen for Mussolini states that Germany will take a position on Hungary's proposal for a German-Italian-Hungarian conference only if Italy agrees to it, "and is perhaps prepared to share in the consequences whatever they may be". Germany feels that official discussions of this kind between the three countries would only "give sustenance to rumors of alleged German intentions in the Balkans."	164	232

ITALY—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 Apr. 25	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Mussolini agreed that it would be best to reject a conference with Hungary to consider her aspirations; he recognized the importance of Hitler's statement that there would be no objection to action by Italy to improve her strategic position as Germany had done in Denmark and Norway.	165	234
Apr. 26	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Reports that he will transmit the text of a letter from Reynaud to Mussolini and Mussolini's reply, made available by Ciano.	167	237
Apr. 26	<i>Adolf Hitler to Benito Mussolini</i> Documents captured in Norway prove that the British had intended to occupy the country; their troops are now on the run, and in 30 days their losses will greatly exceed Germany's.	168	237
Apr. 26	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Rumors which have been circulating that Ciano is pro-British and that there have been differences between him and Mussolini are without foundation; Mussolini is firm for the Axis and only his view counts.	170	243
Apr. 27	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Transmits the text of Reynaud's letter to Mussolini, which is in the form of an appeal that Italy and France attempt to restore, even at the late date, their historic friendship and avoid war.	172	246
Apr. 27	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Transmits Mussolini's reply to Reynaud. Mussolini reaffirms his alliance with Hitler and rejects the possibility of a meeting with Reynaud.	173	247
Apr. 30	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano stated that Attolico had not been told the real reason for his recall from Berlin; he will be given the Vatican post to forestall his becoming associated with the group of disgruntled Italian diplomats who are a center of intrigue against the Axis policy.	181	254
May 1	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Mackensen reports the information received from Ciano regarding the call of the American Ambassador on Mussolini to present President Roosevelt's message expressing hope that the conflict would not be extended; Ciano reported that Mussolini was annoyed at Roosevelt's message and had drafted a reply immediately.	185	261
May 2	<i>Benito Mussolini to Adolf Hitler</i> Mussolini adopted a "drastic tone" in replying to Roosevelt because his message was "threatening"; Italian public opinion is increasingly against the Western Powers; there will be 2 million Italians under arms by summer.	190	271
May 3	<i>Adolf Hitler to Benito Mussolini</i> In an account of the Norwegian campaign Hitler regrets the British withdrawal since greater losses could have been inflicted in a major engagement; he was much pleased with Mussolini's replies to Reynaud, Roosevelt, and the Pope.	192	275

ITALY—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 May 7	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Ambassador in Italy</i> Mackensen is instructed to inform Mussolini of German action against the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg not later than 6 a. m. of a date to be communicated to him verbally by a courier.	205	294
May 9	<i>Adolf Hitler to Benito Mussolini</i> The invasion of the Netherlands and Belgium, made necessary by British and French plans against the Ruhr, is already under way. Hitler promises to keep Mussolini informed of the progress of the offensive so that Mussolini can make what decisions he believes necessary.	212	299
May 10	<i>Benito Mussolini to Adolf Hitler</i> With the German attack launched in the west, Mussolini feels that time is pressing for Italy too; all Italian forces will be ready for action by the end of May.	232	321
May 13	<i>Adolf Hitler to Benito Mussolini</i> Hitler describes the attack on northern Netherlands; the necessary cover has been created for the further operations against the Dutch and Belgian coasts. The Luftwaffe has been successful in inflicting heavy losses on the British Navy.	239	333
May 14	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Mussolini was much impressed with Hitler's account of the winning of air superiority in the west, which would insure victory; Ciano spoke for the first time of an Italian entry into the war, possibly in 10 to 14 days.	242	338
May 16	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Mussolini refused to receive the American Ambassador for delivery of a Roosevelt message, which Mussolini described as a piece of Christian sentimentality and without significance.	255	354
May 18	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano had forwarded to Mussolini a goodwill message from Churchill. Churchill asserted that even if Britain were beaten on all continents she would win in the end with the help of the Americas. Mussolini had decided to send a brief reply to Roosevelt's message.	266	366
May 18	<i>Adolf Hitler to Benito Mussolini</i> In an account of the campaign in the west, Hitler asserts that the Dutch and Belgian forces are out of action, the British and French are in retreat; all fortified positions have been taken and Germany has won complete air supremacy.	272	374
May 19	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Political Department</i> The new Italian Ambassador, Alfieri, stated that Italy would soon enter the war; on leaving his Vatican post he had complained sharply to the Pope of the Church's attitude toward Germany; the Pope had promised that the Vatican press would take a more neutral line.	275	378

ITALY—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 May 19	<i>Benito Mussolini to Adolf Hitler</i> The Italian public is following the German successes with enthusiasm and in the conviction that Italy cannot stand aside much longer; Mussolini will send important news on this latter point in a few days.	276	379
May 25	<i>Adolf Hitler to Benito Mussolini</i> With only 60 weakened enemy divisions confronting 165 German divisions, victory in the west is only a question of time; the 2-day pause in the advance which allowed the escape of some enemy troops was justified so as to clear the roads and move up the infantry.	317	436
May 26	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Minister</i> Mussolini showed great enthusiasm over Hitler's latest account of the campaign in the west; he said he would have an important communication to make in his reply.	320	441
May 27	<i>The Embassy in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> By June 20 Italian forces in the Po Army, overseas, and on the Alpine front would be fully mobilized, the others 60 per cent mobilized; no action against Yugoslavia or Greece was planned.	323	443
May 27	<i>Memorandum by the Representative of the Foreign Ministry With the High Command of the Army</i> With regard to apprehensions lest possible Italian operations against Yugoslavia lead to Soviet intervention in Bessarabia, it is reported that General von Brauchitsch had told Ribbentrop that the latter should personally see to it that Italy does not create chaos in the Balkans.	328	446
May 29	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Minister</i> Ciano rejected an American suggestion regarding possibility of securing British and French concessions in exchange for Italy's neutrality.	339	460
May 29	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> The French Ambassador told Ciano that Italy could fulfill all her aspirations against France, except for Corsica, if she remained out of the war; Ciano replied that the offer came too late.	340	462
May 29	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano assured the Yugoslav Minister that Italy had no intentions against Yugoslavia; she would enter the war "through the front door."	341	463
May 29	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano told the British Ambassador that Italy had broken off negotiations concerning British blockade measures because she now wished to deal with this matter "by other means."	342	463
May 29	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano expressed his desire that Italy enter the war at the earliest possible date, and complained that the military were never ready; Mackensen warned that at the pace with which events were moving it could suddenly be too late.	343	464

ITALY—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 May 30	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Mussolini's letter to Hitler announcing Italy's decision to enter the war is en route; Ciano's remarks indicate that the Italian attack will be directed mainly against France, not against British territory.	350	472
May 30	<i>Benito Mussolini to Adolf Hitler</i> Mussolini informs Hitler he is ready to enter the war June 5, but will delay some days if Hitler wishes; he will issue a declaration intended to preserve peace in the Balkan area.	356	483
May 31	<i>Adolf Hitler to Benito Mussolini</i> Welcoming Italy's entry into the war, Hitler promises completion of the action in the Low Countries and northern France in 2 days; he would like Italy to delay up to 3 days to permit Germany to complete destruction of the French Air Force in its present bases.	357	484
June 1	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Mussolini understands the reasons for Hitler's desire that the Italian war entry be delayed a few days; he confirms that there will be no action against Greece and Yugoslavia.	360	489
June 1	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano said another Roosevelt message had warned of a doubling of American aid to the powers which might be attacked by Italy; Mussolini thought this aid trivial and would not be influenced.	363	492
June 1	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano says the King approves the decision to enter the war; Ciano said a formal declaration of war would be made since there would be no military advantage in a surprise action.	366	495
June 2	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in Italy</i> Hitler wishes to withdraw his request that the Italian entry into the war be delayed; he will leave the decision to Mussolini entirely, but the original date of June 5 would be quite agreeable.	370	502
June 2	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Despite Hitler's readiness to agree to an earlier date Mussolini will delay Italy's entry into the war a few days longer to make additional troop dispositions in Libya; he does not wish to risk reverses there which enemy propaganda would exploit.	371	503
June 2	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> The date for Italy's war declaration will be June 10 with hostilities to begin on the 11th.	372	504
June 2	<i>Benito Mussolini to Adolf Hitler</i> Mussolini states that no action will be taken against the Balkans, Greece, or Turkey, and asks to send Italian troops to fight alongside the Germans to demonstrate their comradeship-in-arms.	373	505
June 3	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in Italy</i> Mussolini is to be told that Hitler is in full agreement with the plans outlined in Mussolini's last letter.	374	506

ITALY—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 June 5	<i>The Embassy in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Marshal Badoglio told the German Military Attaché that not a great deal could be expected from the Italian forces since the Army and Air Force were not ready; he hoped the war would be over quickly.	387	518
June 9	<i>Adolf Hitler to Benito Mussolini</i> Hitler welcomes a contingent of Italian troops, and will send a contingent of Germans in return; the French Air Force is destroyed and the French front will collapse in a few days; the Narvik action has been won by an unusual display of German military spirit.	406	535
June 10	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Mussolini feels that Italy is well prepared for her entry into the war, but she lacks the materiel to arm all her potential manpower; the Spanish war had been very costly in this respect; he would like to send a delegation to Germany to discuss mutual aid.	408	540
June 10	<i>Adolf Hitler to Benito Mussolini</i> Hitler thanks Mussolini for the Italian declaration of war against Great Britain and France.	410	542
June 12	<i>Memorandum by the Deputy Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> Clodius recommends that a delegation go to Rome to discuss Italian requests for war material and economic aid; Hitler has ordered that a reserved attitude be taken; the requests can be met only in part but are more reasonable than those of August, 1939.	420	556
June 13	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> A letter from Mussolini reporting the first British air attacks on northern Italy proposes that Germany provide 50 flak batteries in exchange for which Italy would send a motorized division to Germany; compensation is also promised for the raw materials Italy needs.	421	557
June 18	<i>Unsigned Memorandum</i> Conversation between Hitler and Mussolini on details of the armistice with France. Importance of dealing with a French government on French territory and preventing the escape of the French fleet was stressed.	479	608
June 18	<i>Fifth Secret Protocol</i> A revised protocol on economic cooperation provides for increased deliveries of iron, steel, and chemicals by Germany to Italy in return for increased deliveries of certain raw materials by Italy to Germany.	480	611

LATIN AMERICA

1940 May 3	<i>The Ambassador in Argentina to the Foreign Ministry</i> Reports that Argentine neutrality policy, strictly impartial at the outset of the conflict, has now developed into a policy of sympathy for Germany's opponents.	194	278
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XXXIX

LATIN AMERICA—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 May 4	<i>The Embassy in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> According to intelligence reports, Mexico would be willing to give secret support to Germany, since a German victory would strengthen Mexico as against the United States.	196	282
May 7	<i>The Ambassador in Argentina to the Foreign Ministry</i> The German Ambassador rejected Argentine complaints over German propaganda and protested for his part against the "fifth column" charge made against the German element.	203	292
May 14	<i>The Minister in Uruguay to the Foreign Ministry</i> Foreign Minister Guani is friendly toward Germany and is resisting the movement toward a common anti-German policy on the part of the American Republics.	241	336
May 14	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Weizsäcker told the Argentine Ambassador that certain actions and utterances of the Argentine Government seemed to indicate a change from neutrality to nonbelligerency.	247	344
May 15	<i>The State Secretary to the Embassies in Chile and Brazil and the Legation in Mexico</i> Uruguay has taken the initiative in organizing a collective protest of the American Republics against the invasion of the Low Countries; this ought to be prevented by German steps with the Governments of all these countries.	251	348
May 16	<i>The State Secretary to the Embassies in Chile and Brazil and the Legation in Mexico</i> The Missions are to protest the action of the Latin American States on the occasion of the German invasion of the Low Countries; such a démarche is an unfriendly act, instigated by the United States Government.	256	355
May 18	<i>The Ambassador in Argentina to the Foreign Ministry</i> In view of the nervous mood of public opinion in South America, it is suggested that the German Government issue a statement which would reassure the South Americans about German policy.	269	371
May 18	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Reports that the United States is ready to join in a protest by the American Republics against German violation of Low Countries' neutrality; but United States does not agree to changing from neutrality to a state of nonbelligerency.	270	371
May 21	<i>The Deputy Director of the Political Department to the Embassy in Chile</i> The Embassy in Chile is asked whether United States policy in Latin America could not be counteracted by emphasizing the possible conflicts between the United States and the countries of Latin America.	287	397

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LATIN AMERICA—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 May 22	<p><i>The Foreign Ministry to the Foreign Department of the High Command of the Wehrmacht</i></p> <p>In view of the war scare and "fifth column" hysteria prevailing in Latin America, the German armed forces ought to refrain from sabotage in Latin America and from naval actions within the 300-mile zone; the High Commands of the Army and Navy are asked to express an opinion on these matters.</p>	301	414
May 23	<p><i>The Ambassador in Chile to the Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>It would indeed be possible to drive a wedge between the United States and the Latin American countries by pointing to the exploitation by American capitalism and by using the Spanish propaganda literature against United States imperialism.</p>	304	416
May 23	<p><i>Circular of the State Secretary</i></p> <p>The Foreign Minister requests the Missions to be very reserved toward the Latin American Governments in view of the protest of these countries against German actions.</p>	307	419
June 1	<p><i>The Foreign Minister to the State Secretary</i></p> <p>The Argentine Government is to be told that Germany did not sink the <i>Uruguay</i> and that she therefore objects to the anti-German campaign in Argentina; the Embassy is instructed to induce Argentine papers to print that the anti-German elements in the country are in the pay of Britain and the United States.</p>	365	493
June 8	<p><i>The Ambassador in Argentina to the Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>British and French influence in Argentina is strong and therefore the German position there is difficult; it could be improved, however, by a discreet German policy reassuring Argentina that Germany has no hostile intentions and that the German organizations will not interfere in the internal politics of the country; the few pro-German publications ought to be kept going at almost any cost.</p>	401	529
June 10	<p><i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i></p> <p>The Argentine Ambassador requested the promise of an official German statement, regretting the sinking of the <i>Uruguay</i>; Weizsäcker did not admit German responsibility for the sinking.</p>	412	543
June 14	<p><i>The State Secretary to the Embassy in Argentina</i></p> <p>The Ambassador is authorized to spend up to half a million pesos to purchase Argentine goods capable of withstanding long periods of storage and for organizing a trading company to do business with Germany after the war.</p>	430	565
June 18	<p><i>The Ambassador in Brazil to the Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>To counteract a United States economic offensive in the form of large purchases from Brazil, it is suggested that Germany enter into definite commitments now to purchase Brazilian products after the war and to carry out a contract for delivery of a steel plant to Brazil.</p>	470	598

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XLI

LATIN AMERICA—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 June 18	<i>Memorandum by the Head of Political Division IX</i> It has been decided to put ample funds at the disposal of the Embassy in Argentina for financing propaganda activities, especially in the form of subsidies to pro-German newspapers; the acquisition by the Embassy of a radio station in Montevideo has been recommended.	482	614
June 18	<i>The High Command of the Wehrmacht to the Foreign Ministry</i> The OKW has put a ban on all sabotage activities in the United States and Latin America; with respect to German naval actions within the 300-mile zone, appropriate instructions have been given earlier to the German Navy.	483	616
June 19	<i>The Director of the Economic Policy Department to the Embassy in Brazil</i> The Embassy is authorized to promise the Brazilians that after the war Germany will buy large amounts of Brazilian products provided Brazil maintains her policy of neutrality.	498	630
June 20	<i>The Director of the Political Department to the Missions in Latin America</i> The Missions are instructed to take all possible steps to prevent the Havana Conference of American Foreign Ministers from giving effect to plans for use of interned belligerent ships in inter-American traffic.	501	632
June 21	<i>The Ambassador in Brazil to the Foreign Ministry</i> President Vargas expressed his dislike for the democracies and his sympathy for the authoritarian states; he desired immediate conclusion of economic agreements on future economic exchanges.	518	059
June 21	<i>The Ambassador in Argentina to the Foreign Ministry</i> A high official of the Argentine Foreign Ministry said that Argentina intended to stay neutral and to maintain friendly relations with Germany even though she could not refuse to attend the Havana Conference; a German promise to investigate the sinking of the <i>Uruguay</i> would help to preserve friendship between Germany and Argentina.	519	660
June 22	<i>The Ambassador in Argentina to Die Foreign Ministry</i> Reports the press coverage given to the proposed inter-American trade organization; post-war Argentine-German trade has been emphasized in recent official talks.	534	689

LUXEMBOURG

1940 May 9	<i>Memorandum of the German Government to the Government of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg</i> In order to anticipate an attack by England and France, Germany has been forced to extend her military operations to Luxembourg territory; she will not interfere with the territorial integrity or political independence of the Grand Duchy.	215	306
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LUXEMBOURG—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 May 10	<i>Minute by the Director of the Political Department</i> Circumstances of the presentation of the German memorandum to the Luxembourg Chargé d'Affaires.	218	309
May 10	<i>The Minister in Luxembourg to the Foreign Ministry</i> Since the Grand Duchess and all members of the Government had left, Radowitz presented the German memorandum to Secretary General Wehrer, who entered a protest against the violation of neutrality.	220	311
May 13	<i>Memorandum by an Official of Political Division I</i> Since the behavior of the Luxembourg armed forces has been correct, the High Command of the Army and the OKW believe that Germany should not consider herself at war with Luxembourg.	240	335
May 14	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Political Department</i> The German Legation's view that Luxembourg cannot be at war appears to be correct. When a Secretary of the American Embassy stated that the United States was taking over Luxembourg's interests, the Protocol Department replied that it could not make a definite answer on this. Woermann recommends that no action be taken which would bring about a state of war and that the Minister be allowed to remain in Luxembourg.	248	346
May 16	<i>The Foreign Minister to the State Secretary</i> As a result of the flight of the Government and the Grand Duchess, there is no recognized Luxembourg Government. The country should be treated as hostile, like occupied Netherlands rather than like occupied Denmark. However, no measures should be taken prejudicing the future disposition of Luxembourg.	257	356
May 17	<i>The Minister in Luxembourg to the Foreign Ministry</i> Luxembourg has been proclaimed an enemy country by the German Field Commander; the Wehrer Government will be recognized only as the representative of local authorities, not as the government of the state.	260	359
May 18	<i>The Minister in Luxembourg to the Foreign Ministry</i> Forwards a message from the Secretary General of the Luxembourg Government protesting the German communication according to which Luxembourg is regarded as an enemy country.	267	367

NETHERLANDS

1940 Mar. 19	<i>Minute by the Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> Despite repeated Dutch reversion to the matter, deliveries of anti-aircraft guns to the Netherlands have been stopped by direction of Hitler.	4	18
Mar. 26	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Ambassador Papen reports that the Netherlands Minister to Turkey has approached him with offers of mediation.	12	28

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NETHERLANDS—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 Apr. 13	<i>The Minister in the Netherlands to the Foreign Ministry</i> In a news interview the Netherlands Foreign Minister had declared the intention of the Netherlands to defend itself by arms against attack from any side.	101	149
Apr. 16	<i>The Minister in the Netherlands to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Netherlands Foreign Minister informed the German Minister of the discovery of military espionage activity on the part of Dr. Butting of the Legation staff. Butting admitted to Zech that the charges were true.	128	189
Apr. 17	<i>The Minister in the Netherlands to the Foreign Ministry</i> Since it would be undesirable to have another Legation member found engaged in espionage, Schulze-Bernett, an Abwehr agent attached to the Legation, had been warned to act accordingly.	133	194
May 6	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> A recommendation, agreed to by the OKW, for the release of thirty-three 2-cm. antiaircraft guns to the Netherlands.	201	289
May 8	<i>Memorandum by an Official of Political Division I</i> Reports that a German plane passed over Netherlands territory because of engine trouble and was shot at by Dutch planes. Hitler ordered that an immediate expression of regret for the violation of Netherlands territory be made to the Netherlands Government.	208	296
May 8	<i>Memorandum by an Official of Political Division I</i> Gives OKW intelligence reports of extensive defense measures being taken by the Netherlands.	209	297
May 10	<i>The Minister in the Netherlands to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Netherlands Government considers the nation at war with Germany because of the attack made on her.	222	312
May 10	<i>Note Verbale From the Netherlands Legation</i> Enters very energetic protest against the German invasion as completely unjustified and requests passports for the Legation staff.	224	314
May 15	<i>The Legation in the Netherlands to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Dutch forces are surrendering to the German troops; the Dutch High Command wishes to discuss measures for maintaining security, calm, and order.	249	347
May 19	<i>The Minister in the Netherlands to the Foreign Ministry</i> Public opinion in the Netherlands is strongly against the Government and Queen for leaving the country; also bitter against the Dutch National Socialists. Sentiment toward Germany is surprisingly favorable and skillful German military administration could secure the good will of the Netherlands for the coming generation.	274	378
May 20	<i>Führer's Directive</i> The power to issue orders in the Netherlands is to be divided between the Reichskommissar for occupied Netherlands territories and the Wehrmacht Commander in the Netherlands.	282	388

NETHERLANDS—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 May 21	<i>Memorandum by the Consul General at Amsterdam</i> Since at the conclusion of hostilities all the ministers, together with the Queen, had left the country, governmental authority had been vested in General Winkelman, Commander in Chief of the Army.	294	403
May 21	<i>Note by the Director of the Special Party Section of the Foreign Ministry</i> Transmits instructions of the Foreign Minister to the State Secretary regarding Foreign Ministry personnel in the Netherlands, Luxembourg, and Norway. Benzler is to be assigned to the staff of Reichskommissar Seyss-Inquart as representative of the Foreign Ministry, and Count Zech is to be recalled immediately to Berlin. Radowitz is to be recalled from Luxembourg.	295	404
May 25	<i>Unsigned Memorandum</i> In an interview on May 21 in The Hague, Mussert estimated his party's strength at 40,000 members and 200,000 sympathizers. His program called for creation of a Greater Netherlands in close political, economic, and cultural dependence on the Reich.	296	406
May 25	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Economic Policy Department</i> Discussion held on May 24 by German economic experts on the Netherlands. It was concluded that there were two possible ways of dealing with the Dutch economy; (1) keep it intact and in working order so far as possible, or (2) using up available supplies of raw materials and foodstuffs without regard to the future economy. It was agreed that the first alternative was preferable.	313	429
May 28	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Head of the Auslandsorganisation in the Foreign Ministry</i> The Foreign Minister approves Bohle's proposal that reprisals be undertaken in the Netherlands for internment of Germans in the Netherlands Indies and requests that the matter be taken up with the Reichskommissar at once.	333	154
May 28	<i>Führer's Directive</i> The new governmental organization in the Netherlands is to go into effect on May 29.	334	455
June 12	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> Conference of German economic experts on the Netherlands to hear and discuss a report by Wohlthat on the Netherlands economy.	419	553

NORWAY

1940 Mar. 28	<i>The Minister in Norway to the Foreign Ministry</i> British incursions in Norwegian territorial waters may be designed to provoke Germany. Aiding Norway in her desire to keep neutral, and thus alienating her from Britain, seems advisable.	17	35
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NORWAY—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940			
Apr. 2	<i>Führer's Directive</i> Order for the attack on Denmark and Norway.	39	66
Apr. 2	<i>The Chief of the High Command of the Wehrmacht to the Foreign Ministry</i> Forwards a number of documents and explanations on procedures to be followed in the occupation of Denmark and Norway.	42	68
Apr. 3	<i>The Chief of the High Command of the Wehrmacht to the Foreign Minister</i> Suggests means of coordinating the military and political aspects of the Scandinavian operation; the number of persons participating is to be restricted to the fewest possible.	43	72
Apr. 7	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Minister in Norway</i> Memoranda to be handed to the Norwegian Government, and detailed instructions for the action Minister Brauer is to take at the time of the invasion of Norway.	53	84
Apr. 8	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Political Department</i> British mines are being laid in Norwegian waters, and coercion is being used in the matter of chartering ships.	58	97
Apr. 8	<i>The Minister in Norway to the Foreign Ministry</i> Encloses the text of the Norwegian statement on Allied mine-laying in Norway's territorial waters. The situation is considered very grave.	60	99
Apr. 8	<i>Memorandum by an Official of Political Division I</i> Brauer is to take no action on his own responsibility with respect to the sinking of three German ships.	63	101
Apr. 9	<i>The Minister in Norway to the Foreign Ministry</i> Presentation of the German demands on Norway.	65	102
Apr. 9	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Legation in Norway</i> Describes the smooth course of the occupation in Denmark and instructs the Minister to advise the Norwegian Government that resistance is hopeless and calculated only to worsen Norway's situation.	67	103
Apr. 9	<i>The Minister in Norway to the Foreign Ministry</i> Reports directing a further appeal to the Norwegian Government to give up resistance and stating that Germany has no intention of affecting the independence of Norway or its territorial integrity. An appeal was also made to the Norwegian press.	71	107
Apr. 9	<i>The Chief of the High Command of the Wehrmacht to the Deputy of the Führer and the Higher Reich Authorities</i> Outlines for other German governmental authorities the position and functions of the Wehrmacht in the occupation of Denmark and Norway. It is to be active in the military field only.	76	112
Apr. 10	<i>Unsigned Memorandum</i> Minister Brauer refused the King's request that their meeting be held in the presence of a committee of four members of the Storting and that troops be withdrawn pending the meeting. Quisling reported to be encountering opposition in all quarters.	79	117

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NORWAY—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 Apr. 10	<i>The Minister in Norway to the Foreign Ministry</i> Report of conference with the King at Elverum. Brauer tried to convince the King of the folly of resistance and the necessity of accepting a Quisling government. The Norwegian decision was that no Quisling government would be accepted and that resistance would continue as long as possible.	83	123
Apr. 11	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Legal Department</i> Transmitted orders of the Foreign Minister to Brauer that the Norwegian ministries must be occupied and their archives secured. Brauer advised that the door be left open for further negotiations with the King.	88	128
Apr. 11	<i>Memorandum by the Director of the Legal Department</i> Brauer is instructed by the Foreign Minister to try to arrange another meeting with the King in order to offer the Norwegians a last chance for a reasonable settlement.	89	129
Apr. 11	<i>The Minister in Norway to the Foreign Ministry</i> The King and Koht hold that a Norwegian government under occupation would require the confidence of both Germany and Norway. Quisling does not have the confidence of his own country.	90	129
Apr. 11	<i>The Minister in Norway to the Foreign Ministry</i> Detailed report on the situation in Norway 48 hours after the invasion.	95	136
Apr. 13	<i>The Minister in Norway to the Foreign Ministry</i> Brauer reports that much of the opposition to Germany is really opposition to Quisling and that the question of support for a Quisling regime should be reconsidered.	98	142
Apr. 13	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Foreign Minister's Personal Staff</i> Record of a conversation between Director Hagelin and Hitler.	99	144
Apr. 13	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Legation in Norway</i> Habicht's independent mission to organize propaganda in Norway does not affect Brauer's position as Minister and Plenipotentiary of the Reich.	106	152
Apr. 13	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Foreign Minister's Personal Staff</i> Record of a conversation between Hitler and the Norwegian Minister.	107	152
Apr. 13	<i>Reichsamtseiter Scheidt to Minister Brauer</i> Scheidt fears that the staff of the Commander in Chief of the German troops is being prejudiced against Quisling's Nasjonal Samling Government.	110	158
Apr. 14	<i>Unsigned Memorandum</i> Brauer had called together the Supreme Court to form an administrative committee, the question being whether to form one with or without Quisling. He requests authority to take immediate action.	111	159

NORWAY—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 Apr. 14	<i>Unsigned Memorandum</i> Reports are received about contacts with the King by Paal Berg, President of the Supreme Court, and by Bishop Berggrav on the subject of organization of an administrative body.	112	160
Apr. 14	<i>Unsigned Memorandum</i> Brauer reports a conference with Berg, who was prepared to form a government council. This would not include Quisling who would, however, be given an office with duties connected with the winding-up of military affairs.	113	161
Apr. 14	<i>Memorandum by the President of the Norwegian Supreme Court</i> The Supreme Court has been consulted and approves the formation of an administrative council for the areas under German occupation, such a council to have nothing to do with foreign affairs.	114	162
Apr. 14	<i>Unsigned Memorandum</i> The Foreign Minister approves the proposals for the formation of the administrative council and the disposition of Quisling, emphasizing that Hitler is interested in having Quisling treated with respect and held in reserve for future use.	115	162
Apr. 15	<i>Unsigned Memorandum</i> Details of the negotiations leading to the resignation of Quisling as Minister President.	118	168
Apr. 15	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Legation in Norway</i> The King and Crown Prince must not be allowed to establish themselves in Norway as an opposition regime. If possible they should be seized.	119	172
Apr. 15	<i>The Minister in Norway to the Foreign Ministry</i> Reports installation of the Government Committee and the issuance of a proclamation on the change in government.	124	176
Apr. 16	<i>Unsigned Memorandum</i> There is to be no publicity at present on the matter of Quisling's place in the Norwegian Government. Brauer is to return to Berlin to report.	130	193
Apr. 16	<i>The State Secretary to the Consulates at Bergen, Kristiansand, Narvik, Stavanger, and Trondheim</i> While German-Norwegian relations have not developed as foreseen in the German memorandum there has been no declaration of war. The eventual relationship between Germany and the governmental authority in Norway has not been determined.	131	193
Apr. 17	<i>Memorandum by the Minister to Norway</i> Brauer's account, written in Berlin, of the considerations which led on April 13-15 to the replacement of the Quisling regime by the administrative committee.	134	195
Apr. 19	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in Norway to the Foreign Ministry</i> Executive power in occupied Norway given to the Commander of Group XXI.	143	209

NORWAY—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 Apr. 21	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Legation in Norway</i> Terboven will soon be named as Reichskommissar in charge of nonmilitary affairs in Norway, subordinate directly to Hitler.	147	214
Apr. 24	<i>Decree of the Führer Concerning the Exercise of Governmental Power in Norway, April 24, 1940</i> Text of the Führer's directive assigning the exercise of governmental powers in Norway to the "Reichskommissar for the Occupied Norwegian Territories."	162	230
May 1	<i>Vidkun Quisling to Adolf Hitler</i> Quisling outlines his proposed program looking to the eventual formation of a new government under his leadership.	186	263
May 1	<i>Vidkun Quisling to Stabsleiter Schickedanz</i> Quisling expresses his feeling of betrayal in being forced out of the Norwegian Government.	187	265
May 20	<i>Unsigned Note for the Führer and Chancellor</i> Complains that Scheidt's advice had been disregarded by Terboven and that Scheidt had been sent home from Norway. Such measures tend to discourage those Norwegians like the adherents of the Quisling movement who were favorable to the Pan-Germanic idea.	283	389
June 8	<i>The Minister in Sweden to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Swedish Foreign Ministry transmits the message that the Norwegian King and Government have fled the country and have ordered hostilities to cease.	400	528
June 9	<i>The Minister in Sweden to the Foreign Ministry</i> General von Falkenhorst orders that all resistance shall cease by 4 p. m., June 9, and that one Norwegian negotiator each is to be sent to Narvik and Trondheim.	405	535

RUMANIA

1940 Mar. 27	<i>The Director of the Economic Policy Department to the Legation in Rumania</i> In view of complaints that all possibilities of obtaining Rumanian petroleum for Germany were not being exploited, Ribbentrop requests a report immediately on the state of negotiations and decides to send two German officials to Bucharest to assist.	14	30
Mar. 29	<i>The Legation in Rumania to the Foreign Ministry</i> Clodius pointed out that the petroleum bottleneck was caused by inadequate provision of tank cars by Germany and not by shortage of deliveries on the Rumanian side. With the opening up of the Danube, the Rumanians would be obliged to redeem their pledge to force British and French companies to sell to Germany.	21	41

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RUMANIA—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 Mar. 29	<i>The Legation in Rumania to the Foreign Ministry</i> Neubacher, the Foreign Minister's Special Envoy in Bucharest in charge of petroleum negotiations, expresses resentment at unfounded criticisms made to Göring and other authorities.	23	44
Mar. 30	<i>The Legation in Rumania to the Foreign Ministry</i> Clodius reports the substance of a conversation with Rumanian Minister President Tatarescu in the course of which the Minister President undertook to meet Germany's desires for petroleum and agricultural produce in exchange for German help in arming Rumania and German influence in Rumania's favor with the Soviet Union.	27	49
Apr. 1	<i>The Legation in Rumania to the Foreign Ministry</i> Clodius reports that after a fortnight's negotiations with leading Rumanians he is of the opinion that, although French and British influences are strong and active, the fear of the Soviet Union, shared by the King and influential ministers, will enable Germany to safeguard her interests and successfully assert her vital needs especially in the petroleum question.	33	61
Apr. 1	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> The State Secretary had been asked by the Rumanian Minister for some assurance concerning a passage in a recent speech by Molotov referring to the question of Bessarabia.	35	63
Apr. 14	<i>Minister Killinger to the Foreign Minister</i> Since it can be assumed that the Rumanians will destroy the oil fields in case of a Russo-Rumanian war, it is in the German interest to keep Rumania out of war; to cope with ordinary sabotage attempts, shock troops of Volksdeutsche, armed and commanded by German officers, ought to be formed.	116	165
Apr. 15	<i>The Legation in Rumania to the Foreign Ministry</i> Clodius reports that King Carol has instructed his ministers to accept Germany's terms in the present economic negotiations; nevertheless Clodius told the Court Minister it might be necessary to ask for a control over Anglo-Rumanian trade if the increase in Rumanian exports to Britain should continue.	117	167
Apr. 22	<i>The Minister in Rumania to the Foreign Ministry</i> Rumania will not be forced by British economic measures into deviating from its economic agreement with Germany.	148	215
May 16	<i>The Minister in Rumania to the Foreign Ministry</i> King Carol promised the German Minister that Rumania would definitely deliver the full quota of petroleum to Germany and would take steps to alleviate transport difficulties. The King had requested restraint in the matter of propaganda as he did not wish polemics in Rumania between the belligerents.	252	349

RUMANIA—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 May 25	<p><i>The Minister in Rumania to the Foreign Ministry</i> The German Minister is informed by the Rumanian Court Minister that a detained member of the Iron Guard revealed during interrogation that he had been sent from Germany with orders to commit acts of violence in Rumania; smuggled arms had also been discovered. Gafencu took up the same topic with the Minister who denied German participation in the matter.</p>	316	433
May 28	<p><i>The Special Representative for Economic Questions at the Legation in Rumania to the Foreign Ministry</i> Neubacher reports conclusion of the pact for delivery of petroleum to Germany in exchange for German arms based on prewar prices for both items and including a large Rumanian credit to finance German purchases.</p>	338	459
May 29	<p><i>The Minister in Rumania to the Foreign Ministry</i> German military successes have increased Rumania's desire for closer relations with Germany; the Rumanian Minister President asked Germany to suggest ways of achieving even closer collaboration between the two countries, since Rumania did not really know the aims of German policy in southeastern Europe.</p>	345	466
May 29	<p><i>Minister Killinger to the Foreign Minister</i> The Chief of the political police of Rumania told Killinger that Rumania would destroy her oil fields if attacked either by the Soviet Union or by Germany; however he emphasized Rumania's desire for friendship with Germany.</p>	346	467
June 1	<p><i>The Foreign Minister to the Legation in Rumania</i> The Rumanian Minister President is to be told that concrete Rumanian suggestions for the pacification of the Balkans are the prerequisite of close German-Rumanian cooperation; the question is to what extent Rumania is willing to satisfy the revisionist demands of her neighbors, and precise proposals on that subject ought to be made.</p>	364	493
June 6	<p><i>The Minister in Rumania to the Foreign Ministry</i> The King's reaction to Ribbentrop's advice was favorable and a positive attitude toward revisionist demands is being considered; in spite of popular fears of Germany the authorities try to accommodate German wishes in various instances.</p>	393	522
June 14	<p><i>The Minister in Rumania to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Rumanian Foreign Minister said that the King was worried about German evasions on the subject of the Iron Guardists who were still in Germany; he urged that an official German reply be given soon.</p>	428	564
June 21	<p><i>The Minister in Rumania to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Rumanian answer to the communication from Ribbentrop, while stating Rumania's desire for collaboration with Germany and her readiness to negotiate with the Soviet Union, stressed that Rumania could not abandon Moldavia to Russia.</p>	515	656

ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

LI

RUMANIA—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 June 21	<p data-bbox="432 539 1034 584"><i>The Minister in Rumania to the Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p data-bbox="432 584 1034 752">The Rumanian Government affirms that collaboration with Germany is necessary in all fields and understands that its conversations with the Soviet Union to clarify Rumanian-Soviet relations will not impair future relations between Germany and Rumania. If Germany agrees, Rumania is ready to take necessary steps to realize German-Rumanian collaboration.</p>	516	657
SEA WARFARE			
1940 June 6	<p data-bbox="432 808 1034 853"><i>The High Command of the Navy to the Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p data-bbox="432 853 1034 965">Hitler has decided to intensify sea warfare in the areas around Great Britain and along the French coast, with an exception being made for Ireland. Neutrals are to be notified of the new policy.</p>	396	524
SLOVAKIA			
1940 Mar. 18	<p data-bbox="432 1021 1034 1066"><i>Minute by State Secretary Keppler</i></p> <p data-bbox="432 1066 1034 1133">Expresses belief that Tiso and Tuka are absolutely reliable, but that Durčanský must be closely watched.</p>	2	16
May 23	<p data-bbox="432 1133 1034 1178"><i>Memorandum by the Director of the Political Department</i></p> <p data-bbox="432 1178 1034 1245">In the last few days pro-German personalities such as Sano Mach have been removed from power in Slovakia. Steps should be taken to have them reinstated, and less reliable men, such as Durčanský, removed.</p>	309	420
May 28	<p data-bbox="432 1245 1034 1312"><i>Memorandum by an Official of the Foreign Minister's Secretariat</i></p> <p data-bbox="432 1312 1034 1402">The Foreign Minister requests that Minister President Tuka be advised not to take any action pending personal action to be taken by the Reich Foreign Minister.</p>	336	456
June 9	<p data-bbox="432 1402 1034 1447"><i>Memorandum by Minister Killinger</i></p> <p data-bbox="432 1447 1034 1514">A report summarizing the reasons why, in the German interest, Durčanský must disappear from the Government.</p>	407	537
SOUTH AFRICA			
1940 Mar. 29	<p data-bbox="432 1570 1034 1637"><i>Note for the Foreign Minister by an Official of the Dienststelle Ribbentrop</i></p> <p data-bbox="432 1637 1034 1715">Submits passages on a conversation with Dr. Malan extracted from the report by Hans Denk on his visit to South Africa.</p>	25	45

SPAIN

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 Apr. 16	<i>The Ambassador in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> Spain is afraid of being drawn into the war in view of her lack of preparedness; this fear of war is partly balanced by hope of gains which Spain as an ally of the Axis might expect in case of an Axis victory.	129	190
Apr. 26	<i>The Ambassador in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> It is rumored that the Allies offered Spain a guarantee of her territory and of her status as a neutral and that the Spanish Government rejected these overtures.	166	236
Apr. 26	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Economic Policy Department</i> In connection with extensive Spanish requests for German assistance to the Spanish Air Force and in building up an aircraft industry in Spain, Göring has agreed to the dispatch of a Spanish commission under General Barrón to discuss these matters as well as future cooperation between the two air forces.	169	240
May 10	<i>The Ambassador in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Spanish authorities expressed approval of the German action in Belgium and the Netherlands.	225	315
May 10	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Dienststelle Ribbentrop</i> Ribbentrop told Spanish representatives that, despite sympathy for Spain's plight, Germany had learned from experience that an economy to be effective must be constructed from within and not with outside credits. The Spanish Air Force Commission had been promised satisfaction of their wishes by Göring if guarantees were given that German equipment would not fall into enemy hands.	230	318
May 20	<i>The Ambassador in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Spanish Foreign Minister expressed hopes for a speedy end of the war; a long war would result in a United States intervention and might lead to great danger to Spain's position.	285	396
May 27	<i>Ambassador Stohrer to State Secretary Weizsäcker</i> High German circles are being incorrectly informed about German-Spanish relations; to present Spain as unfriendly toward Germany and kowtowing to Allies can only serve to discredit the German Foreign Ministry and the Embassy.	330	448
May 30	<i>The Ambassador in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Spanish Foreign Minister informed the German Ambassador of friendly gestures toward Spain by Britain and France.	352	474
June 3	<i>Francisco Franco to Adolf Hitler</i> Franco assures Hitler that Spain, viewing the war as her own struggle, rejoices over the recent German victories, but is forced to stay neutral due to her political and economic situation.	378	509
June 4	<i>The Ambassador in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> A Spanish propaganda campaign has set in, claiming Gibraltar, Tangier, and French Morocco.	380	511

ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

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SPAIN—Continued

Date	Subject	Doe. No.	Page
1940 June 10	<i>The Ambassador in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Spanish Minister of the Interior stated that there was no longer a necessity for Spain to enter the war automatically as soon as Italy had entered it; he denied that the British had offered Gibraltar to Spain.	409	542
June 13	<i>The Ambassador in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> Stohrer reports that with the entry of Italy into the war Spain has changed her status from neutrality to nonbelligerency.	423	560
June 14	<i>The Ambassador in Spain to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Spanish Government has decided to occupy Tangier to secure its neutrality.	429	565
June 16	<i>Unsigned Memorandum</i> Franco's envoy General Vigón explains to Hitler the reasons for Spain's present policy; Hitler promises support for Spanish claims on Gibraltar and also military assistance against a future landing of United States troops in Morocco; Spain's efforts to establish a "cultural empire" extending to Latin America are also in the German interest since they counteract "bad influences" from the United States.	456	585
June 17	<i>The Director of the Economic Policy Department to the Embassy in Spain</i> The attention of the Spanish Government should be drawn to the impending collapse of France and its effect on German-Spanish relations; it is assumed that Spain has discontinued delivery of strategic materials to the Allies.	476	605
June 19	<i>The State Secretary to the Foreign Minister</i> Gives the text of a Spanish memorandum concerning Spain's territorial demands and her conditions for entering the war.	488	620

SWEDEN

1940 Apr. 2	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> The Swedish Minister said that Sweden had no fear of violation of northern neutrality by Britain. He made it clear that this statement included Norway. In response to a question concerning German military concentrations near Stettin the State Secretary replied that he had no knowledge of military movements.	38	65
Apr. 4	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in Sweden to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Swedish Foreign Minister informed him that the Swedish Government had no reason to believe that any western action against Scandinavia was contemplated and had mentioned reports of heavy German concentrations near Stettin. The Chargé d'Affaires had received the impression that the Swedish Foreign Minister feared a possible German action in the north.	47	79

SWEDEN—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 Apr. 5	<i>The Legation in Sweden to the Foreign Ministry</i> The German Military Attaché in Stockholm reports Swedish anxiety about possible German preventive measures in Scandinavia owing to the announcement of intensified warfare by the Allies.	49	81
Apr. 7	<i>The State Secretary to the Legation in Sweden</i> Instructs the Legation to ascribe reports of German military designs in the Baltic to British propaganda.	52	83
Apr. 7	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Minister in Sweden</i> Instructed the Minister to tell the Swedish Foreign Minister at 6 a. m. on April 9 that the Germans were taking safety measures of a military nature to foil imminent Anglo-French action against Denmark and Norway. At 8 a. m. the Minister was to call again on the Foreign Minister and present a memorandum requesting Sweden to maintain neutrality, not to mobilize or deploy troops, to confine movements of Swedish warships to their own waters, to refrain from interference with German official communications passing through Sweden and to maintain ore deliveries to Germany. The Minister was instructed to report after each interview.	55	94
Apr. 8	<i>The Minister in Sweden to the Foreign Ministry</i> Reported that the Swedish Foreign Minister condemned in the strongest terms violation of Norway's neutrality by the Western Powers and, regarding information that strong German naval forces had already passed through the Sound going north, expressed the hope that Sweden would remain outside any contemplated German action.	61	100
Apr. 10	<i>The Minister in Sweden to the Foreign Ministry</i> Reported delivery of the German memorandum and note about the German action in Norway and Denmark; transmitted the text of the Swedish note in reply expressing the intention to adhere to a policy of neutrality.	78	116
Apr. 11	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> In an interview with the Swedish Minister the Foreign Minister complained of the attitude of the Swedish press and radio and said that Germany expected a friendly and accommodating attitude on the part of Sweden.	91	130
Apr. 13	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> State Secretary Kleinmann of the Transport Ministry stated that he had been instructed by Göring to undertake negotiations to permit transport of arms across Sweden to Trondheim and Narvik.	108	156
Apr. 16	<i>The Minister in Sweden to the Foreign Ministry</i> Foreign Minister Günther assured the German Minister that the Swedish Government was taking military measures for the defense of Swedish neutrality only. The Government would do everything it could to be agreeable politically and economically, including making ore shipments in accordance with agreements.	126	181

SWEDEN—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 Apr. 16	<p><i>Memorandum by an Official of the Foreign Minister's Secretariat</i></p> <p>Interview between Hitler and Vice Admiral Tamm, Commander in Chief of the Swedish Navy. Hitler charged Britain with responsibility for the war and for the German invasion of Scandinavia. The Admiral maintained that Sweden would defend her neutrality against any assailant, including England.</p>	127	182
Apr. 17	<p><i>The Legation in Sweden to the Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>The Military Attaché reports that a British attack in the direction of Kiruna would be met by the best Swedish troops and stubborn resistance could be expected.</p>	132	194
Apr. 19	<p><i>King Gustaf V of Sweden to Adolf Hitler</i></p> <p>Affirms the intention of Sweden to maintain strictest neutrality and to resist the violation of Swedish frontiers by any power.</p>	142	208
Apr. 22	<p><i>The Minister in Sweden to the Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>Wied informs Berlin of alleged attack by German aircraft on Swedish fishing boats and urges immediate investigation and statement to avoid impairment of Swedish-German relations.</p>	149	216
Apr. 22	<p><i>The Director of the Economic Policy Department to the Legation in Sweden</i></p> <p>Detailed directions are given on the course to be followed in case the question of military transit traffic is taken up through a confidential agent with access to the King. An indirect approach should be used, relating this question to other economic questions affecting Germany and Sweden, such as Baltic trade.</p>	150	216
Apr. 23	<p><i>The Minister in Sweden to the Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>Wied reports that the Swedish Foreign Minister informed him that shipments of the size of Narvik train of April 20 could not possibly be admitted as a regular thing by the Swedish Government, and, when it was charged that Sweden had let war material through to Finland during Russo-Finnish War, the Minister replied that no formal Swedish neutrality declaration had then been made.</p>	154	221
Apr. 24	<p><i>The Legation in Sweden to the Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>The confidential agent whom it was proposed to use in taking up the military transit traffic question with the King asked to be excused. The abandonment of this procedure is suggested.</p>	159	226
Apr. 24	<p><i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i></p> <p>In an interview with the Swedish Minister the Foreign Minister again made complaints against the Swedish press, though there was agreement that recent episodes need not be regarded too seriously. The Minister again affirmed the Swedish intent to preserve neutrality.</p>	160	227

SWEDEN—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 Apr. 24	<i>Adolf Hitler to King Gustof V of Sweden</i> Hitler acknowledges the King's pledge of strict neutrality by Sweden and reaffirms Germany's intention to respect Sweden's neutrality unconditionally. He deplors the attitude of the Swedish press and stresses the importance of new economic arrangements in the Baltic area.	161	228
Apr. 27	<i>The Legation in Sweden to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Swedish Government is anxious to receive arms shipments promised them; suggests making delivery contingent upon the transshipment of supplies and arms at the same time to Narvik or Trondheim.	171	244
Apr. 28	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Legation in Sweden</i> Instructions to seek permission from the Swedish Government for the wounded and shipwrecked to be sent out of Narvik by train. The transport of prisoners would also be desirable, though it probably would involve the question of internment.	179	252
Apr. 28	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Economic Policy Department</i> Swedish Foreign Minister Günther considered that Sweden was capable of defending herself against a British attack in the north and asked that in case of such an attack Sweden be allowed to conduct her own defense.	180	253
Apr. 30	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Legation in Sweden</i> The Swedish Government has agreed to allow railway transport of rations and medical supplies through Sweden to occupied Norway. Ribbentrop authorizes negotiators to promise compliance with Swedish desires as regards arms, within certain specified limits, in return for which Sweden must allow German supplies and arms to be transported to Narvik and Trondheim.	183	258
May 1	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Legation in Sweden</i> Instructs German negotiators to apply extreme pressure on Swedish War Minister in the transit traffic question. If no success is thus achieved there might be considered a personal meeting between Ribbentrop and the Swedish Foreign Minister to take place at some point along the Baltic coast of Germany and to cover the whole range of German-Swedish relations.	184	260
May 7	<i>The Minister in Sweden to the Foreign Ministry</i> Describes the conference between German and Swedish representatives at the Swedish Foreign Ministry on the subject of transit traffic. The Swedes emphasize their position of strict neutrality, and the Germans receive the impression that arms deliveries will not be sufficient to make them modify it.	202	290
May 17	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Presented to the Swedish Minister before his departure for Stockholm a German proposal for sending 3 trains of 30 to 40 cars to Narvik, containing artillery, munitions, clothing, and communications equipment in sealed cars. Said that refusal would have a bad effect on Hitler. Richert said he would try to have a reply by the following day.	259	357

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LVII

SWEDEN—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 May 18	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> The Swedish Minister reported his Government's refusal of the German request to permit the transit of munitions to Narvik, while granting consent for return of destroyer crews from Narvik through Sweden.	268	368
May 21	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Emphasizes that to ensure continuance of delivery of essential Swedish iron ore to Germany it is necessary that Germany fulfill all obligations for deliveries of war material to Sweden in accordance with agreements.	290	400
May 23	<i>The Minister in Sweden to the Foreign Ministry</i> Boheman, State Secretary in the Swedish Foreign Ministry, related a conversation with Churchill. Upon being asked about British interest in Narvik and intentions with regard to the Swedish ore fields, Churchill said Britain had no plans to attack them since if Sweden sided with Britain such a move would be unnecessary, while if Sweden sided against Britain it would be impossible.	306	418
May 29	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> The Swedish Minister, remarking that the Germans had sent some 300 "medical" personnel through Sweden to Narvik, requested that the Germans in future refrain from requesting passage for groups of medical personnel.	348	471
May 30	<i>The Minister in Sweden to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Swedish Foreign Minister expressed anxiety about the Narvik situation, which he regarded as the only one capable of disturbing German-Swedish relations, as on this point Sweden could not meet German requests for transit traffic in war material or passage of troops. Sweden would welcome neutralization of the Narvik area and it could be occupied by Swedish troops. Such a proposal had already been made to Britain.	351	473
June 1	<i>Minute by an Official of the Political Department</i> Agreement reached between German and Swedish Navies for blocking by a net the northern Sound exit against entrance of submarines.	368	502
June 4	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Describes an interview with the Swedish Minister on the proposal for Swedish occupation of northern Norway. Weizsäcker's attitude toward the plan was skeptical and he said he must consult the Foreign Minister.	386	517
June [13]	<i>The Chief of the High Command of the Wehrmacht to the Foreign Minister</i> A request that the Foreign Ministry renew efforts to secure Swedish permission for transport of arms and troops through Sweden.	427	563

SWEDEN—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 June 16	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> In a letter to Hitler, King Gustaf states that plans to depose the King of Norway and members of his house from the Norwegian throne would, if carried out, cause serious ill feeling throughout the northern regions; the King of Sweden requested Hitler to act with all possible moderation toward the King of Norway and the Norwegian people.	450	581
June 17	<i>The State Secretary to the Legation in Sweden</i> Informs that request for permission for transit traffic in arms and troops has been presented to Minister Richert, who is flying to Stockholm to get the answer of the Swedish Government.	466	596
June 19	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> The Swedish Minister reported his Government's favorable reply on the arms and troop transit traffic question, requesting advance notice so that provision could be made for routes and means of transport.	486	619
June 22	<i>Memorandum by the State Secretary</i> Richert is informed by Weizsäcker that the Swedish agreement to a transit arrangement had been gratefully received. Conversations concerning transit of German military personnel could begin in Stockholm. Economic negotiations would not be merged with these talks.	528	681

SWITZERLAND

1940 Apr. 22	<i>The Minister in Switzerland to the Foreign Ministry</i> Reports extensive Swiss preparations for war in case of attack, and the existence of a general spy scare and fear of German Quisling and fifth column methods.	153	219
May 2	<i>Memorandum by the Foreign Minister</i> Informs Swiss Minister that if continued recognition is given the Polish Government in exile the German Minister will be withdrawn from Bern. Ribbentrop also demands a cessation of critical comment on Germany in the Swiss press.	189	270
May 25	<i>Memorandum by the Minister in Switzerland</i> Federal President Pilet-Golaz stated that foreign radio propaganda was to blame for the restlessness among the Swiss people. He said that Switzerland would not accept promises of help except those expressly asked at the moment at which Switzerland was attacked.	319	440
May 30	<i>Minute by Ambassador Ritter</i> Conversation with the Swiss Minister concerning economic negotiations.	329	446
May 28	<i>The Minister in Switzerland to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Swiss Government has attempted to calm the population among whom there have been signs of panic over a possible impending German attack.	337	457

ANALYTICAL LIST OF DOCUMENTS

LIX

SWITZERLAND—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 June 3	<i>Minute by Ambassador Ritter</i> Discussion with the Swiss Minister of German-Swiss economic negotiations in which the Minister complained of threatening remarks by members of the German delegation.	377	508

TURKEY

1940 Mar. 24	<i>The State Secretary to the Embassy in Turkey</i> The best way to prevent Turkey from entering the war on the side of the Western Powers is to keep her in fear of the Soviet Union. A rapprochement between the two countries is therefore not to be encouraged.	10	27
Mar. 30	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Economic Policy Department</i> Wiehl informed the Turkish Ambassador that the economic negotiations in Ankara were not proceeding satisfactorily because of Turkey's vacillating methods of negotiating.	30	55
Apr. 18	<i>The Ambassador in Turkey to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Turkish Ambassador to Germany emphasized President İnönü's determination to uphold the Montreux Convention as long as the Great Powers did not change their attitude.	137	199
May 6	<i>The Ambassador in Turkey to the Foreign Ministry</i> Should Italy enter the war, Turkey would not fight so long as peace was maintained in the Balkans and the Black Sea; the Soviet Ambassador thinks that Turkish efforts to maintain neutrality ought to be encouraged.	200	288
May 14	<i>The Director of the Political Department to the Embassy in Italy</i> An opinion is requested on Papen's suggestion that Italy reassure Turkey of her intentions in order to counteract Allied attempts to draw Turkey into the war under terms of the Anglo-French-Turkish Treaty.	244	341
May 14	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Mackensen believes that Italy will not relinquish any of her freedom of movement by giving assurances to Turkey.	245	341
May 17	<i>Memorandum by the Deputy Director of the Economic Policy Department</i> The economic negotiations with Turkey will be concluded very soon if Germany commits herself to deliveries of some war material; therefore it is suggested that limited quantities of such deliveries be promised to the Turks for 1941.	264	363
May 17	<i>The Ambassador in Turkey to the Foreign Ministry</i> In a political report Papen elaborated his thesis that it is of utmost importance to keep Turkey out of the war.	265	364

TURKEY—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 May 27	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> A reliable source indicates that Italy has no intention of attacking Turkey, despite her reluctance to give assurances to that effect.	324	443
June 3	<i>The Ambassador in Turkey to the Foreign Ministry</i> In an audience with President İnönü on the course of the economic negotiations Papen emphasized the necessity for Turkey to revise her relations with Germany in view of the new order in Europe following cessation of hostilities.	375	506
June 4	<i>The Ambassador in Turkey to the Foreign Ministry</i> Papen told the Turkish Deputy Foreign Minister that if Turkey broke relations with Italy it would lead to war; to the Italian Ambassador he pointed out the dangers of keeping Turkey in the dark as to Italy's intentions until her entry into the war.	383	513
June 13	<i>The Ambassador in Turkey to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Turkish Council of Ministers has decided not to enter the war despite Italy's entry; an economic treaty has been signed which does not provide for chromium deliveries.	424	560
June 14	<i>The Ambassador in Turkey to the Foreign Ministry</i> Forwards a statement of the Turkish Government declaring its intention to maintain its neutrality.	431	566
June 14	<i>The Ambassador in Turkey to the Foreign Ministry</i> Details of the negotiations leading to the exchange of notes on the trade agreement between Germany and Turkey.	434	568
June 17	<i>The Ambassador in Turkey to the Foreign Ministry</i> Although the Turkish Government made no official statement on the nonfulfillment of the alliance treaty with the Western Allies, the general feeling is that the defeat of France has canceled the alliance obligation.	464	595

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

1940 Mar. 21	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Instructs the Ambassador to suggest to Molotov the reestablishment of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Italy by filling their respective ambassadorial posts in Moscow and Rome, and offers to make the same suggestion to the Italians if Molotov agrees.	6	20
Mar. 26	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Reports compliance with instructions of March 21, and suggests that in view of Molotov's attitude a few friendly articles about the Soviet Union in the Italian press would have a good effect.	11	28

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LXI

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 Mar. 28	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Ribbentrop informs Schulenburg of the desirability of having Molotov and Stalin visit Berlin, and instructs him to issue invitations in the near future.	20	40
Mar. 30	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Schulenburg believes that Molotov will visit Berlin as soon as the time seems propitious to the Soviet Government but that chances of acceptance at the present time seem slight.	28	53
Apr. 1	<i>Memorandum by an Official of the Four Year Plan</i> At a meeting to consider the handling of business transactions with the Soviet Union Goring recognized the vital importance of Russian raw materials to the German economy and announced the strengthening of the committee established for conduct of the transactions so that it might deal with Soviet complaints.	32	59
Apr. 6	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Japan's practice of informing the British of every cargo leaving for Vladivostok or Dairen was making it difficult for the Soviet Government to purchase raw materials for Germany.	50	81
Apr. 6	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Mikoyan promised the resumption of grain and oil deliveries before the end of the month on condition that an appreciable part of the German coal consignments promised for April had been delivered by then.	51	82
Apr. 7	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Ambassador in the Soviet Union</i> Schulenburg is instructed to give Molotov on April 9 a copy of the memorandum to be presented in Oslo and Copenhagen, emphasizing orally the reliable reports received of an imminent Anglo-French thrust against the Norwegian and Danish coasts.	54	93
Apr. 9	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov stated that stoppage of oil and grain shipments was due to "overzealousness" of the Soviet export organization, which believed itself justified as German deliveries were in arrears. Following assurances from Goring the Soviet Government decided to resume deliveries.	70	106
Apr. 9	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov declared that the Soviet Government understood the measures which were forced on Germany and wished her "complete success in her defensive measures" against Denmark and Norway.	73	108
Apr. [9]	<i>Ambassador Ritter to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Ritter makes special reference to the political and economic principles underlying the economic negotiations, affirms that Germany has been fulfilling her obligations, and expresses astonishment at the Soviet complaints and makes countercharges of Soviet non-compliance.	75	110

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 Apr. 10	<i>An Official of the Economic Policy Department to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Although latest word from Moscow shows Soviet intention to resume deliveries, nevertheless make use of arguments contained in previous instructions in next conference with Mikoyan and Molotov. Stress that Germany must be able to count on continuity of Soviet deliveries and that heavier deliveries should be made in the most favorable transportation season.	85	126
Apr. 11	<i>Ambassador Schulenburg to State Secretary Weizsäcker</i> The previously aloof and somewhat unfriendly attitude of the Soviet Government toward Germany which could apparently be ascribed to fear of a break with the Western Powers, underwent a sudden change when the German operation against Norway started.	94	134
Apr. 13	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov declares that the preservation of Sweden's neutrality is in the interests both of Germany and of the Soviet Union.	104	151
Apr. [13]	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov asked the Germans to consider selling the Soviet Union a number of magnetic mines without necessarily disclosing the secret of their construction.	105	151
Apr. 13	<i>Minute by Ambassador Ritter</i> Notes information about a conference on April 12 between Göring and People's Commissar Tevossyan who had just received new instructions from Stalin who said he was encouraged by the assurances received from Göring and hoped close relations between Germany and the Soviet Union could be preserved for a long time.	109	157
Apr. 15	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Schulenburg is to inform Molotov that Germany is determined to respect Swedish neutrality.	120	173
Apr. 21	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Germany can not provide magnetic mines desired by the Soviet Government for defense against a British attack on Murmansk or in the Black Sea as all efforts are being devoted to the war against Britain and France.	146	213
Apr. 23	<i>The State Secretary to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Because of more frequent reports of Anglo-Soviet economic negotiations, Schulenburg is instructed to take up the matter with Molotov, discounting the reports as enemy propaganda, but expressing Germany's disappointment that the Soviet promise to purchase raw materials for Germany in third countries has so far had no practical results.	156	222
Apr. 27	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov declared that the initiative in the economic talks had come from Britain, and that the Soviet Union would promise only that purchases she made in Britain were for her own needs only.	174	248

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UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 Apr. 27	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov said that the Soviet failure to secure raw materials for Germany abroad was not due to lack of good will but to conditions in the Far East which made it impossible.	175	249
Apr. 28	<i>The Director of the Legal Department to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Inquires whether anything more has been heard from the Soviets in regard to Schulenburg's approach to Molotov on March 26 concerning the possibility of improving Soviet-Italian relations and suggests taking the matter up again with Molotov.	177	251
May 7	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Ambassador in the Soviet Union</i> On May 10, Molotov is to be notified of the invasion of Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg.	204	293
May 10	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Upon receiving the news of the invasion Molotov said he understood the German action and had no doubt of its success.	226	316
May 10	<i>Ambassador Ritter to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> In order to bring the petroleum agreement to a conclusion, Germany is ready to compromise on the prices of oil, coal, and the cruiser <i>ex-Lützow</i> . The coal and oil rates would be for the current year only, and the three points must be taken as a unified whole.	229	317
May 12	<i>Ambassador Ritter to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Lists at length difficulties and delays in dealings with Soviet trade representatives in Germany. Soviet deliveries of raw materials, including those from third countries, are also short. Schulenburg is instructed to discuss the matter with Molotov and say that fulfillment of the economic agreement is in danger.	238	331
May 17	<i>The Director of the Political Department to the Embassy in Italy</i> Ribbentrop wishes to know whether further German efforts to improve Soviet-Italian relations are indicated; Molotov had been cool to a first approach, remarking that there must be proof of an Italian desire to improve relations.	263	362
May 20	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Ciano informed the Ambassador that he would have to discuss with Mussolini the question of normalization of Italo-Soviet relations before further steps could be taken; he indicated that at least the Russians should request an agreement for an Ambassador as a first step since they had been the first to withdraw their Ambassador.	279	384
May 21	<i>The Embassy in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Soviet troop concentrations have been reliably reported along the Rumanian frontier and in south Russia.	286	396

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 May 22	<i>Memorandum by Ambassador Ritter</i> Because Soviet deliveries, especially of oil, are still unsatisfactory, Ritter proposes a mission to Moscow by himself, Schnurre, and Schlotterer. He also includes a draft for a letter from the Foreign Minister to Stalin complaining of deficiencies in oil and metal deliveries.	300	412
May 23	<i>Memorandum by an Official of Political Division I</i> The Rumanian Military Attaché had inquired at OKW about the German attitude toward the Soviet preparations for an attack on Rumania; OKW considering this a political matter is transmitting this request to the Foreign Ministry.	303	415
May 23	<i>The State Secretary to the Foreign Minister</i> In view of the news of Soviet military preparations on the Rumanian border, Weizsäcker suggests that Rumania be reassured, that Italy be consulted, and that Soviet Union be asked for an explanation.	308	419
May 26	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Schulenburg reports Molotov's denial of Soviet troop concentrations on the Rumanian frontier and a projected Soviet-Bulgarian military alliance. The German Ambassador adds that while doubtless Soviet reinforcements have been sent to South Russia, Crimea, and Caucasus such action appears only defensive for the moment.	322	442
May 28	<i>Minister Schnurre to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> The coal and petroleum treaties have been accepted in writing by the Germans and the Russians.	332	454
May 29	<i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i> Mussolini is willing to meet the German desire to normalize Italian-Soviet relations by having the Ambassadors return to their posts simultaneously and without fanfare.	344	465
May 29	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> There is no reason for alarm over Cripps' mission to Moscow in view of unchanged Soviet attitudes toward Britain and Germany, but any mission by Ritter should not be allowed to look like a race with Cripps.	347	470
May 30	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Molotov is to be informed that Mussolini is ready to have the Italian and Soviet Ambassadors return to their posts simultaneously; Schulenburg is to urge acceptance as a solution which saves face for both parties.	349	471
June 1	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov reacted negatively to the proposal to normalize Soviet-Italian relations on the ground that no evidence of Italian good will had been shown; only after repeated urgings did he consent to refer the matter to his Government.	359	488

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 June 4	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov has agreed that Italian and Soviet Ambassadors should return to their posts at once; the Soviet Union cannot provide oil for Italy, but trade relations may improve later in the wake of better political relations.	381	511
June 4	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov says that Mackensen told the Soviet Chargé d'Affaires in Rome that all Balkan problems would be solved without war, by joint action of Italy, the Soviet Union, and Germany. He wants to know if this is actually the view of Italy and Germany.	382	512
June 5	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Schulenburg is asked to elaborate more fully upon his impressions of how Molotov's inquiry concerning Balkan cooperation is to be taken. He is not to make further inquiries of Molotov, however.	388	519
June 6	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov had only asked for information about Mackensen's reported statement, but there is no doubt he would be pleased if this actually was the German and Italian attitude.	392	522
June 8	<i>The Foreign Ministry to the Representative of the German Foreign Ministry With the Reich Protector of Bohemia and Moravia</i> To prevent disturbance of Soviet-German relations, Ukrainian movements like that of Skoropadsky are not to carry on any political activities.	402	532
June 14	<i>The State Secretary to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Schulenburg is instructed to discuss tactfully with Molotov the hostile attitude of Madame Kollontay, Soviet Minister in Sweden, toward Germany.	432	566
June 16	<i>The Foreign Minister to the Embassy in the Soviet Union</i> Molotov is to be told that Mackensen's statement was not so definite as reported by the Soviet Chargé d'Affaires, and that he had added that a Balkan settlement could be more easily reached after the war. Germany and Italy were both on record as against war in the Balkans.	454	584
June 18	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> Molotov informed Schulenburg of the Soviet action in the Baltic States, and said he wished to end the intrigues by which Britain and France tried to cause discord between Germany and the Soviet Union.	471	599
June 20	<i>Memorandum by an Official of Political Division I M</i> OKW reports that information that Soviet troops have moved right up to the German frontier in the east has been confirmed.	504	636

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 June 22	<i>The Ambassador in the Soviet Union to the Foreign Ministry</i> In the course of an interview with Molotov regarding restoration of normal relations between Italy and the Soviet Union, the Italian Ambassador in Moscow was told by Molotov that the problem of Bessarabia was very acute and that a settlement could not be much longer delayed.	520	661

UNITED STATES

1940 Mar. 27	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Hertslet, a special agent of the OKW, reports to Reich Main Security Office that in the interest of the German war effort any confidential agents in the United States other than those engaged purely in gathering information should be withdrawn; Thomsen supports Hertslet's request.	13	30
Mar. 29	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Warns that reputable American journalists will not lend their names to propaganda articles and suggests other means of obtaining publication of articles presenting German viewpoint in American press.	22	43
Mar. 29	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Reports Roosevelt's press conference statement regarding Welles' journey. Roosevelt minimized as German propaganda publication of Polish Ambassador's conversation with Bullitt.	24	45
Mar. 30	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Thomsen reports wide interest in American press and radio in alleged Bullitt-Potocki interview and states that the average reader is so aware of President's interventionist policy that the accuracy of the reports is taken for granted despite denials.	26	48
Mar. 31	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Thomsen, making further report of the success achieved in the propaganda field through publication of documents captured from Poland, stresses that further follow-up action to be taken should not compromise the Embassy.	31	57
Apr. 3	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Forwards information received through a confidential agent concerning reports of American Ambassadors in London and Rome.	44	73

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UNITED STATES—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 Apr. 4	<i>The Embassy in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> The Military Attaché estimates that Allied aircraft deliveries from the United States will amount to 1250 bombers and 900 fighters during April-December 1940, and ascribes successful conclusion of negotiations regarding airplane deliveries to reasons of domestic policy and success of British propaganda.	45	73
Apr. 10	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Following the first shock to American opinion, which quickly condemned the German action in Scandinavia, the seriousness of these events for the Allied cause is being realized; Roosevelt will be strengthened and the isolationists weakened.	80	118
Apr. 12	<i>The Embassy in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Despite British propaganda, American military opinion continues to hold the view that the United States should enter the war only in case of a threat to the Western Hemisphere; in any case, incompleteness of military preparations and insecurity in the Pacific continue to be effective restraints.	96	139
Apr. 18	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Isolationists have failed to attack Hull's strong statement on preservation of the status quo in the Netherlands East Indies because raw materials, rubber, and tin, vital to the United States, are involved; pro-Allied circles hope Germany will identify herself with Japan's ambitions.	136	198
Apr. 19	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> The German action in Norway has increased anti-German feeling even among isolationists and the excited state of feeling assists the interventionists; but the election campaign, the Pacific situation, and lack of preparation still prevent American entry into the war.	139	206
Apr. 19	<i>The State Secretary to the Embassy in the United States</i> The reports of the Military Attaché appear to give an unwarrantedly favorable version of the American reaction to the German invasion of Scandinavia; the Chargé d'Affaires should indicate divergencies from his own views.	141	208
Apr. 20	<i>Memorandum by the Deputy Director of the Legal Department</i> Discusses the application of the Polish Food Commission, under the leadership of Herbert Hoover, to send 15 representatives to Poland to supervise food distribution there.	144	209
Apr. 24	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Negotiations conducted with the greatest caution have resulted in an agreement with an American publishing house to print the captured Polish documents.	158	225

UNITED STATES—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 Apr. 24	<p data-bbox="533 546 1107 591"><i>Counselor of Embassy Thomsen to State Secretary Weizsäcker</i></p> <p data-bbox="533 591 1107 725">Relations between the Chargé d'Affaires and the Military Attaché are delicate in view of the latter's higher rank, but Thomsen attempts to compensate in his own reports for General Bötticher's overestimate of the influence of the American General Staff on foreign policy.</p>	163	231
May 4	<p data-bbox="533 734 1107 779"><i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p data-bbox="533 779 1107 887">Every effort is being made to avoid compromising the Embassy in connection with the publication of the Polish documents; persons involved have been offered refuge in Germany in the event of action against them by the American authorities.</p>	195	281
May 4	<p data-bbox="533 896 1107 940"><i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p data-bbox="533 940 1107 1070">Various steps have been taken to spread the story of British intentions to widen the scope of the war, including contact with a well-known columnist and with isolationist Congressmen, rumors launched in the diplomatic corps, and a paid article in a well-known weekly news letter.</p>	197	283
May 11	<p data-bbox="533 1079 1107 1102"><i>The Embassy in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p data-bbox="533 1102 1107 1232">The Military Attaché reports that American reaction to the new German campaign in the Low Countries makes it clear that intervention in the event of a threat to Britain is an empty phrase; only a danger to the Western Hemisphere would provoke American action; concern over Japan continues to be a restraining factor.</p>	236	328
May 14	<p data-bbox="533 1240 1107 1285"><i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p data-bbox="533 1285 1107 1393">The attack on the Low Countries has greatly lowered Germany's moral credit in the United States, but no countermeasures are possible for Roosevelt because of the election campaign, the speed of German operations, and inadequate military preparations.</p>	243	339
May 16	<p data-bbox="533 1402 1107 1447"><i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p data-bbox="533 1447 1107 1581">Roosevelt is still obliged to base his plea for arms increases on an alleged threat to the Western Hemisphere; this latter idea is gaining credence in American opinion and a German declaration of disinterest in the colonial possessions of European States in the Western Hemisphere might have a wholesome effect.</p>	253	350
May 16	<p data-bbox="533 1590 1107 1612"><i>The Embassy in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p data-bbox="533 1612 1107 1742">The Military Attaché reports that the Roosevelt arms message to Congress alters nothing in the American military position; despite wishful propaganda designed to support the Allied cause, the United States would not have military preparation adequate for action outside the Americas before mid-1941.</p>	254	352

UNITED STATES—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 May 21	<p><i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>Assurances given previously by the Wehrmacht that no secret agents would be used in the United States have been proved false; attempts to train saboteurs and establish radio communication have been made; this should be stopped at once as the risk of discovery is great and the political damage, as in 1917, far outweighs the value of such efforts.</p>	289	398
May 21	<p><i>Memorandum by the Deputy Director of the Legal Department</i></p> <p>After conference with Hitler the Foreign Minister has given instructions that American attempts at relief work in Poland are to be discouraged as much as possible; the possibility that relief work would provide a cover for intelligence operations is the main reason for this decision.</p>	292	402
May 22	<p><i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>Further evidence on the activities of Wehrmacht agents indicates acts of sabotage have already been committed; this is the surest way to nullify the mission of the Embassy which is to keep the United States out of the war.</p>	299	410
May 23	<p><i>The Ambassador in Italy to the Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>It has been learned reliably that an exchange of messages between Roosevelt and Churchill dealt with the transfer of destroyers to Britain and other arms aid.</p>	305	417
May 24	<p><i>The Embassy in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>The Military Attaché notes that his view that the United States would not intervene to save Britain and France has been confirmed by events; sane American opinion, especially among the military, is coming to accept their defeat and this view is gaining influence; acts of sabotage or espionage by Germany would reverse this trend.</p>	311	424
June 1	<p><i>The State Secretary to the Embassy in the United States</i></p> <p>The German military authorities deny that they have given any orders for sabotage in the United States; the agent alleging to have such instructions is probably a provocateur.</p>	362	491
June 2	<p><i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>If it was not intended to give sabotage orders to the German agents, it remains to clarify who the alleged German officer is from whom they independently received such instructions.</p>	369	502
June 10	<p><i>The State Secretary to the Embassy in the United States</i></p> <p>One of the alleged agents has been identified under another cover name; he was not assigned for sabotage but had been active in the field of Communist anti-war propaganda; he should be sent back to Germany at once.</p>	411	543

UNITED STATES—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 June 11	<p><i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>A reliable informant reports that Roosevelt has told former Attorney General Cummings that every legal device would be used to send aid to the Allies despite the neutrality law, that the United States would arm for intervention and would continue to arm if Britain and France suffered an early defeat, and would fight immediately if Germany attacked in the Americas.</p>	413	547
June 12	<p><i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>A sum of \$3,000 has been provided a Republican Congressman to invite about 50 isolationist colleagues to the Republican Convention to make their influence felt there; he is also willing to form an anti-war committee if half of the \$60,000 to \$80,000 cost could be provided him.</p>	417	550
June 13	<p><i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>Approval is requested for the expenditure of \$20,000 for the publication of five pro-isolationist books by well-known American authors; they would counter the growing pro-Allied propaganda and prove useful in the election campaign.</p>	422	558
June 15	<p><i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i></p> <p>It is hoped that isolationist leaders will control the Republican Convention so that the party can become the party of peace in contrast to the Democrats; the Embassy is in close touch with the "Make Europe Pay War Debts Committee."</p>	441	575
June 16	<p><i>Memorandum by an Official of the Foreign Minister's Secretariat</i></p> <p>The Foreign Minister has approved the grant of funds recommended by the Washington Embassy for "literary countermeasures" against Allied propaganda in the United States.</p>	455	585
June 17	<p><i>The State Secretary to the Embassy in the United States</i></p> <p>The Embassy is instructed to spread the view that events have now shown the folly of the Roosevelt foreign policy; he has unnecessarily alienated Japan, the Axis, and the Soviet Union, and the states which he encouraged to a warlike policy now feel themselves left in the lurch.</p>	467	596
June 18	<p><i>The American Chargé d'Affaires in Germany to the Foreign Minister</i></p> <p>Taking note of the French request for an armistice the United States informs Germany that it would not acquiesce in the transfer of any territory in the Western Hemisphere from one non-American power to another non-American power.</p>	474	603

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UNITED STATES—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 June 18	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Because of the effectiveness of German information activity, anti-German circles have launched a campaign under cover of a "fifth column" panic against the consular representatives, particularly in New Orleans, Boston, and San Francisco.	475	603
June 19	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> The propaganda action utilizing the Polish documents has been successfully completed with the distribution of 50,000 copies to influential personalities; they were placed in the <i>Congressional Record</i> and a Senator will use them to attack Roosevelt's policy during the Republican Convention; the Embassy's role has been fully camouflaged.	492	624
June 19	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Full advantage will be taken of the Republican Convention to spread the view that the Roosevelt foreign policy has failed; close relations are maintained with Congressmen to insure the widest distribution of their speeches opposing intervention; these circles urge a separate peace with France as the most effective blow to Roosevelt's foreign policy.	493	625
June 20	<i>The Chargé d'Affaires in the United States to the Foreign Ministry</i> Two new OKW agents, one of them alleging to have orders to employ secret radio communication for transmission of intelligence, have arrived in the United States; if the OKW cannot dispense with this dangerous kind of activity, the agents should at least be instructed to stay away from the official German Missions.	505	636

YUGOSLAVIA

1940 Apr. 13	<i>The Minister in Yugoslavia to the Foreign Ministry</i> Prince Regent Paul professed admiration for Germany but also distrust of Germany's friends, Italy and the Soviet Union.	100	148
Apr. 19	<i>The Minister in Yugoslavia to the Foreign Ministry</i> Antagonism between Minister President Cvetković and former Minister President Stojadinović has become more noticeable since the latter's re-entry into the field of domestic politics. Questions of foreign policy are not at issue.	140	207
Apr. 27	<i>The Minister in Yugoslavia to the Foreign Ministry</i> Heeren protested to the Yugoslavian Foreign Minister the anti-German practices of the police and threatened German reprisals if the attitude of the police did not change.	176	250

YUGOSLAVIA—Continued

Date	Subject	Doc. No.	Page
1940 May 3	<i>The Legation in Bulgaria to the Foreign Ministry</i> Clodius reports that the Yugoslav authorities intend to preserve economic neutrality, but sympathies in the country are divided and Italy is held in great distrust.	191	272
May 12	<i>The Legation in Yugoslavia to the Foreign Ministry</i> Reports signing of a secret protocol concerning metal and ore deliveries.	237	330
May 17	<i>The Deputy Director of the Legal Department to the Legation in Yugoslavia</i> There is no objection to the return to the Reich of individual German citizens from Yugoslavia as long as it is done inconspicuously, and will not give the impression of a war panic.	258	357
May 20	<i>The Minister in Yugoslavia to the Foreign Ministry</i> In view of anti-Axis feeling aroused in Yugoslavia by recent events, anything that might lead to anti-German demonstrations, including German cultural events, should be avoided.	278	383
June 15	<i>The Director of the Economic Policy Department to the Legation in Yugoslavia</i> Italy's entry into the war makes Yugoslavia completely dependent on the Axis economically, if only for reasons of transport. This should be pointed out to the Government there.	442	577
June 21	<i>The Minister in Yugoslavia to the Foreign Ministry</i> It would be useful for the German press to express astonishment at Yugoslavia's slowness in adopting a definitely pro-Axis policy, and also at the way in which Stojadinović is being treated despite the vindication of his foreign policy.	517	658