The Defense of Berlin

Smith, Jean Edward

Published by Johns Hopkins University Press


For additional information about this book
https://muse.jhu.edu/book/72160

For content related to this chapter
https://muse.jhu.edu/related_content?type=book&id=2471488
# APPENDIX V

## Proceedings at Tehran

**TRIPARTITE POLITICAL MEETING, DECEMBER 1, 1943, 6 P.M., CONFERENCE ROOM, SOVIET EMBASSY, TEHRAN.***

**PRESENT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>United States</th>
<th>United Kingdom</th>
<th>Soviet Union</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>President Roosevelt</td>
<td>Prime Minister Churchill</td>
<td>Marshal Stalin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Hopkins</td>
<td>Foreign Secretary Eden</td>
<td>Foreign Commissar Molo-tov</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Harriman</td>
<td>Sir Archibald Clark Kerr</td>
<td>Mr. Pavlov</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Bohlen</td>
<td>Major Birse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Turning to the question of Germany, **THE PRESIDENT** said that the question was whether or not to split up Germany.

**MARSHAL STALIN** replied that they preferred the dismemberment of Germany.

**THE PRIME MINISTER** said he was all for it but that he was primarily more interested in seeing Prussia, the evil core of German militarism, separated from the rest of Germany.

**THE PRESIDENT** said he had a plan that he had thought up some months ago for the division of Germany in five parts. These five parts were:

1. All Prussia to be rendered as small and weak as possible.
2. Hanover and Northwest section.
4. Hesse-Darmstadt
   Hesse-Kassel and the area South of the Rhine.
5. Bavaria, Baden, and Wurttemburg [Wuerttemberg].

He proposed that these five areas should be self-governed and that there should be two regions under United Nations or some form of International control. These were:

---


---

385
1. The area of the Kiel Canal and the City of Hamburg.
2. The Ruhr and the Saar, the latter to be used for the benefit of all Europe.

The Prime Minister said, to use an American expression, "The President had said a mouthful."
He went on to say that in his mind there were two considerations, one destructive and the other constructive.
1. The separation of Prussia from the rest of the Reich.
2. To detach Bavaria, Baden, Wuerttemberg [Wuerttemberg] and the Palatinate from the rest of Germany and make them part of the Confederation of the Danube.

Marshal Stalin said he felt if Germany was to be dismembered, it should really be dismembered, and it was neither a question of the division of Germany in five or six states and two areas as the President suggested. However, he said he preferred the President's plan to the suggestion of Mr. Churchill.
He felt that to include German areas within the framework of large confederations would merely offer an opportunity to the German elements to revive a great State.
He went on to say that he did not believe there was a difference among Germans; that all German soldiers fought like devils and the only exception was the Austrians.
He said that the Prussian Officers and Staffs should be eliminated, but as to the inhabitants, he saw little difference between one part of Germany and another.
He said he was against the idea of confederation as artificial and one that would not last in that area, and in addition would provide opportunity for the German elements to control.
Austria, for example, had existed as an independent state and should again. Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria likewise.
The President said he agreed with the Marshal, particularly in regard to the absence of differences between Germans. He said fifty years ago there had been a difference but since the last war it was no longer so.
He said the only difference was that in Bavaria and the Southern part of Germany there was no officer cast[e] as there had been in Prussia. He agreed with Marshal Stalin that the Austrians were an exception.
The Prime Minister said he did not wish to be considered as against the dismemberment of Germany—quite the contrary, but he felt to separate the parts above would merely mean that sooner or later they will reunite into one nation and that the main thing was to keep Germany divided if only for fifty years.
Marshal Stalin repeated what he had said as to the danger of the reunification of Germany. He said no matter what measures were adopted there would always be a strong urge on the part of the Germans to unite.
He said it was a great mistake to unite Hungary with Germans since the Germans would merely control the Hungarians, and to create large frameworks within which the Germans could operate would be very dangerous.

He felt the whole purpose of any international organization to preserve peace would be to neutralize this tendency on the part of the Germans and apply against them economic and other measures, and if necessary, force, to prevent their unification and revival. He said the victorious nations must have the strength to beat the Germans if they ever start on the path of a new war.

The Prime Minister inquired whether Marshal Stalin contemplated a Europe composed of little states, disjoined, separated and weak.

Marshall Stalin replied not Europe but Germany.

He supposed for example that Poland would be a strong country, and France, and Italy likewise; that Rumania and Bulgaria would remain as they always had; small States.

The President remarked Germany had been less dangerous to civilization when in 107 provinces.

The Prime Minister said he hoped for larger units.

The Prime Minister then returned to the question of Poland and said he was not asking for any agreement nor was he set on the matter but he had a statement which he would like to have the Marshal examine.

This statement suggested that Poland should obtain equal compensation in the West, including Eastern Prussia and frontiers on the Oder to compensate for the areas which would be in the Soviet Union.

The President interjected to say that one question in regard to Germany remained to be settled and that was what body should be empowered to study carefully the question of dismemberment of Germany.

It was agreed that the European Advisory Committee [Commission] would undertake this task.