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ON

TWO WAYS OF INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

U.S.S.R. and
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STATEMENTS AND PROPOSALS

by

V. M. MOLOTOV

Head of the Soviet Delegation at the Paris
Conference of Foreign Ministers of the U.S.S.R.,
Great Britain and France in connection with
the Speech made by

Mr. Marshall

at Harvard University on June 5, 1947



JUNE 27 — JULY 2, 1947



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Representations by the British and French Governments in connection with the Statement by Mr. Marshall

From "Izvestia," June 21 :

AS is known from press reports, on June 5 the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Marshall, delivered a speech at Harvard University in which he stated that if the European countries displayed initiative in evolving a plan for their economic rehabilitation, the United States could render them assistance in this, and that this was in the interests of both the European countries and the United States of America itself.

Commenting this statement of Mr. Marshall, the American press explained that American credits to European countries, to the amount of several million dollars, were involved. But the press said nothing about the terms of such credits, just as it said nothing about the relation of UNO to this question.

On June 17 the British Ambassador in Moscow, Sir Maurice Peterson, visited the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., V. M. Molotov, and made the following statement :

As the Soviet Government is aware, His Majesty's Government is deeply concerned about the economic rehabilitation of Europe. The suggestion made by Mr. Marshall in recent statements that the European countries should take the initiative by preparing a reconstruction plan seems to offer new hope that the solution of Europe's economic difficulties may be facilitated. It is therefore a matter of utmost urgency that some concrete plan should be proposed by the European countries so that it can be discussed with the United States of America as soon as possible. This matter is of an economic and not a political nature. His Majesty's Government would be glad of any observations which the Soviet Government may care to offer as regards the proposal of the United States of America.

V. M. Molotov replied to Sir Maurice Peterson that the information available to the Soviet Government on this question was confined to what had been published in the press, and

asked whether the British Government was in possession of fuller information. Sir Maurice Peterson replied in the negative.

Thereupon V. M. Molotov told the British Ambassador that in view of the insufficient information available to the Soviet Government, he could not as yet express an opinion on this question, but that the Soviet Government naturally was interested in obtaining fuller information.

On the same day the French Charge d'Affaires in Moscow, M. P. Charpentier, visited the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., Y. A. Malik, and made a statement similar to that of Sir Maurice Peterson.

The above-mentioned communications were delivered by representatives of the British and French Governments in Moscow after there had begun in Paris the negotiations between the Foreign Secretary of Great Britain, Mr. Ernest Bevin, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, M. Georges Bidault, which went on during June 17 and 18.

On June 19 the French Charge d'Affaires in Moscow, M. Charpentier, visited Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., Y. A. Malik, and presented a Note which reads as follows :*

The British and French Governments have examined with interest the statement made by Mr. Marshall at Harvard University on June 5 last. Both Governments meet with the greatest satisfaction the suggestions of the American Secretary of State.

Mr. Marshall did not address an official proposal to Governments, but in his speech he clearly expressed thoughts about the preparation of European economic programmes by the European nations themselves, and points out that the United States would be ready to render assistance in implementing these programmes to the maximum extent possible.

The Foreign Ministers of Great Britain and France consider that this help is necessary, but that it will only bear fruit to the extent that the countries of Europe make the maximum effort to develop once more the resources which in the main

*Re-translated from the Russian.

they produced for themselves before the war and which they have to a considerable extent to import to-day, along with indispensable industrial equipment, largely from the American continent. The two Governments consider that the economic condition of Europe necessitates the drawing up of common programmes. Such programmes should be drawn up by all the European countries which are willing to participate, in liaison with the appropriate organs of the United Nations.

It is extremely urgent to take the initiative in view of the economic and financial situation in many European countries. This initiative, in the opinion of the British and French Governments, should belong to the three principal Powers of Europe.

In these conditions, before undertaking any study of practical measures to give effect to the American proposals, Mr. Bevin and M. Bidault propose to Mr. Molotov that a Conference of the Foreign Ministers of Great Britain, France and the U.S.S.R. be held during the week beginning June 23, in a place to be agreed, in order to discuss all these problems. The most convenient places for the meeting for Mr. Bevin and M. Bidault would naturally be Paris or London. If, however, Mr. Molotov were to deem it necessary to select any other European city halfway between Moscow and London, we should be ready to examine his proposals.

On the same day, the British Ambassador in Moscow, Sir Maurice Peterson, also visited Y. A. Malik and presented to him a Note of similar content.

Y. A. Malik told M. Charpentier and Sir Maurice Peterson that the representations of the British and French Governments would be reported to the Soviet Government.

At the present time these representations are being considered by the Soviet Government.

Reply of the Soviet Government to the representations of the British and French Governments in connection with the statement by Mr. Marshall

AS already reported, on June 19 the British Ambassador in Moscow, Sir Maurice Peterson, and the Charge d'Affaires of France in the U.S.S.R., M. Charpentier, remitted Notes of the British and French Governments inviting the Soviet Government to take part in a conference of the three Ministers for Foreign Affairs on the subject of assistance to European countries on the part of the U.S.A. In this connection the Soviet Government sent the British Government the following Note on June 22:

"The Soviet Government has acquainted itself with the Note of the British Government of June 19 concerning the preparation of European economic programmes in connection with the statement made by Mr. Marshall at Harvard University on June 5, which was the subject of bi-partite negotiations between the British and French Ministers for Foreign Affairs in Paris.

"The Soviet Government agrees that at present the primary task of European countries is the speediest possible rehabilitation and further development of their national economy disrupted by the war. It is self-evident that this task could be facilitated if assistance conforming to the above aims were rendered by the United States of America, whose production capacities, far from declining, increased during the war.

"Although the Soviet Government at present does not dispose of information concerning the nature and terms of possible economic assistance to European countries on the part of the United States, or concerning the measures which were discussed by the British and French Governments during the recent negotiations in Paris, the Soviet Government nevertheless accepts the proposal of the British and French Governments and agrees to take part in a conference of the three Ministers for Foreign Affairs. In the opinion of the Soviet Government such a conference could take place in Paris on June 27."

An identical Note was sent to the French Government.

THE STANDPOINT OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT

Statement by V. M. Molotov, head of the Soviet Delegation, at the session of June 28, 1947, of the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and France

YESTERDAY M. Bidault stated the position of the French Government in respect of the tasks of this Conference. Mr. Bevin expressed his general agreement with this position. I consider it necessary, therefore, to set forth the point of view of the Soviet Government.

As is known, the Paris Conference was called in connection with the speech delivered by the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Marshall, at Harvard University on June 5.

In this speech Mr. Marshall expressed his apprehensions with regard to the economic conditions prevailing in the European countries following the Second World War.

He pointed to the grave consequences of the war, which caused immense losses in manpower and the destruction of towns, factories, mines and railways, and he pointed also to post-war difficulties in the economic life of the European countries. He pointed out that the quantity of commodities now being produced is inadequate, that there are shortages of food, raw materials and fuel, and that machinery has become badly worn out, especially in the years of war.

Noting that the requirements of certain European countries for food and other necessities, now being received chiefly from America, far exceed their present ability to pay, he said that "the United States of America should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world."

Going on to the possibility of America's rendering economic assistance to the European countries, Mr. Marshall said that the countries of Europe should themselves ascertain their needs and arrive at some kind of agreement among themselves, assuming the initiative in this matter. He said in this connection that "the role of this country should consist of friendly aid in

the drafting of a European programme and of later support of such a programme so far as it may be practical for us to do so."

Quite obviously, the rehabilitation and further development of the national economies of the European countries could be facilitated if the U.S.A., whose production capacities—far from declining—considerably increased during the war, gave the economic assistance which those countries need. At the same time it is known that the U.S.A. in its turn is also interested in making use of its credit possibilities for expanding its external markets, especially in view of the approaching crisis.

When, in connection with Mr. Marshall's speech, the French and British Governments suggested a conference of the three Ministers, the Soviet Government received this proposal favourably, despite the fact that the system of planning on which the Socialist national economy in the U.S.S.R. is based precludes the possibility of the various crises and economic convulsions mentioned in the above speech of the American Secretary of State.

Naturally, the present conference will achieve its object only if it correctly defines its tasks and methods of work.

A definite plan of work prepared by the French Government and endorsed by the British Government has been presented at the conference. The Soviet delegation has expressed grave doubts with regard to this plan.

It is one thing to ascertain the economic needs of the European countries for American aid in the form of credits and deliveries of goods by means of estimates drawn up by the European countries themselves. This is acceptable and may prove useful to the European countries.

It will be an entirely different matter if the conference engages in drawing up an all-embracing economic programme for the European countries as envisaged by the French project, and only in passing ascertains their needs of American economic aid. If the conference strays on to this path, it will digress far from the task it has been set, and will fail to yield a positive result.

It has been said here that France has an economic plan of her own, and the French Government hopes for positive results from this plan. Great Britain also has an economic programme of her own. It is widely known that in the Soviet

Union the rehabilitation and development of the national economy is based on a State Socialist plan.

The Soviet people have already carried out more than one Five-Year Plan. At present they are successfully carrying out their post-war Stalin Five-Year Plan. This ensures a steady increase of their material and cultural well-being.

It is also known that certain other European countries are now engaged in rehabilitating their national economies on the basis of two-year and three-year plans. Considerable successes have already been achieved in the carrying out of these plans.

Hitherto it has been taken for granted that each nation should decide for itself how best to secure the rehabilitation and development of its economy. No European Government intends to interfere and say whether the Monnet plan is good or bad for France. This is the affair of the French people themselves. But the same applies to Great Britain and the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and every other European country.

That is how the matter is understood in the Soviet Union, which more than once has repelled attempts at foreign intervention in its affairs. It was considered perfectly obvious that internal economic affairs are the sovereign affair of the peoples themselves, and that other countries must not interfere in these internal affairs.

It is only on this basis that the normal development of relations among countries is possible. Attempts at outside interference in the economic life of various countries have not yielded favourable results, nor can they yield them.

If this is true, then an attempt to compel the conference to engage in drawing up an all-embracing economic programme for the European countries, which will inevitably entail intervention on the part of some States in the affairs of other States, cannot be accepted as a basis for co-operation among the European countries.

The conference is faced with the task of ascertaining the needs of the European countries for American economic aid, by receiving appropriate estimates from the countries concerned and subjecting them to a joint examination. Moreover one must suppose that the task of the conference is to establish co-operation among the European countries in drafting estimates of the needs of these countries for American economic aid, to ascertain the possibility of obtaining such economic

aid from the United States and to assist the European countries in obtaining this aid. This is no easy task and will require considerable effort. But if the conference copes with it successfully, an important step will have been made in developing co-operation among the countries of Europe and at the same time in collaboration between the countries of Europe and the United States of America.

Which European countries should co-operate in this undertaking? In this respect also the standpoints of individual countries are at variance, since it would be wrong if the Allies did not differentiate among Allied States, former enemy States and the neutral States.

The Soviet Government maintains that the ascertaining of the needs (estimates) of the European countries for American economic aid cannot be the concern of only the three countries taking part in the present conference. Other European countries, too, should be invited to take part in working on the problems involved.

In so doing, account should first be taken of the needs of those European countries which suffered German occupation and rendered support to the common cause of the Allies in defeating the enemy. These countries should be invited in the first place to take part in the economic co-operation in Europe which is now being planned. Their needs should be given special attention when the question of American economic aid comes under consideration.

As to the former enemy countries, they must be invited for appropriate consultations. The question of Germany is quite a special one. It is known that the Allied countries have not yet achieved agreement on such fundamental problems as the creation of an all-German Government, the payment of reparations by Germany, Germany's industrial level and so on. These problems are under consideration by the Council of Foreign Ministers, of which not only these three countries, but the U.S.A. as well, is a member.

The German question, therefore, is subject to consideration by the Council of Foreign Ministers and not by the present conference.

As to the methods of examining the problems at this conference, the Soviet delegation believes it desirable to set up appropriate committees composed of representatives of the three countries and to invite representatives of the other

European States, first of all the above-mentioned Allied countries, to take part in these committees. It is also necessary to consider the question of the relations to be established with the European Economic Commission.

In accordance with the above considerations the Soviet Delegation submits the following proposals concerning the Agenda of the present Conference :—

1. Establishment of requirements of European countries for American economic aid.
2. Methods for the consideration of applications of European countries in respect of American economic aid.
 - (a) Creation of " *ad hoc* " committees.
 - (b) Relations with the European Economic Commission.
3. Ascertainment of the possibilities, nature and conditions of American economic aid to Europe.

IV

V. M. Molotov's Proposals of June 30, 1947

At the meeting of the three ministers on June 30, V. M. Molotov made the following proposals :—

THE Conference of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of France, Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. acknowledges the importance of speeding up rehabilitation and the further development of the national economies of the European countries disrupted by the war, and believes that the execution of this task would be facilitated by economic aid from the United States of America, regarding which the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Marshall, made a statement on June 5.

The Conference believes it is not its function to draw up an all-embracing economic programme for the European countries, since the drawing up of such an economic programme for the whole of Europe by three Great Powers, even with the participation of certain other countries, would inevitably result in the imposition of the will of strong European Powers upon other European countries, and would constitute intervention in the domestic affairs of those States and a violation of their sovereignty.

Attempts at drawing up such an all-embracing economic programme for Europe are all the more impermissible in that they would lead to a disruption of the existing economic

relations among European countries, and would produce great friction in their mutual relations, which would render difficult the further development of the highly necessary economic co-operation among the countries of Europe.

In conformity with the above, the conference of the three Ministers for Foreign Affairs believes it expedient :

1. To set up a Committee of Assistance composed of the representatives of France, Great Britain and the U.S.S.R., to be supplemented later by representatives of some other European States, for the purpose of ascertaining the needs of European countries for American economic aid and the possibility of the U.S.A. granting such aid, and of assisting the European countries in obtaining it.

2. The following sub-committees are to be set up under the Committee of Assistance : (a) for food, (b) for fuel, (c) for equipment. The sub-committees are to consist, in addition to representatives of the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and France, also of representatives of two European Powers especially interested in the work of the given sub-committee from among the countries which suffered German occupation and helped the common allied cause in defeating the enemy. Former enemy countries may be invited by the sub-committees for consultation. The problem of Germany is to be examined by the four Powers : Great Britain, France, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.

3. The Committee of Assistance is to be charged with the following tasks :—

Firstly, to receive estimates from the European countries of the American economic aid they need.

Secondly, to draw up an exclusive programme on the basis of these estimates, bearing in mind that the needs of the countries which suffered from German aggression and made their contribution to the cause of Allied victory are to have first consideration.

Thirdly, to ascertain the possibilities of appropriate economic aid being granted by the U.S.A.

4. The Committee of Assistance establishes relations with the European Economic Commission of UNO in conformity with the tasks with which it is charged.

Statement by V. M. Molotov at the closing meeting of July 2, 1947

THE Soviet delegation has attentively studied the proposal of July 1 of the French delegation. Like the preceding proposal of the British delegation, the French draft aims at the elaboration of an economic programme for the whole of Europe although, as is known, the majority of the European countries have not as yet their own State economic programmes.

With the aim of elaborating such an all-embracing European programme, it is proposed to set up a special organisation which will be charged with ascertaining the resources and requirements of the European Powers, and even the determination of the development of the main branches of industry in these countries and only then the elucidation of the possibility of obtaining American economic aid.

Thus the question of American economic aid—concerning which, moreover, nothing definite is known up to this day—has now served as a pretext for the British and French Governments to insist on the creation of a new organisation, standing above the European countries and intervening in the internal affairs of the countries of Europe, even to the extent of determining the direction in which the main branches of industry in these countries are to develop. Moreover, Britain and France, together with the countries close to them, claim a dominating position in this organisation or, as is stated in the British draft, the so-called “Steering Committee” for Europe.

Verbal reservations are now being made, alleging that the organisation proposed will not interfere in the internal affairs of the European States and will not violate their sovereignty. But it is perfectly evident from the tasks which are put before this organisation, or the “Steering Committee,” that the European countries will find themselves under control and will lose their former economic and national independence to the advantage of certain strong Powers. At any rate, it is proposed that the possibility of obtaining American credit by one country or another should be linked with obedient behaviour towards the proposed organisation and its “Steering Committee.”

Where can this lead to?

To-day pressure can be put upon Poland—produce more coal!—even if at the expense of restricting other branches of Polish industry, since such and such European countries are interested to this end. To-morrow it will be said that a demand must be put to Czechoslovakia to increase the production of agricultural produce and to curtail her engineering and the proposal will be made that Czechoslovakia should obtain machinery from other European countries which desire to sell their commodities at a higher price. Or, as the newspapers recently wrote, Norway will be compelled to give up the development of her steel industry, as this would better suit certain foreign steel corporations, and so on. What, then, will remain of the economic independence and sovereignty of such European countries? How can the small countries, and in general the less powerful States, under such conditions protect their national economies and State independence?

The Soviet Government cannot, of course, take this course. It continues to support its proposal submitted at this conference on June 30.

The Soviet Government also does not share the passion for foreign support which the last French draft revealed.

When one strives to ensure that Europe should first and foremost help itself, developing its own economic potentialities and exchange of commodities between countries, this is in the interests of the European countries. But when it is said, as in the French proposal, that in the work of restoring the economic life of the European countries a decisive place must belong to the U.S.A., and not to the European countries themselves—then such a line is not in the interests of the European countries, since it could lead to the renunciation of economic independence which is incompatible with the maintenance of national sovereignty.

The Soviet delegation considers that the internal measures and national effort of each country must have the decisive importance for the European countries—and not calculation upon foreign support, which should be of subordinate importance. Even in the most difficult circumstances, the Soviet Union always relied first and foremost on its own strength, and, as is known, it is proceeding along the road of steady development of its economic life.

There are two kinds of international co-operation.

One kind is based on development of political and economic relations between States with equal rights. Their national sovereignty does not then suffer from foreign interference. Such is the democratic basis of international co-operation, which brings peoples closer together and facilitates the cause of mutual assistance between them.

There is another kind of international co-operation which is based on the dominating position of one or several strong Powers in relation to other countries, which thereby fall into the position of some kind of subordinated States, deprived of independence.

It is perfectly obvious that the first type of co-operation between States, in which they act on a basis of equal rights, differs radically from the second type of international co-operation, in which this principle is not observed.

The Soviet Government, having a positive attitude to the development of international co-operation on the basis of equality of rights and mutual respect for the interests of the contracting countries, cannot help anyone to arrange their affairs at the expense of others, at the expense of less powerful or of small States, since this has nothing in common with normal co-operation between States.

Considering that the Anglo-French plan for the creation of a special organisation to co-ordinate the economies of the European States leads to interference in the internal affairs of the European States—particularly those most in need of foreign aid—and that this can only complicate the relations between the European countries and hamper co-operation among them the Soviet Government rejects this plan as totally unsatisfactory and incapable of giving positive results.

On the other hand the Soviet Union is in favour of the utmost development of economic co-operation among the European and other countries on the healthy basis of equality and mutual respect for national interests, and has itself always assisted and will assist this by means of extending trade with other States.

It is worthy of special attention that the Franco-British proposals raise the question of Germany and its resources. It is proposed that the organisation indicated above, or the "Steering Committee," should also deal with the utilisation

of German resources—although everyone knows that the just reparations demands of the Allied countries, which suffered from German aggression, still remain unsatisfied. Consequently, no particular care is being shown for the countries which sustained the greatest sacrifices during the war and made such an important contribution to the victory of the Allies ; on the contrary it is proposed that, at the expense of these very countries, Germany's resources should be used for any purpose rather than reparations.

On the other hand, nothing is being done to accelerate the formation of a government for the whole of Germany, which better than any other could see to the needs of the German people. On the contrary, in the western zones of Germany a policy for the federalisation of Germany is continued, and also a policy making for the increasing separation of western German territory from the rest of Germany. This is incompatible with the genuine restoration of Germany as a united democratic State, forming part of the family of peace-loving States of Europe.

What will be the outcome of giving effect to the Franco-British proposal to form a special organisation, or "Steering Committee," for drawing up an all-embracing economic European programme ?

It will lead to nothing good.

It will lead to Britain, France and the group of countries that follow them separating from the other States of Europe, which will split Europe into two groups of States and will create new difficulties in the mutual relations between them. In this event American credits will serve the cause, not of the economic restoration of Europe, but of the utilisation of certain European countries against other European countries, in a manner which certain strong Powers striving for domination may consider advantageous to themselves.

The Soviet Government considers it necessary to warn the Governments of Britain and France of the consequences of such action, which is directed not towards unification of the efforts of the European countries for their post-war economic restoration, but towards the achievement of totally different aims which have nothing in common with the true interests of the peoples of Europe.

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