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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
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1. [Redacted] the Russians still consider themselves the "allies" of the Western powers, and intend to remain allies if the West honors the Potsdam agreement, particularly with reference to the prevention of German rearmament in any form. If the Soviet Union receives assurance that there is no longer any discussion of West German rearmament and that all such plans are therefore dropped, it will agree to a four-power conference. On the other hand, if the West undertakes to rearm West Germany, the Soviet Army will immediately occupy West Germany, by force if necessary.
2. The Kremlin is convinced that economic reasons will compel the United States to start a war in the near future. Therefore it is considered advisable to bring about the greatest possible exhaustion of the United States forces in Asia. The Russians view Germany as the only power capable of containing Russian expansion, and they would not tolerate any attempt to isolate the Soviet Union by arming Germany. They would strike immediately, prior to the formation of a military force or of police units which could be used as a military force. This, said Serenov, is no idle threat, since there enough Soviet troops west of the Elbe to reach the Atlantic in eight to ten days without the use of the reserves in the eastern part of the Russian zone.
3. When meeting with the West, the Soviet representatives would be guided by the following beliefs which are held in the Kremlin:
 - a. The United States should confine its sphere of influence to South America and Asia (sic).
 - b. The United Kingdom is interested primarily in the Empire, and has no understanding or sympathy for European problems.
 - c. France is unable to play a responsible role because it is already "one third Communist and two thirds decadent".

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- d. Although the Vatican is still a powerful force which must be taken into consideration, the Kremlin could use the Orthodox churches as an ever increasing counterweight.
4. Germany is the only remaining nation capable of becoming a great power. The Russians wish to assist in the realization of this goal. They are willing to support the principle of complete German autonomy, provided all the occupation troops are withdrawn. Russian support would be given in return for assurances of German neutrality in an East-West conflict, or for the signing of a Soviet-German treaty of alliance. The Russians have no intention of making Germany into a "satellite"; indeed, they are willing to insure German economic independence by boundary revisions at the expense of Poland.
5. Following the withdrawal of the occupation forces, the USSR would relinquish further demands for reparations, but it particularly desires the maintenance of very close economic relations with Germany.
6. prior to a four-power conference formal conversations on all German questions should be held in Berlin; and that Dr. Günther Gereke, Prof. Ulrich Noack, Dr. Gustav Heinemann, and Pastor Martin Niemöller should be invited to the Soviet Embassy to discuss German reunion, with the following recommendations:
- a. Immediate abolition of all zonal boundaries.
 - b. Formation of a provisional all-German government with its seat in Berlin, the members to be nominated by the four occupying powers.
 - c. Free German elections under the supervision of the United Nations or of neutral observers.
 - d. Immediate withdrawal of the occupation troops and cessation of reparations.
 - e. Opposition to German rearmament under foreign command and on behalf of foreign powers. However, the Russians would not oppose the formation of a national German army under German command.

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