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PREFATORY NOTE

The present volume is a continuation of *Foreign Relations*, 1918, Russia, volumes I, II, and III.

Brackets, [], occurring in the text enclose editorial insertions. These are of two main types: (1) words or phrases, in ordinary type, supplied to fill in omissions; and (2) suggested corrections, in italics, following words or phrases which appear to be incorrect.

Brackets have also been used to show differences in sources in the case of documents emanating from the Commission to Negotiate Peace, Paris. For such documents there are two sources: the files of that commission (now in the Department of State), showing the message as sent; and the files of the Department of State, showing the message as received. The source of the text printed is given by the file number; divergencies brought to light by the other source are noted in brackets. The same use has been made of brackets in the case of telegrams sent from some foreign post both to the Commission to Negotiate Peace, Paris, and to the Department of State.

There has been no attempt in the present volume to harmonize the spelling of Russian proper names.

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- Barclay, Colville A. de R., Counselor of the British Embassy at Washington; Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim*.
- Beneš, Eduard, Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Affairs; plenipotentiary at the Paris Peace Conference.
- Bliss, Gen. Tasker H., U.S.A., plenipotentiary at the Paris Peace Conference.
- Bogayevsky, Gen. A. P., ataman of the Don Cossacks, succeeding Krasnov.
- Bristol, Admiral Mark L., commanding United States forces in Turkey; High Commissioner to Turkey, August 12, 1919.
- Bullitt, William C., attached to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace; on special mission to Russia.
- Caldwell, John K., Consul at Vladivostok.
- Cecil, Lord Robert, British Assistant Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; member of the British delegation at the Paris Peace Conference.
- Chaikovski, N. V., President of the Russian Government of the Northern Region (Archangel).
- Chicherin, George V., Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs.
- Chinda, Sutemi, Viscount, Japanese Ambassador to Great Britain; plenipotentiary at the Paris Peace Conference.
- Churchill, Winston, British Secretary of State for War and Aviation; plenipotentiary at the Paris Peace Conference.
- Clemenceau, Georges E. B., French President of the Council and Minister of War; plenipotentiary at the Paris Peace Conference and President of that Conference.
- Cole, Felix, Consul at Archangel.
- Crowe, Sir Eyre, British Assistant Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; member of the British delegation at the Paris Peace Conference.
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- Ellot, Sir Charles, British High Commissioner in Siberia.
- Emerson, Col. George H., in charge of the Russian Railway Service Corps.
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- Gade, John A., Commissioner of the United States for the Baltic Provinces of Russia.
- Galda, Gen. G. R., Czechoslovak officer, in command of a division of the Czechoslovak Army in Siberia; later associated with the Siberian Army.

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- Glass, Carter, Secretary of the Treasury.
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- Greene, Lt. Col. Warwick, chief of the American mission to the Baltic Provinces.
- Grew, Joseph C., secretary-general of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace.
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- Hara, Takashi, Japanese Prime Minister.
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- Horvat, Gen. Dmitri L., Russian Governor and General Manager of the Chinese Eastern Railway; Russian member of the Inter-Allied Railway Committee, succeeding Ustrugov.
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- Ironside, Maj. Gen. William Edmund, of the British Army, commanding the Allied forces in North Russia.
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- Janin, Gen. Maurice, of the French Army; supreme commander of the Czechoslovak Army.
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- Kappel, Gen. Vladimir Oskarovich, commanding one of the Siberian armies under Kolchak.
- Kerensky, Alexander F., Prime Minister of Russia, July to November 1917.
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- Knox, Maj. Gen. Alfred W. F., in command of the British forces in Siberia.
- Kolchak, Admiral Alexander Vasilevich, on November 18, 1918, at Omsk, proclaimed Supreme Governor of Russia.
- Krasnov, Gen. Peter Nikolaevich, ataman of the Don Cossacks.
- Lansing, Robert, Secretary of State; plenipotentiary at the Paris Peace Conference.
- Lenin, N. (Vladimir Ulyanov), President of the Soviet of People's Commissars.
- Lindley, Francis O., British Commissioner in Russia (Archangel).
- Litvinov, M. M., Assistant Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs.
- Lloyd George, David, British Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury; plenipotentiary at the Paris Peace Conference.
- Macgowan, David B., Consul at Vladivostok.

- Makino, Nobuaki**, Baron, former Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs; plenipotentiary at the Paris Peace Conference.
- Maklakov, V. A.**, appointed by the Russian Provisional Government Ambassador to France.
- Mannerheim, Gen. Carl Gustaf Emil**, Baron, Regent of Finland, December 12, 1918.
- Martel, Damien J. A. C.**, Count de, French High Commissioner *ad interim* in Siberia, January to September 1919.
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- Matsudaira, Tsuneo**, Japanese member of the Inter-Allied Railway Committee.
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- Miles, Basil**, Acting Chief of the Division of Russian Affairs, Department of State.
- Miller, Gen. Eugen Ludwig Karlovich**, Military Governor at Archangel.
- Morris, Roland S.**, Ambassador to Japan.
- Moser, Charles K.**, Consul at Harbin.
- Nansen, Fridtjof**, Commissioner of the League of Nations to repatriate war prisoners.
- Noulens, Joseph**, French Ambassador to Russia.
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- Orlando, V. E.**, President of the Italian Council of Ministers; plenipotentiary at the Paris Peace Conference.
- Otani, Gen. Kikuzo**, of the Japanese Army; in command of the Japanese Siberian expedition.
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- Pepelyaev, Victor Nikolaevich**, member of the cabinet of the Kolchak government, Omsk.
- Petyura, Simon**, leader of the nationalists in the Ukraine.
- Phillips, William**, Assistant Secretary of State.
- Pichon, Stephen**, French Minister of Foreign Affairs; plenipotentiary at the Paris Peace Conference.
- Polk, Frank Lyon**, Acting Secretary of State, December 4, 1918, to July 18, 1919; plenipotentiary at the Paris Peace Conference, July 28 to December 9, 1919.
- Poole, DeWitt C.**, Chargé d'Affaires in Russia (Archangel).
- Reading, Earl of**, British Ambassador on Special Mission to the United States.
- Reinsch, Paul S.**, Minister in China.
- Richardson, Brig. Gen. Wilds P.**, commanding the American forces in North Russia, succeeding Colonel Stewart.
- Riggs, Lt. Col. E. F.**, chief of the American mission to South Russia.
- Rodgers, Admiral William L.**, U.S.N., commanding the Asiatic Fleet.
- Salonji, Marquis**, former Japanese Prime Minister; plenipotentiary at the Paris Peace Conference.
- Sazonov, Sergej D.**, Tsarist Foreign Minister; in 1918, at Paris, Minister of Foreign Affairs for Denikin's forces in South Russia and, in 1919, Minister of Foreign Affairs for Kolchak.
- Semenov, Gen. Gregory**, ataman of the Far Eastern Cossacks.
- Shidehara, Kijuro**, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs; Ambassador to the United States.

- Smith, Charles H., American representative on the Inter-Allied Committee for the supervision of the Chinese Eastern and Siberian Railways.
- Sonnino, S., Baron, Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs; plenipotentiary at the Paris Peace Conference.
- Sookine, John, Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kolchak government, Omsk.
- Stevens, John F., president of the Technical Board for the operation of the Chinese Eastern and Siberian Railways.
- Stewart, Col. George Evans, commanding the American forces in North Russia.
- Syrov, Gen. Jan, commander in chief of the Czechoslovak forces, August 28, 1918.
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- Trotsky, L. D. (Bronstein), Soviet Commissar for Military Affairs.
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- Uchida, Yasuya, Viscount, Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs.
- Ughet, Serge, Russian Financial Attaché and Chargé d'Affaires at Washington.
- Ustrugov, L. A., Minister of Ways of Communication of the Kolchak government, Omsk; Russian member and chairman of the Inter-Allied Railway Committee.
- Wallace, Hugh Campbell, Ambassador to France.
- White, Henry, American plenipotentiary at the Paris Peace Conference.
- Wilson, Woodrow, President of the United States; plenipotentiary at the Paris Peace Conference.
- Yudenich, Gen. Nicholas N., commander in chief of the White Russian forces in the Baltic Provinces.

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THE SOVIET REPUBLIC

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Jan. 4 (145)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Lansing: Information that U. S., British, French, and Italian Ministers in Stockholm have received Soviet peace proposal and that Mission is considering subject.	3
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Undated (6)	<i>Mr. William C. Bullitt to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For the President, Lansing, and House: Report on Russian political and economic situation from observations and discussions with leaders of Communist and other parties; conclusion that Soviet Government is only constructive force in Russia and recommendation of peace proposals rather than intervention.	81
Undated (8)	<i>Mr. William C. Bullitt to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Grew: Plans to return at once to Paris ^a and to send Pettit back to Petrograd to investigate in detail and maintain communications, courier service having been established between Helsingfors and Petrograd.	84
Undated (9)	<i>Mr. William C. Bullitt to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For House: Request for views as to whether Soviet proposals will be accepted, urging cooperation of House in efforts for peace; request that Lloyd George's secretary be informed of contents of his two previous reports.	84
Mar. 22 (3)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Consul at Helsingfors (tel.)</i> Instructions to inform Pettit to withdraw from Russia immediately and return to Paris, as it is not desired to maintain communication office in Russia or courier service between Helsingfors and Petrograd.	85
[Mar. 25 (7)]	<i>Memorandum by Mr. William C. Bullitt for the President and the Commissioners Plenipotentiary to Negotiate Peace</i> Detailed report on economic and political situation in Russia, social conditions, morale of Army, etc.; his conclusions and recommendations.	85
Mar. 29 (27)	<i>The Consul at Helsingfors to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Pettit: Conviction that Communist is only government which can preserve order; that intervention would result in chaos; and that government satisfactory to people may evolve from present one. Desirability of some outside representation, preferably United States, in Petrograd.	95

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MISSION OF WILLIAM C. BULLITT TO RUSSIA—Continued

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1919 Mar. 29 (28)	<i>The Consul at Helsingfors to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Pettit: Report on health conditions in Petrograd; efforts of Government to relieve situation.	96
Nov. 19	<i>Mr. Henry White and General Tasker H. Bliss, Commissioners Plenipotentiary to Negotiate Peace, to the Secretary-General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Desire to record in archives of American peace delegation that Bullitt's mission to Russia was not authorized by American delegation, as certified in letter from Grew; inquiry as to warrant for such certificate and Grew's explanation.	97

PROPOSAL OF DR. FRIDTJOF NANSEN FOR RELIEF IN RUSSIA UNDER SUPERVISION OF NORTHERN NEUTRALS

1919 Mar. 11 (1057)	<i>To the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Report from Vice Consul at Viborg (text printed) regarding distressing conditions in Petrograd and Moscow. Proposals for immediate action by Red Cross leaders of all countries. Swedish Red Cross offer.	98
Mar. 24 (1316)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Opinion that Russian relief should be undertaken not by Red Cross but as part of a definite inter-Allied program; information that Hoover's opinion is being sought.	100
Mar. 28	<i>The Director General of Relief, Supreme Economic Council, to President Wilson</i> Suggestions that Bolshevik tyranny be not even remotely recognized; that some neutral organize relief for Russia similar to Belgian Relief Commission with collaboration of Associated Powers and neutrals, and upon Bolshevik assurances that fighting cease; and that President Wilson reassert his spiritual leadership of democracy in the world as opposed to all tyrannies.	100
Apr. 3	<i>Dr. Fridtjof Nansen to President Wilson</i> Inquiry as to conditions under which President Wilson would approve purely humanitarian commission of neutrals for provisioning Russia and whether U. S. support in money and supplies could be expected. Information that similar notes have been sent to Orlando, Clemenceau, and Lloyd George.	102
[Apr. 3-4]	<i>Draft by Mr. David Hunter Miller and Mr. Gordon Auchincloss of a Proposed Letter to be Signed by President Wilson and the Prime Ministers of Great Britain, France, and Italy in Reply to Dr. Nansen's Letter of April 3</i> Concurrence by Associated Powers in proposal of humanitarian commission for relief of Russia, which should be free from political difficulties, but should involve cessation of hostilities by Russian troops.	103
Apr. 4	<i>Draft by Mr. William C. Bullitt of a Proposed Letter to be Signed by President Wilson and the Prime Ministers of Great Britain, France, and Italy in Reply to Dr. Nansen's Letter of April 3</i> Proposal of armistice and conference at Christiania with Russian and ex-Russian governments to discuss peace and provisioning of Russia upon basis of certain principles enumerated.	104

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1919 Apr. 5	<i>Redraft by Mr. William C. Bullitt of a Proposed Letter to be Signed by President Wilson and the Prime Ministers of Great Britain, France, and Italy in Reply to Dr. Nansen's Letter of April 3</i> Revision of draft prepared by Mr. Miller and Mr. Auchincloss, April 3-4.	106
Apr. 17	<i>Messrs. Wilson, Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Orlando to Dr. Fridtjof Nansen</i> Reply to Nansen's letter of April 3 following lines suggested by Miller and Auchincloss and redrafted by Bullitt.	108
May 3 (269)	<i>The Minister in Sweden to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Finnish request that Associated Governments wait until military decision has been reached before sending food into Soviet Russia.	109
May 7	<i>From the Russian Ambassador to the United States, temporarily at Paris</i> Statement, May 4, by the Russian Political Conference (text printed) expressing appreciation of relief offer, but warning that food supply for Russia should not be delivered into Bolshevik hands.	109
May 9 (284)	<i>From the Ambassador in France (tel.)</i> From McCormick, for War Trade Board also: Nansen's letter, April 17, to Lenin (text printed) transmitting texts of his note of April 3 to Associated Governments and their reply, and stating that proposed organization offers its services without remuneration but that expense for food and transportation must be borne by Soviet Government.	111
May 14 (104)	<i>The Representative at Copenhagen of the American Relief Administration to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Hoover: Telegram from Chicherin to Nansen (text printed) expressing appreciation of humanitarian offer, but pointing out objectionable character of conditions imposed, and suggesting conference for discussion of question. Nansen's proposal to meet Soviet delegates and request for Hoover's views.	111
May 16	<i>Appendix III to C. F. 20.—Feeding of Russia—Copy of Letter from Lord Robert Cecil to Sir Maurice Hankey</i> Conclusion of Council of Four that Nansen be advised by Hoover not to meet Bolshevik representatives pending further consideration by Governments. Memorandum (text printed) interpreting Lenin's reply and discussing policies that Associated Governments might follow.	115
June 21	<i>The Director General of Relief, Supreme Economic Council, to President Wilson</i> Necessity for economic reorganization in Russia, primarily in currency and transportation, and for establishment of economic mandatory with support of Associated Powers.	117

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REFUSAL BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO COUNTENANCE FURTHER ATTEMPTS TO ESTABLISH RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET AUTHORITY IN RUSSIA

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Sept. 9	<i>To the Consul at Vladivostok (tel.)</i> Excerpts (texts printed) from President Wilson's speeches at Kansas City and Des Moines, September 6, in which he condemns minority rule and deploras control in Russia by group without constitutional authority and spread of its propaganda. (Instructions to repeat to Harbin and Omsk. Sent also to Commission to Negotiate Peace to be repeated to Archangel, and to Constantinople for repetition to Vice Consul at Ekaterinodar.)	119
Sept. 22	<i>From the Chargé in China (tel.)</i> From Harris at Omsk: Publication of President Wilson's speeches on Bolshevism creating favorable impression.	120
Nov. 4 (6149)	<i>To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)</i> Press report of proposal by British Government of conference between Soviet Russia and Entente Allies, on lines similar to Prinkipo. Request for information.	121
Nov. 14 (3383)	<i>From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)</i> No foundation for report of British participation in Dorpat conference; British representatives to Copenhagen conference instructed to confine discussions to exchange of prisoners.	121
Nov. 15 (3390)	<i>From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)</i> Departure of O'Grady for Copenhagen to enter negotiations with Litvinov for exchange of war prisoners.	121
Nov. 15 (3394)	<i>From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)</i> Lloyd George's statement in House of Commons of policy regarding Russia; his apparent willingness to parley with all Russian factions. Impossibility of predicting future policy because of apparent inconsistencies between statements by Lloyd George and other members of Government.	122
Nov. 18 (4238)	<i>From the Chargé in Sweden (tel.)</i> Publication of telegram from London containing announcement by Department of State (text printed) that no compromise is contemplated with Soviet Government, that United States does not intend to participate in any conference with Bolshevik representatives, and that Department will continue to encourage arrangements for relief in non-Bolshevik territory. Inquiry as to authenticity.	123
Nov. 20 (6194)	<i>To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)</i> Denial that any formal announcement of policy has been made; explanation that telegram from London was probably based upon informal talks with newspaper representatives. (Instructions to repeat to Stockholm.)	123
Nov. 21 (269)	<i>From the Minister in Denmark (tel.)</i> Interview with O'Grady concerning status of his negotiations with Litvinov and the limitation of his powers to negotiations for prisoners, with privilege of reporting any other proposals.	123

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REFUSAL BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO COUNTENANCE FURTHER ATTEMPTS TO ESTABLISH RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET AUTHORITY IN RUSSIA—Continued

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Nov. 24 (6209)	<i>To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)</i> Press and consular reports of imminent fall of Soviet Government, unless recognition can be obtained from Allies and neutrals. Instructions to intimate that moral support derived from British negotiations with Bolsheviks at this time would be unfortunate. (Instructions to repeat to Paris.)	124
Nov. 28 (3464)	<i>From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)</i> Foreign Office statement that British representatives at Copenhagen conference are emphatically instructed to refuse to listen to Bolshevik peace proposals.	125
Nov. 29 (5468)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Polk: Conversation with Lloyd George who sees menace to Europe in unified Russia; favors independence of Finland, Baltic Provinces, Ukraine, Siberia, etc.; and considers possibility of conference with Soviets.	126
Nov. 30 (279)	<i>From the Minister in Denmark (tel.)</i> For President Wilson: Summary of situation in Russia, advancing four possible policies, prevailing opinion being that Associated Powers should treat situation as civil war and favor no faction. View that Bolsheviks will be strengthened by war but will disappear with peace and prosperity.	126
Dec. 2 (288)	<i>From the Minister in Denmark (tel.)</i> Full powers given Litvinov to conclude peace with any country. O'Grady's request for greater powers. Litvinov's wish to include in negotiations Russian prisoners in Germany and Austria.	127
Dec. 2 (289)	<i>From the Minister in Denmark (tel.)</i> Negotiations between O'Grady and Litvinov regarding trade; views of O'Grady that normal free trade and consular service will tend to put an end to communism.	127
Dec. 2 (3481)	<i>From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)</i> Information from Foreign Office and elsewhere that so far negotiations with Litvinov have been confined to exchange of prisoners; no reports regarding Bolshevik peace offer.	128
Dec. 3 (3486)	<i>From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)</i> Discussion of Siberian situation with Curzon; his disavowal of British intention to displace Kolchak or to call a second Prinkipo conference; his favorable attitude toward chain of independent buffer states. Lloyd George's willingness to treat with Bolsheviks and favorable attitude toward division of Russia into group of small states.	128
Dec. 4 (6243)	<i>To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)</i> U. S. views, to be presented at Ambassador's discretion, regarding futility of an understanding with Bolshevik Government; possibility of its evolution into a regime with which relations may be established; dangers attending recognition of present leaders; refusal to support plan for dismemberment of Russia. (Instructions to repeat to Ambassador in France.)	129

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1919 Dec. 6 (3500)	<i>From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)</i> Information that O'Grady has received reiterated instructions to confine his discussions to exchange of prisoners and to refuse to listen to representations on other subjects.	130
Dec. 10 (301)	<i>From the Chargé in Denmark (tel.)</i> Note from Litvinov enclosing resolution on peace with Allies passed by Seventh All-Russian Congress of Soviets (text printed). Information that note was sent to all Allied and Associated Governments and should be considered formal peace offer.	131
Dec. 10 (302)	<i>From the Chargé in Denmark (tel.)</i> Return of Litvinov's note, in conformity with action of British, French, and Italian Legations, on ground that peace negotiations violate ruling under which he was allowed to come to Denmark.	132
Dec. 13 (307)	<i>From the Chargé in Denmark (tel.)</i> Semiofficial press announcement of return of Litvinov's note by Legations of Associated Governments and explanation that action was in conformity with engagements that his sojourn in Denmark is for nonpolitical purposes.	132

REFUSAL BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO RECOGNIZE THE MISSION OF L. MARTENS, RUSSIAN SOVIET AGENT IN THE UNITED STATES

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1919 Mar. 18 (1/a)	<i>From Mr. L. Martens</i> Submission of credentials (text printed) of appointment as representative in the United States of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic; memorandum (text printed) of present political and economic conditions of Soviet Russia, and of proposals for opening commercial relations; also copy of Soviet Constitution.	133
Mar. 25 (1270)	<i>To the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Lansing: Transmittal of Martens' communication and memorandum; comments and request for instructions.	141
Apr. 15 (1594)	<i>To the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Inquiry as to information to be furnished National City Bank, which has been notified by Martens that all Russian funds are subject to his order only.	142
Apr. 17 (1656)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Lansing: Instructions to give no credence to Martens' claim, Bakhmeteff being the only Russian representative recognized by the United States.	143

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1919 Apr. 20	<i>From Mr. J. H. Fulton of the National City Bank of New York</i> Urgent request that, in case of any recognition of present Soviet administration, it apply only to future relations and transactions to avoid retroactive effect.	143
May 21 (644)	<i>To the Chargé in Russia (tel.)</i> Official statements issued to press (text printed) warning business men that any concessions from Bolshevik authorities would probably not be recognized as binding on future Russian governments, and that as Bolshevik regime has not been recognized by the United States, extreme caution should be exercised as to representations made by anyone purporting to represent Bolshevik Government.	144
June 5 (2197)	<i>To the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Lansing: Information that Martens is German subject, born in Russia, that he has been conducting propaganda and offering business men attractive opportunities, specific cases being cited, and that warnings have been issued by Department. Request for authorization for his deportation.	144
June 18 (2635)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> President Wilson's statement that no objections will be raised to deportation of Martens, if evidence is complete.	146
June 24	<i>To the National City Bank of New York</i> For Fulton: Assurances that Soviet Government will not be recognized at this time, and that any recognition hereafter will not have retroactive effect prejudicial to U. S. interests.	146
June 24	<i>Memorandum by Mr. Basil Miles, in Charge of Russian Affairs, Division of Near Eastern Affairs, Department of State</i> Proposal to intern Martens, evidence warranting deportation being inadequate; evidence of German nationality and reasons why he should be interned. (Footnote: Decision in Cabinet meeting to do nothing until further evidence or legislation is obtained.)	146
June 24 (3957)	<i>From the Chargé in Sweden (tel.)</i> Telegram from Chicherin through Sweden (text printed) protesting arrest of Martens, demanding his release, reminding of courtesies accorded U. S. citizens in Russia, and threatening reprisals.	148
July 1 (1663)	<i>To the Chargé in Sweden (tel.)</i> Statement for Swedish authorities denying that Martens has been arrested or that any action is contemplated against law-abiding Russian citizens; citation of illegal and unjustifiable treatment to which Americans have been submitted in Russia, adding that so-called reprisals would arouse U. S. indignation.	149

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CONTINUANCE OF RESTRICTIONS UPON TRADE WITH SOVIET RUSSIA BY THE PRINCIPAL ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED POWERS

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1919 June 20 (2659)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Lansing: Note from Supreme Economic Council (text printed) regarding obstacles in way of blockade of Hungary and Bolshevik Russia after peace is made with Germany and in absence of a declaration of war with Russia. Decision that no announcement will be made regarding resumption of trade and efforts will be made to prevent war material from reaching Bolshevik Russia.	149
July 15 (3152)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> White to the President: Sweden's inquiry regarding restrictions on munitions of war for Bolshevik Russia. Arguments in Council in favor of blockade; White's dissenting views; postponement of decision by Council pending receipt of President Wilson's views.	151
July 18 (2594)	<i>To the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For White: The President's approval of stand taken by White and view that a blockade before a state of war exists could not receive U. S. recognition.	153
July 26 (3323)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> White to the President: Conclusion of Council of Five to appeal to the President for reconsideration of his decision.	153
July 27 (3354)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> White to the President: Message from Council of Five (text printed) requesting reconsideration of President's decision.	154
Aug. 2 (2714)	<i>To the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> The President's reply to Council of Five (text printed) affirming that he is without constitutional right to enforce blockade without declaration of war by Congress; counterproposal of a joint note to neutrals requesting that traffic in arms with Bolsheviks be prohibited, and of policy of nonintercourse by Associated Powers.	155
Aug. 15 (4027)	<i>From the Chargé in Sweden (tel.)</i> Swedish communiqué (text printed) containing information that the United States and Great Britain still restrict trade with Russia and that mines laid make it impossible to travel by Petrograd route.	157
Sept. 9 (3067)	<i>To the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Polk: Inquiry regarding progress in preventing trade with Soviet Russia. Department's policy of refusing licenses for shipments, which will lapse with proclamation of peace; recourse then to refusal of passports and clearance to vessels.	157
Sept. 13	<i>To Senator Irvine L. Lenroot</i> Reply to inquiry regarding issuance of licenses for exportation of commodities to Soviet Russia, citing title VII of Espionage Act of June 15, 1917 (excerpt printed) as authority and calling attention to fact that all foreign trade in Russia has been nationalized and that funds used might prove to be exploitation of resources of Russian people.	158
Oct. 1 (4464)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Meeting of Council in which was discussed draft note to neutrals (text printed) suggesting measures of nonintercourse with Soviet Russia.	159

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PRINCIPAL ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED POWERS—Continued

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1919 Oct. 3 (4503)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Decision of Council that Clemenceau, as President of Peace Conference, should address proposed note to diplomatic representatives of neutrals in Paris.	160
Nov. 1	<i>To Senator James W. Wadsworth</i> Policy of nonintercourse with Bolshevik Russia, in view of propaganda aimed at overthrow of U. S. Government and of Bolshevik control over and unequal distribution of necessities; U. S. efforts, however, for relief of needy, where supplies do not fall into Bolshevik hands.	161
Nov. 22 (840)	<i>From the British Appointed Ambassador</i> Inquiry as to what steps U. S. Government is taking to prevent banks from doing business with Bolshevik Russia, in accordance with request sent to neutrals.	162
1920 Jan. 10	<i>To the British Chargé</i> Reply that prohibitions are still in force against financial transactions with Bolshevik Russia, but will be weakened with removal of censorship. Reference to Report of Secretary of Treasury to Congress, November 20, 1919.	163

PROHIBITION IN THE UNITED STATES OF THE TRAFFIC IN RUSSIAN RUBLES

1919 Jan. 28	<i>From the Consul General at Paris (tel.)</i> Ministerial decree prohibiting importation into France of any form of Russian bank notes, coins, etc., without authorization from Ministry of Finance.	163
Feb. 4	<i>From the Director of the Division of Foreign Exchange, Federal Reserve Board</i> Opinion that trading in rubles in the United States should be prohibited and press notice given to that effect; report that vast amounts of rubles are being printed for purposes of propaganda and that individuals are being lured into speculation in them.	164
Feb. 7	<i>From the Secretary of the Treasury</i> Advisability of publicly prohibiting importation of Russian bank notes, coins, etc., into the United States.	166
Feb. 26	<i>To the Federal Reserve Board</i> Receipt of letter containing order issued by Federal Reserve Board (text printed) prohibiting exportation or importation of Russian rubles or transfer of funds for their purchase.	167

THE SOVIET REPUBLIC

EFFORTS TO OBTAIN THE RELEASE OF AMERICAN CITIZENS DETAINED IN RUSSIA

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1919 Jan. 28 (457)	<i>To the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Lansing: Offer of Government of India to exchange Russian hostage for release of Tredwell, U. S. consul at Tashkent; suggestion that Tredwell's release be unconditional preliminary to U. S. participation in Prinkipo conference. Representations sent through Norway (text printed) regarding Kalamatiano, naturalized American, accused as spy for Consul Poole and condemned to death.	167
Feb. 4 (7281)	<i>To the Ambassador in France (tel.)</i> Instructions to propose cooperation of French, British, and U. S. Governments in efforts for release of their nationals in Soviet Russia. (Similar telegram to Embassy in London.)	169
Feb. 7 (789)	<i>From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)</i> British intention to propose exchange of prisoners with Bolsheviks and to include demand for U. S. nationals as well. Inquiry as to number and location of American prisoners in Russia.	169
Feb. 8 (660)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Lansing: Inability to follow suggestion concerning release of Tredwell as unconditional preliminary to U. S. representation at Prinkipo. Assumption that India's offer of hostage exchange will be investigated further.	170
Feb. 10 (1569)	<i>From the Minister in Norway (tel.)</i> Message from Norwegian consul at Moscow of Soviet offer to release Kalamatiano and English mission, provided certain Soviet officials arrested by Allied troops in eastern Siberia are released.	170
Feb. 11 (688)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Lansing: Recommendation that Department refuse to consider Bolshevik proposal for exchange of prisoners unless it includes Tredwell.	171
Feb. 12 (1572)	<i>From the Minister in Norway (tel.)</i> Soviet request through Norway for immediate reply to proposal of exchange of Russian prisoners at Vladivostok against simultaneous delivery of Kalamatiano.	171
Feb. 14 (7224)	<i>From the Ambassador in France (tel.)</i> French willingness to cooperate in release of U. S. prisoners in Russia; however, exchange of French prisoners having been effected, no important Bolsheviks remain in France.	172
Feb. 18 (693)	<i>To the Minister in Norway (tel.)</i> Instructions to request Norway to inform Soviets that offer to exchange Kalamatiano for Bolsheviks in Siberia cannot be considered unless Bolsheviks first release Tredwell, who is held in violation of international law and custom.	172
Feb. 21 (4589)	<i>To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)</i> Appreciation of British offer to include Kalamatiano in demand upon Bolsheviks for exchange of prisoners, number of U. S. prisoners in Russia being unknown. Suggestion also of further intervention by India in case of Tredwell, and request that message to him be forwarded.	173

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1919 Feb. 21 (1443)	<i>To the Chargé in Denmark (tel.)</i> Suggestion of intimating informally to Bolshevik representatives in Copenhagen that release of Tredwell prior to Prinkipo conference would be clever move because of importance of his position and prejudice which his arrest has aroused in the United States.	174
Feb. 21 (3652)	<i>From the Minister in Sweden (tel.)</i> Message from Petrograd stating that Kalamatiano's sentence for espionage has been commuted to imprisonment.	175
Feb. 24 (3666)	<i>From the Minister in Sweden (tel.)</i> Soviet message through Danish Red Cross at Moscow requesting U. S. views on exchange of Kalamatiano and Albers for Soviet officials detained at Vladivostok by U. S. authorities.	175
Feb. 25 (1534)	<i>To the Minister in Sweden (tel.)</i> Instructions to send message of assurances to Kalamatiano through Danish Red Cross and to report details concerning Albers.	176
Feb. 26 (41)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Minister in Sweden (tel.)</i> For Bullitt: Instructions to convey to Moscow government U. S. concern and irritation at treatment of Kalamatiano and Tredwell.	176
Mar. 5 (702)	<i>To the Minister in Norway (tel.)</i> Message from U. S. consul at Vladivostok (text printed), denying that any Russians have been detained by U. S. authorities. Instructions to request that this information be conveyed to Soviets.	176
Mar. 7 (1066)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Lansing: Departure of Bullitt mission from Stockholm for Helsingfors, arrangements having been made unofficially by Minister at Stockholm; Bullitt's intention to secure immediate release of Tredwell and Kalamatiano.	177
Mar. 8 (1556)	<i>To the Minister in Sweden (tel.)</i> Instructions to request that Danish Red Cross representative use every effort unofficially to secure release of Tredwell and Kalamatiano.	177
Mar. 10 (3726)	<i>From the Chargé in Denmark (tel.)</i> Report on details of Kalamatiano's imprisonment secured through Norwegian consulate at Moscow.	177
Mar. 20 (1241)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Lansing: Bullitt's message (text printed) regarding Soviet orders for release of Tredwell.	178
Mar. 21 (3755)	<i>From the Minister in Sweden (tel.)</i> Bullitt's report of personal interviews with Kalamatiano, Houston, and Albers, securing Soviet official statement of willingness to release Kalamatiano in exchange for U. S. facilities for repatriation of Lomonosov, whose passport Swedish Legation declines to visa. (Footnote: Release of Houston and Albers April 1919.)	178

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1919 Mar. 27 (1581)	<i>To the Minister in Sweden (tel.)</i> Instructions to make representations to Sweden to allow safe transit for Lomonosov, similar request being made of Finland; U. S. willingness to arrange for his safe transit when Kalamatiano, Houston, and Albers are released.	179
Mar. 31 (3825)	<i>From the Chargé in Denmark (tel.)</i> Soviet message, through Danish Red Cross, that all Americans, Italians, Rumanians, and Serbs will be liberated as soon as Russians held at Blagoveshchensk and Vladivostok are released; report that orders have been given to liberate Tredwell and send him to Moscow.	180
Apr. 4 (3794)	<i>From the Minister in Sweden (tel.)</i> Instructions from Foreign Office to Swedish Legation, Washington, to grant visa to Lomonosov permitting his entry into Sweden.	181
Apr. 8 (229)	<i>From the Consul at Helsingfors (tel.)</i> Gade to Lansing and Naval Intelligence: Scheme to secure release of U. S. and other prisoners in Russia, including Tredwell, in return for Russia's right to purchase medicines in America through Denmark; request for full discretionary power.	181
Apr. 10 (125)	<i>From the Chargé in Persia (tel.)</i> Message from Tredwell, through Russian diplomatic officer at Askhabad, telling of his release and departure for Moscow.	181
Apr. 14 (1555)	<i>To the Chargé in Denmark (tel.)</i> Unwillingness to lend good offices in connection with Bolshevik proposal for exchange of prisoners until Tredwell has been delivered to station outside Bolshevik control. Instructions to verify Tredwell's message concerning his release.	182
Apr. 14	<i>To the Consul at Helsingfors (tel.)</i> Instructions to inform Gade that his proposal cannot be approved.	182
Apr. 25 (254)	<i>From the Consul at Helsingfors (tel.)</i> Report of departure of Tredwell and others from Moscow for Finland. (Footnote: Tredwell's entrance into Finland on April 27.)	183
May 3 (173)	<i>From the Consul General at Stockholm (tel.)</i> From Tredwell: Detailed account of arrest and imprisonment.	183
May 15 (3984)	<i>From the Chargé in Denmark (tel.)</i> Excerpts from Danish Red Cross reports sent to American Mission (texts printed) urging negotiations for exchange of prisoners in return for right to purchase medicines, adding that Soviets insist there are some of their number with Americans at Vladivostok and Blagoveshchensk.	184
May 27 (1637)	<i>To the Chargé in Denmark (tel.)</i> Confirmation of report that Americans have not taken any Bolshevik prisoners in Siberia. Inquiry as to measures to be taken to release Kalamatiano.	185

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1919 June 14 (1675)	<i>To the Chargé in Denmark (tel.)</i> Instructions to inform Danish Red Cross that U. S. authorities in Siberia hold no Bolshevik prisoners and that the United States has no objections to purchase by Danish Red Cross of medicines in America for needy Russians; also to endeavor, under these circumstances, to secure release of Kalamatiano.	185
June 24 (3955)	<i>From the Chargé in Sweden (tel.)</i> Lomonosov's arrival in Sweden; failure to secure passage to Russia for himself and staff; appeals to Moscow and reply refusing to consider his exchange for Kalamatiano (texts printed).	185
June 25 (2416)	<i>To the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Message from Legation at Copenhagen (text printed) regarding Danish Red Cross efforts to include Kalamatiano with French and British in exchange for Russians in France; suggestion that offer of tonnage be made in return for release of Kalamatiano and Americans. Inquiry as to action being taken by France; approval of tonnage offer.	187
June 28	<i>From the Chargé in Sweden (tel.)</i> Soviet telegram to Lomonosov (text printed) denying that any offer had been made to release Kalamatiano and advising Lomonosov to wait in Sweden; telegram by Lomonosov, through Swedish Foreign Office (text printed), inquiring how his passage from America to Russia was conditioned.	187
July 1 (1662)	<i>To the Chargé in Sweden (tel.)</i> Department's willingness to assist Lomonosov to return to Russia; refusal to assist his staff except under some arrangement which would secure release of Kalamatiano.	188
July 7 (3977)	<i>From the Chargé in Sweden (tel.)</i> Transmittal of Department's telegram no. 1662, July 1, to Soviet Government, through Swedish Government, by attorney for Lomonosov.	188
July 13 (3129)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> French intention to repatriate Russian soldiers in France regardless of reciprocal action on part of Soviets.	188
July 14 (3988)	<i>From the Chargé in Sweden (tel.)</i> Soviet telegram to Lomonosov (text printed) reiterating refusal to release Kalamatiano, explaining situation regarding Kalamatiano, Martens, and Tredwell. Lomonosov's statement to Legation (text printed) comparing his case with that of Tredwell and requesting U. S. reciprocity of treatment. Request for instructions, since permission for Lomonosov to remain in Sweden expires August 1.	188
July 18 (1668)	<i>To the Chargé in Sweden (tel.)</i> Instructions to telegraph U. S. Commissioner at Helsingfors of U. S. desire that Lomonosov be allowed passage through Finland to Russia, and to say to Lomonosov that his statement regarding detention in America is contrary to facts.	190

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REJECTION OF BRITISH PROPOSALS FOR FACILITATING THE REPATRIATION OF
CHINESE COOLIES REMAINING IN RUSSIA

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1919 Jan. 20 (57)	<i>From the British Chargé</i> British request for support of a proposal to China to order home their nationals now serving in Bolshevik armies, and to address summons to Bolshevik Government to release all Chinese from army service and facilitate their return home.	190
Jan. 25	<i>To the British Chargé</i> Request for British views as to advisability of proposed action in view of unsettled state of China and danger of introducing lawless element in large numbers; counter-proposal that coolies be returned gradually and their distribution supervised.	191
Feb. 8	<i>To the British Embassy</i> Opinion of American Minister in China and of his British and Russian colleagues that presence of coolies in China in large numbers would endanger peace of the country. Department's concurrence and instructions accordingly.	192
Feb. 24 (144)	<i>From the British Chargé</i> Request for U. S. views on desire expressed by Union of Chinese Workmen in Russia, conveyed through Bolshevik Government, that facilities be granted for return home of Chinese coolies.	192
Feb. 28	<i>To the British Chargé</i> Reply that reasons have been given as to inadvisability of assisting at this time in repatriation of Chinese workmen and coolies who have been under influence of Bolshevik rule in Russia.	193
Mar. 5 (171)	<i>From the British Ambassador</i> Explanation that movement for repatriation of Union of Chinese Workmen in Russia was at their own request and has no connection with British proposal of January 20. Submission of question to Chinese Government.	193
Mar. 26	<i>To the British Ambassador.</i> Opinion of U. S. Minister in China that Bolshevik propaganda will find little encouragement in China and that Government is willing that workmen return. Reports from other sources that movement is part of plan for armed uprising in Siberia and for establishing Soviets in China.	194
Apr. 21 (295)	<i>From the British Ambassador</i> British decision to drop whole question of allowing Chinese Bolsheviks to return to China.	194

CHAPTER II

SIBERIA

CAMPAIGNS IN WESTERN SIBERIA, AND THE FINAL DEFEAT OF KOLCHAK

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Jan. 10 (165)	<i>To the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Lansing also: Report from U. S. military observer at Ekaterinburg (text printed) regarding capture of Perm by Siberian Army; evidence of Bolshevik terrorism among inhabitants. (Instructions to repeat to London.)	195
Undated [Rec'd Jan. 11]	<i>From the Minister in China (tel.)</i> From Harris at Omsk: Plan of Siberian Army on western front, under command of Generals Gaida and Pepelyaev, to attempt to reach Moscow by spring.	196
Jan. 13	<i>From the Minister in China (tel.)</i> From Harris at Omsk: Kolchak's statement that situation in Orenburg district is serious owing to Social Revolutionary and Bolshevik propaganda; arrangements for dispatch of troops to Ufa.	196
Undated [Rec'd Jan. 24]	<i>From the Minister in China (tel.)</i> From Harris at Omsk: Report on frustration of Bolshevik attempt to loot Perm, Kolchak being aided by Cossacks. Fall of Ufa, however, to Bolsheviks counter-balancing any advantage gained.	196
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Jan. 30	<i>From the Minister in China (tel.)</i> From Harris at Omsk: Refusal of Czech and Siberian soldiers in Kungur region to obey orders; drastic action taken by military authorities.	198
Undated [Rec'd Feb. 3]	<i>From the Minister in China (tel.)</i> From Harris at Omsk: Japanese offer to support Kolchak in fight against Bolsheviks; Kolchak's refusal of offer, stating that aid should come jointly from all the Allies.	198
Undated [Rec'd Feb. 5]	<i>From the Minister in China (tel.)</i> From Harris at Omsk: Improved situation at Kungur and Perm, despite news that Czechs are withdrawing.	199
Undated [Rec'd Feb. 15]	<i>From the Minister in China (tel.)</i> From Harris at Tomsk: Improved military situation at Omsk, population quiet, regiments on both sides refusing to fight.	199
Undated [Rec'd Mar. 20]	<i>From the Minister in China (tel.)</i> From Harris at Harbin: Report of capture by Siberian Army of Ufa and of junction point of Chishmy.	200

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1919 Mar. 29 (1367)	<i>To the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Indorsement of optimistic views of Harris (text printed) arrived at after discussions with Graves, Stevens, and others at Vladivostok, describing Kolchak government as stronger and campaign against Bolsheviks as progressing favorably, only needs now being economic and protection in the rear.	200
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Undated [Rec'd June 7]	<i>From the Minister in China (tel.)</i> From Harris at Omsk: Report of victory of Ural Cossacks over Bolsheviks on Orenburg front and advance of Siberian Army on north; its repulse, however, on Kazan front.	203
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Undated [Rec'd July 1]	<i>From the Minister in China (tel.)</i> From Harris at Omsk: Serious situation on Ufa and Perm fronts and in trans-Baikal as regards railway, yet considerable improvement in service owing to work of U. S. railway men; influx of refugees.	205
Undated [Rec'd July 10]	<i>From the Minister in China (tel.)</i> From Harris at Omsk: Battles at Zlatoust and Kungur; notification to all Americans including Red Cross to retire to Omsk if Bolsheviks advance; serious situation at Ekaterinburg.	206

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Undated [Rec'd July 17]	<i>From the Minister in China (tel.)</i> From Harris at Omsk: Bolshevik occupation of Ekaterinburg; further evacuations toward Omsk by U. S. consular officers, U. S. Red Cross, etc.	209
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Aug. 6	<i>From the Ambassador in Japan, temporarily at Omsk (tel.)</i> Indications of demoralization and panic in Kolchak's army; his efforts at reorganization; superior strength, morale, and equipment of Bolsheviks, and exhibition of more tolerant spirit; political disorganization in Kolchak government and growing Bolshevik sentiment in Siberia.	210
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Sept. 3	<i>To the Consul at Harbin (tel.)</i> For Harris: Suggestion that gold bullion under Kolchak's control be sent to U. S. Legation at Peking, with U. S. pledge to return it to properly constituted government. Request for views.	214
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Undated [Rec'd Sept. 12]	<i>From the Minister in China (tel.)</i> From Harris at Omsk: Report of general advance by Siberian Army, capturing prisoners and guns.	216
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Sept. 23	<i>To the Consul General at Irkutsk, temporarily at Omsk (tel.)</i> Instructions to confer with Slaughter whose reports directly contradict consul general's reports. Request for authoritative report of actual situation of Kolchak forces and progress in measures for Zemstvo Council.	218
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Oct. 20	<i>Memorandum by the Third Assistant Secretary of State of a Conversation with the Russian Ambassador</i> U. S. refusal to send additional troops to Siberia or to move troops farther west; discussion of Japanese decision not to proceed west of Baikal; advantage to railroads of slow repatriation of Czechs.	220

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Oct. 29	<i>From the Chargé in China (tel.)</i> From Harris: Retreat of Siberian Army; preparations to defend Omsk if necessary; transfer of personnel of departments to Irkutsk, Kolchak, officials, and gold bullion remaining.	221
Nov. 1	<i>From the Chargé in China (tel.)</i> From Harris at Omsk: Continued retreat of Siberian Army; order for U. S. Red Cross to evacuate to Irkutsk; aggravation of situation by railway congestion and intense cold; Bolshevik radio reports of victories on all fronts.	221
Nov. 3 (3658)	<i>To the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Telegram from Harris at Omsk (text printed) regarding conversation with Kolchak, who expresses appreciation of U. S. aid and determination to fight to the end; Czech intention not to participate in fighting but to evacuate Siberia; capture of Petropavlovsk by Bolsheviks; purpose of foreign missions to evacuate by November 5.	222
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Nov. 22	<i>From the Chargé in China (tel.)</i> From Harris at Tomsk: Destruction of Omsk; capture of trains carrying families of Siberian officers; great suffering; severe cold; further evacuation by Polish troops and others moving eastward.	225
Nov. 24	<i>From the President of the Technical Board (tel.)</i> Capture by Reds of large number prisoners, supplies, and equipment at Omsk; scattering of Kolchak's army.	226

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1919 Nov. 25	<i>From the Chargé in China (tel.)</i> From Harris: Report of resignation of Kolchak ministry and attempt to fuse new ministry with Social Revolutionaries and Cossacks; elimination of pro-American members. Czech appeal for repatriation, attacking Kolchak government. Estimation that 60 percent of Czechs are Bolsheviks. Presence of Kolchak in Novo Nikolaevsk with the gold.	226
Undated [Rec'd Dec. 1]	<i>From the Chargé in China (tel.)</i> From Harris at Irkutsk: Report from Novo Nikolaevsk of anticipated fall of that city; preparations for evacuation of Americans to Krasnoyarsk; reinforcement of Dutov's army with Siberian Cossacks to create new southern front; presence of Kolchak and army staff at Novo Nikolaevsk.	227
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Dec. 3	<i>From the Chargé in China (tel.)</i> From Harris at Irkutsk: Difficulty of evacuation of Novo Nikolaevsk owing to seizure by Czechs of all locomotives for their own use; report of no atrocities by Bolsheviks at Omsk but kind treatment of population and army.	229
Dec. 18	<i>To the Consul General at Irkutsk (tel.)</i> Request for comment on Stevens' report from Harbin (text printed) stating that attitude of Bolsheviks in Siberia has changed, that they are advancing east establishing order, advising all to go about their business, and arranging for election of delegates for General Constituent Assembly.	229
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Undated [Rec'd Dec. 24]	<i>From the Chargé in China (tel.)</i> From Harris at Irkutsk: Conflict between Poles and Bolsheviks at Taiga; assurance of safety of Americans; friction between Czechs and Siberians; quiet in region of Cheremkovo, work being resumed and traffic unimpeded.	231
Dec. 24	<i>From the President of the Technical Board (tel.)</i> Kolchak's request to Semenov and Japanese to stop Czechs and to force them to support Kolchak government. Semenov's appointment as commander of forces east of Irkutsk. Bolshevik control of all territory west of Achinsk.	232
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Dec. 27	<i>From the Ambassador in Japan (tel.)</i> Reports of mutiny in Siberian Army at Irkutsk and the advance of the Bolsheviks on the city; General Oi's move to protect Baikal tunnels. Eagerness of Japanese to send troops to preserve order and evacuate foreigners; their hesitancy to act without U. S. concurrence and support.	234
Dec. 27	<i>From the President of the Technical Board (tel.)</i> Overthrow of Kolchak government, with Irkutsk in the possession of Social Revolutionists; protection of Americans by Czechs; Semenov's operation of railroad.	234
Dec. 28	<i>From the Chargé in China (tel.)</i> From Harris: Indications that Kolchak's mentality is breaking under the strain; opinion that Czech-United States-Japanese forces are sufficient to safeguard tunnels and bridges in trans-Baikal.	235
Undated [Rec'd Dec. 30]	<i>From the Chargé in China (tel.)</i> From Harris at Irkutsk: Kolchak government finished; Bolsheviks in control from Lake Baikal to Moscow; no change of policy except toward those from whom they wish to secure food supplies; no move toward a constituent assembly and no possibility of constructive work under their rule.	235

INTER-ALLIED AGREEMENT FOR SUPERVISION OF THE CHINESE EASTERN AND THE SIBERIAN RAILWAYS

1919 Jan. 9	<i>From the Ambassador in Japan (tel.)</i> Submission to Japanese Foreign Minister on January 9 of memorandum of points previously discussed and agreed upon concerning plan for supervision of railways. Foreign Minister's suggestion that Associated Governments be advised of understanding reached and that Ambassador Morris go to Vladivostok to assist in preliminary arrangements.	236
Jan. 11	<i>To the Ambassador in Japan (tel.)</i> For Stevens: Telegram from Harris at Omsk (text printed) containing appeal of Omsk government that managing control of Siberian Railway be taken over by American Railway Commission; Harris' recommendation for favorable consideration in view of present condition of railroad and facilities needed by relief organizations.	237
Jan. 13 (4037)	<i>To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)</i> Transmittal of Ambassador Morris' telegram of January 9. Information that Department is authorizing Morris to proceed to Vladivostok; that plans can go forward as soon as matter has been formally presented by Japan; and that instructions will then be issued for formal notification to Government. (Instructions to repeat to Paris and Rome.)	238

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Undated [Rec'd Jan. 17]	<i>From the Minister in China (tel.)</i> From Harris at Omsk: Statement of Council of Ministers, Provisional Government, to representatives of foreign powers conveying decision in favor of project for control and regulation of their railways by Inter-Allied Committee and under management of Stevens.	241
Jan. 18	<i>From the Counselor of the Japanese Embassy</i> Confirmation of Japan's understanding concerning points of agreement for supervision of Chinese Eastern and Trans-Siberian Railways, as presented in Ambassador Morris' memorandum of January 9 (text printed).	242
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Jan. 24 (391)	<i>To the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Lansing: Doubt as to possibility of securing money for Russian railway supervision owing to critical attitude of Congress toward Administration's Russian policy.	245
Jan. 31 (521)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Lansing: President's authorization to present secretly to congressional committees plan for supervision of railways, with full explanation of policy involved and necessity for financing project; instructions to hold in abeyance instructions to General Graves and advance of money by War Trade Board, Russian Bureau.	246
Feb. 4 (568)	<i>To the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Lansing and McCormick: Inadvisability of approaching Congress at this time with any Russian plan, in view of hopelessness of obtaining an appropriation and indefinite nature of plan; demand made in Congress for withdrawal of U. S. troops from Russia; inquiry as to reply to be given Japan.	248

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Feb. 9 (658)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Lansing and McCormick: The President's withdrawal of suggestion to submit railway plan to congressional committees; authorization, however, to notify Japan of U. S. acceptance of plan with reservation as to financial responsibility, to proceed with plan, and to notify War Trade Board, Russian Bureau, to advance available funds.	250
Feb. 10	<i>To the Japanese Ambassador</i> Notification of U. S. acceptance of general plan of supervision of railways in Siberia, with reservation as to any financial responsibility; U. S. approval of memorandum of January 9. Interpretation of word "interests" as not implying political or territorial spheres of influence.	251
Feb. 10 (4496)	<i>To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)</i> Instructions to make formal notification of U. S. approval of plan for supervision of railways and to request Government's approval and support. (Similar telegrams to Ambassadors in France and Italy.)	252
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July 27	<i>From the Ambassador in Japan, temporarily at Omsk (tel.)</i> Conclusions, reached in official discussions, as to measures which should be taken for the better operation of the railways. Information that Allied inspectors have been directed to withdraw from division between Manchuria Station and Verkhneudinsk, as Japanese have refused to protect lives and property.	567
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CHAPTER III

THE NORTHERN REGION

WITHDRAWAL OF ALLIED AND AMERICAN SUPPORT OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT IN NORTHERN RUSSIA

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July 9 (515)	<i>From the British Chargé</i> British urgent request for payment by United States of 2,500,000 rubles toward monthly support of Provisional Government of Northern Russia.	635

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CHAPTER IV

THE BALTIC PROVINCES

CONFLICT OF THE WHITE RUSSIANS AND INHABITANTS OF THE BALTIC PROVINCES
WITH THE BOLSHEVIK FORCES IN WESTERN RUSSIA

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Sept. 9 (4060)	<i>From the Chargé in Sweden (tel.)</i> Estimate of present situation in Baltic Provinces as regards political, naval, military, economic, financial, and industrial affairs—a situation so desperate that, lacking friendly support, the Bolsheviks are likely to overrun whole Baltic region.	707
Sept. 9 (3074)	<i>To the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Polk and Hoover: The President's approval of charter for certain U. S. shipping to transport supplies from British and French ports for Yudenitch.	709
Sept. 15 (101)	<i>From the Vice Consul at Viborg (tel.)</i> Position of Russian Whites opposing Bolsheviks in Narva-Pakow district; report that morale and discipline are good and that British munitions have arrived.	710
Sept. 18	<i>From the Russian Embassy</i> Request that United States cease all material and moral support to Esthonia, in view of Esthonia's cessation of hostilities and peace arrangements with Bolsheviks.	710
Sept. 19 (421)	<i>From the Commissioner at Helsingfors (tel.)</i> Account of Esthonian fear of recurrence of Bolshevik outrages and desperate, unbearable conditions which are driving Government to make peace with Bolsheviks.	711
Sept. 20 (3184)	<i>To the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Polk: Message from vice consul at Viborg (text printed) calling attention to danger that U. S. food sent Esthonia may reach Bolsheviks. Inquiry as to British attitude toward Esthonian-Bolshevik peace, and as to safeguards against U. S. relief reaching Bolsheviks.	712
Sept. 23	<i>The Russian Delegation in Paris to the President of the Peace Conference</i> Urgent request for Associated Powers to intervene to prevent conclusion of peace between Esthonia and Bolsheviks.	712

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1919 Sept. 26 (435)	<i>From the Commissioner at Helsingfors (tel.)</i> Certainty of Esthonian-Latvian peace with Bolsheviks.	713
Sept. 29 (4436)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Polk: <i>Aide-mémoire</i> by Sazonov, Foreign Minister for Omsk and South Russian governments (text printed), making urgent plea for food supplies for Petrograd, should that city be taken. Comments.	714
Sept. 30	<i>The Secretariat-General of the Paris Peace Conference to the Secretariat of the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Letter from President <i>pro tem.</i> of Esthonian delegation at Paris, dated September 29, to President of Peace Conference (text printed) giving information regarding negotiations with Bolsheviks, which will be carried on in common with other Baltic states; justification of action in view of desperate situation, and assurance that sentiments toward Allies remain same.	714
Oct. 2 (3319)	<i>To the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Polk: Reply to appeal of Omsk and South Russian governments for food supply for Petrograd, referring to Hoover's supplies at Viborg and stating that no more funds are available, although the President will be requested to present plan to Congress.	721
Oct. 4 (442)	<i>From the Commissioner at Helsingfors (tel.)</i> Decision at Dorpat meeting that Lithuania, Latvia, and Esthonia will begin peace negotiations with Bolsheviks about October 25. Finland's decision not yet reached.	721
Oct. 14 (115)	<i>From the Vice Consul at Viborg (tel.)</i> Beginning of offensive by Russian Northwestern Corps; the taking of Pskov and Yamburg.	722
Oct. 14 (6078)	<i>To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)</i> Information for transmission to Paris and Scandinavian missions regarding mission of Gade to Baltic Provinces as special representative to observe conditions, not being accredited to any government.	722
Oct. 15 (6081)	<i>To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)</i> Instructions to discuss informally Baltic situation and ascertain British views and policy. Transmittal of U. S. views.	722
Oct. 15 (3443)	<i>To the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Polk: Letter to Lithuanian National Committee (text printed) in line with U. S. policy of maximum autonomy and self-government for Baltic Provinces without commitment as to their independence and with sovereignty of Russia unimpaired. Russian Ambassador's disapproval of British policy. Request for views. (Instructions to repeat to London for information.)	723
Oct. 16 (116)	<i>From the Vice Consul at Viborg (tel.)</i> Attack by Russian Whites on Krasnaya Gorka fort under cover of fire from British Fleet; continued advance of Whites, Bolsheviks retreating.	724

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Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Oct. 16 (465)	<i>From the Commissioner at Helsingfors (tel.)</i> Report of capture of Gatchina by Northwestern Army and likelihood of fall of Petrograd in few days.	724
Oct. 16 (467)	<i>From the Commissioner at Helsingfors (tel.)</i> Reported capture of Petrograd and Kronstadt.	725
Oct. 17	<i>To the Vice Consul at Viborg (tel.)</i> Instructions to proceed to Petrograd, if Petrograd falls, and report needs of population, etc.	725
Oct. 18 (119)	<i>From the Vice Consul at Viborg (tel.)</i> Report by Finnish General Staff that White forces have occupied Petrograd, and that White flag flies from Kronstadt.	725
Oct. 20 (122)	<i>From the Vice Consul at Viborg (tel.)</i> Report that Reds intend to defend Petrograd, fighting at Putiloffski works on outskirts of city, and holding Finnish border. Destruction of one railway, sole egress from city being toward Volgda.	725
Oct. 22 (125)	<i>From the Vice Consul at Viborg (tel.)</i> Untruth of statement that Kronstadt had been captured by Whites, statement having been made for political reasons. Soviet call for reinforcements to defend Petrograd and convention at Moscow to discuss plans for saving Soviet Government.	726
Oct. 22 (124)	<i>From the Vice Consul at Viborg (tel.)</i> Continued fighting on outskirts of Petrograd, Whites being unable to advance and Bolsheviks bringing up reinforcements.	726
Oct. 22	<i>President Wilson to the United States Wheat Director and President of the United States Grain Corporation</i> Authorization to sell to Russian Embassy, on credit or otherwise, wheat flour for relief of civilian population of Petrograd and such adjoining regions as may be freed from Bolshevik control.	726
Oct. 23 (6116)	<i>To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)</i> Kolchak's refusal to follow British proposal that he recognize the independence of the Baltic Provinces, as a deterrent against the Bolshevik bargain to recognize their independence as peace price. Russian Ambassador's suggestion that it be pointed out to the Baltic Governments that Allied support was predicated on resistance to Bolsheviks and would be withdrawn if they made peace. Department's suggestion that representations be made to Great Britain, as United States had not supported Baltic Provinces. (Instructions to repeat to American Mission for Polk's information.)	727
Oct. 23 (3287)	<i>From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)</i> Informal discussion on subject of independence of Baltic nationalities, Great Britain having refused <i>de jure</i> recognition to them on ground it was matter for Peace Conference or League of Nations. Consideration of recognition of Kolchak also.	728

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Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Oct. 23 (4789)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Reported imminence of fall of Petrograd. Preparations for rushing food to starving citizens. Further plans to secure food from various other sources immediately, in view of early freezing of waterways and because of destruction of railways.	729
Oct. 24 (4159)	<i>From the Ambassador in Sweden (tel.)</i> Information that Yudenitch has requested no help from Finland, as he and Denikin are opposed to possible capture of Petrograd by Finnish troops.	731
Oct. 25 (127)	<i>From the Vice Consul at Viborg (tel.)</i> Proximity of Whites to Petrograd, still in control of Nikolaevsk railroad and attempting to isolate Petrograd by destroying bridges. Trotsky's control in Petrograd.	732
Oct. 25 (4162)	<i>From the Ambassador in Sweden (tel.)</i> Status of peace negotiations between Baltic Provinces, Finland, and Soviet Russia. Dorpat conference of Baltic Provinces and Finland to decide on conditions upon acceptance of which by Bolsheviks negotiations might begin. Postponement of negotiations because of military activities on both sides.	732
Oct. 25 (3564)	<i>To the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Further preparations for relief of Petrograd in case city falls. Advisability of using South Russian grain as far as possible.	733
Oct. 28 (132)	<i>From the Vice Consul at Viborg (tel.)</i> Bolshevik preparations for offensive, with Red Army of 100,000 available for defending Petrograd. Bombardment of Kronstadt by British monitor.	733
Oct. 28 (243)	<i>From the Minister in Denmark (tel.)</i> Report from military attaché at Riga (text printed) giving summary of Prime Minister's account of Latvia's struggle against Germans and Bolsheviks, requesting aid of Associated Powers and specifying that Latvia's future actions depend upon reply.	734
Oct. 29 (3315)	<i>From the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)</i> British concurrence in U. S. views regarding recognition of independence of Baltic nationalities.	735
Nov. 3 (487)	<i>From the Commissioner at Helsingfors (tel.)</i> French and British pressure upon Finland to intervene in Russia. Finland's reply that, in absence of guaranties by Entente or future Russian Government, it declines to assist in military deliverance of Petrograd.	735
Nov. 3 (489)	<i>From the Commissioner at Helsingfors (tel.)</i> Official report of retreat of Yudenitch from Gatchina and Luga and their occupation by Bolsheviks.	736
Nov. 4 (4211)	<i>From the Chargé in Sweden (tel.)</i> Scheme of Baltic barons and German industrialists and private bankers to finance efforts of Von der Goltz and Bermond to crush Soviet Government, gain ascendancy, and open Russian market to Germany. Latvia's refusal of right of passage to German troops under Bermond and his attack on Latvia. Yudenitch's refusal to join Bermond's forces.	736

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Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Nov. 5 (1722)	<i>To the Chargé in Sweden (tel.)</i> Finnish cooperation in attacks on Petrograd is matter for Finland alone to decide. Caution against other than non-committal attitude. (Instructions to repeat to Commissioner at Helsingfors.)	737
Nov. 11 (6171)	<i>To the Ambassador in Great Britain (tel.)</i> Bakhmeteff's repetition of request that efforts be made to restrain Baltic Governments from making peace with Soviets; no change in U. S. attitude. Inquiry whether British Baltic policy is regarded as unsuccessful and whether there is again a disposition to negotiate with Soviets.	738
Nov. 13 (5156)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Gade on board U. S. S. <i>Chattanooga</i> : Summary of campaign against Petrograd and resulting disaster to Russian forces. British pessimism and preparations to withdraw naval forces when gulf freezes.	738
Undated [Rec'd Nov. 13] (5158)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Gade on board U. S. S. <i>Chattanooga</i> : Terms of armistice which Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian delegates intend to present to Soviet Government. Note from delegates to America and Peace Conference (text printed) proposing neutral zone between Soviets and Baltic States to be controlled by power nominated by Peace Conference.	740
Nov. 18 (4236)	<i>From the Chargé in Sweden (tel.)</i> Yudenitch's appeal to British and French missions to exert pressure on Esthonia to the end that his army be permitted to retreat on Esthonian soil without disarming.	741
Undated [Rec'd Nov. 19] (5280)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Gade at Riga: Defeat of Bermondts by Latvians; their victory over Bolsheviks on eastern front. Latvia's statement that peace with Bolsheviks will not be concluded if Allies disapprove; their inquiry as to U. S. attitude.	741
Nov. 19 (4240)	<i>From the Chargé in Sweden (tel.)</i> Report of satisfactory agreement between Yudenitch and Esthonia, and that troops are not to be interned.	742
Nov. 21 (5334)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Gade at Riga: Report that portion of Yudenitch's troops have been disarmed in Esthonia; grave danger of such measures. Inquiry as to steps to be taken regarding probable refusal of entry into Esthonia to Bermondts's Russians, wishing to join Northwestern Army.	742
Nov. 21 (3844)	<i>To the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Gade: Instructions to make no formal representations to Latvia regarding proposed peace with Bolsheviks; however, informal personal advice may be given against any compromise with them.	742
Nov. 22 (5361)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Gade at Riga: Message from Eberhardt, German commander, to Latvia (text printed) stating that Russian west army has placed itself under German protection and proposing cessation of hostilities. Stiffening of Bolshevik demands on Baltic Provinces.	743

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Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Nov. 25 (3882)	<i>To the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Gade: Unwisdom of interfering in any formal way with problem of Bermond's Russians; no objections, however, to unofficial advice given in line with U. S. policy.	743
Nov. 26	<i>From the Commissioner at Riga (tel.)</i> Indecision of delegates at Dorpat, hoping for favorable action on part of Associated Governments. Agreement for joint Polish, Latvian, and Lithuanian offensive against Bolsheviks. Esthonia's separate negotiations with Moscow. Bolshevik demand for free passage through Reval.	744
Nov. 27 (5437)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Message from Hoover's Child Fund representative (text printed) calling attention to movement to disband remainder of Russian Army and turn over supplies to Esthonian command. Suggestion that steps be taken to protect these and Viborg stocks from being misappropriated.	744
Nov. 28 (154)	<i>From the Vice Consul at Viborg (tel.)</i> Bitter feeling among White Russians against British, their indifference toward French, and a turning to Americans as only friends. Proposal of official statement of friendliness to White cause, for without U. S. support they will be forced to accept assistance from Germany.	745
Nov. 29 (5467)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Gade at Riga: Responsibility of Yudenitch for provisioning of Northwestern Army; his indecision as to next step because of insufficiency of supplies.	746
Dec. 3 (5537)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Consideration by Council of Heads of Delegations at Paris of relations between Yudenitch and Esthonia and decision to take steps to bring about agreement between them.	746
Dec. 13	<i>To the Commissioner at Riga (tel.)</i> Instructions informally to warn Esthonia that accession to Bolshevik proposal for free transit through Esthonia and use of Esthonian port would tend to nullify independence which Bolsheviks pretend to be willing to grant to Esthonia.	747
Dec. 13 (40)	<i>From the Consul at Reval (tel.)</i> From Gade: Esthonian reply to Paris stating Esthonia can not risk danger of not disarming Yudenitch's army, unless Associated Powers are willing to recognize Esthonian independence and give considerable support.	747
Dec. 15 (165)	<i>From the Vice Consul at Viborg (tel.)</i> Request for instructions regarding Yudenitch's appeal that Viborg stores, with exception of one week's supply for Petrograd, be sent to Reval for his army and for refugees.	748
Dec. 15	<i>To the Commissioner at Riga (tel.)</i> Instructions to cooperate with Imbrie and Miller in using Viborg and Reval stores for assisting Yudenitch's army and refugees in Esthonia.	748
Dec. 19	<i>To the Vice Consul at Viborg (tel.)</i> Instructions that Viborg stores should be sent to Reval for relief of Yudenitch's army and refugees.	749

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Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Dec. 31	<i>To the Commissioner at Riga (tel.)</i> No objections to use of food supplies now at Reval for general and army relief; Miller to be so instructed.	749
1920 Jan. 1 (55)	<i>From the Commissioner at Riga (tel.)</i> Reported armistice between Esthonia and Bolsheviks to take effect January 3.	749

CHAPTER V

SOUTHERN RUSSIA AND THE UKRAINE

MILITARY AND POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTHERN RUSSIA AS REPORTED BY
AMERICAN OBSERVERS

1919 Jan. 25 (461)	<i>To the Chargé in Russia (tel.)</i> Information that Consul Jenkins, with Randolph, Doolittle, Lehrs, and Burri, is being sent to Odessa to open consulate.	750
Feb. 14 (730)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Departure of field party for Odessa to report on political, economic, and military conditions in Southern Russia. Personnel and instructions; Lt. Col. E. F. Riggs, chief of mission.	750
Mar. 1 (21)	<i>Admiral Bristol to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Riggs to Tyler: Report of arrival of field party at Constantinople; separation into three parties going direct to Odessa, Ekaterinodar, and Tiflis.	751
Mar. 15	<i>The Chief of the Mission to Southern Russia to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Serious situation at Odessa; recommendations for Allied assistance in food supplies and for settlement of conflicting authorities, as French are backing Petlyura and British, Denikin. British opinion that weak Petlyura government is advance guard of Bolshevism.	751
Mar. 17 (1189)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Jenkins at Odessa: Report on various portions of South Russia as controlled by French, Greek, and Rumanian troops, by Volunteer Army of Denikin, by Petlyura, by Don Cossacks, and by Bolsheviks.	752
Mar. 26 (1329)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Jenkins at Odessa: Report on serious economic and financial situation, due mainly to speculation; information as to unsatisfactory military situation.	753
Mar. 28 (12)	<i>The Chief of the Mission to Southern Russia to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Churchill: Opinion that Russia cannot be occupied militarily by Allies and cannot be conquered by Cossacks or Siberians if peasants remain neutral. Suggestion that moral support of peasants be gained by Allied guaranty of land reforms in Russia; and that speculation be checked by Allied arrangements for supplies and their distribution.	755

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1919 Apr. 2 (12)	<i>From the Consul at Odessa (tel.)</i> News of evacuation of Odessa. Arrangements for Americans to board British warship pending arrival of U. S. ship.	757
Apr. 11 (1560)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Jenkins at Odessa: Withdrawal of Allied forces to Bessarabia and control of Odessa by local Bolsheviks; general mismanagement and poor morale of insufficient French forces; closing of consulate and placing of U. S. interests in hands of Swiss vice consul.	757
Apr. 11 (171)	<i>Admiral Bristol to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Berry to Churchill: Report on situation along various fronts: French evacuation of Odessa on April 5 without warning, deserting Greek and Volunteer Forces; evacuation of Crimea by Volunteer Forces, in consequence of French action.	758
Apr. 21 (172)	<i>Admiral Bristol to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Riggs to Tyler: Arrival at Ekaterinodar via Sevastopol, Yalta, and Novorossiisk. Evacuation of remainder of party to Constantinople.	759
Undated [Rec'd Apr. 22] (1729)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Ravndal at Constantinople: Jenkins' message (text printed) regarding evacuation from Crimea of former Russian Imperial family by British. Bolshevik occupation of practically all of Crimea and north coast of Azov including coal port of Donets Basin.	759
May 2	<i>The Consul General at Constantinople to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Burri's report (text printed) regarding situation in Kuban region, Denikin's army being strengthened by British supplies; Denikin's military plans and Bolshevik plans; complex political situation.	760
Undated [Rec'd May 3] (1939)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Ravndal at Constantinople: Jenkins' message (text printed) containing declaration by Volunteer Army (text printed) of purpose to overthrow Bolshevik anarchy and restore law and order in Russia with universal suffrage, local self-government, land reforms, etc., under united Russia.	761
Undated [Rec'd May 7] (2026)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Ravndal at Constantinople: Jenkins' message (text printed) reporting complete evacuation of Sevastopol, leaving Bolsheviks in control.	762
May 6 [?]] (2027)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Ravndal at Constantinople: Jenkins' message (text printed) containing appeal for Red Cross assistance for Volunteer Army of North Caucasus.	762
June 7 (384)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Naval Station at Constantinople (tel.)</i> For Berry at Ekaterinodar: Inquiry regarding report of extermination at Novorossiisk of mutinous Russians repatriated from France; inquiries also regarding attitude of Volunteer Army and Kuban government toward Allied note to Kolchak.	762

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1919 June 23 (2735)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Return of Riggs to Paris, strongly recommending recognition of Kolchak. Reports of various sections of the field party.	763
Undated {Rec'd June 26} (2777)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Naval Station: Message from Ekaterinodar (text printed) containing Denikin's declaration of fealty to Kolchak as Supreme Governor of Russia and commander in chief of Army (text printed).	764
June 27 (943)	<i>From the Ambassador in France (tel.)</i> From Ravndal at Constantinople: Telegram from Burri at Ekaterinodar (text printed) stating Volunteer Army government requests monthly supply of flour for industrial workers of Don Basin, payment in raw materials.	764
June 28 (963)	<i>From the Ambassador in France (tel.)</i> From Ravndal at Constantinople: Departure of Bolsheviks from Crimea. Growing confidence of Volunteer Army, supported by British tanks.	764
June 30 (971)	<i>Admiral Bristol to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Berry at Ekaterinodar: Denial that Russian repatriates from France mutinied at Novorossisk or were exterminated. Account of mutiny of Russian detachment on French front. Attitude of South Russia toward Allies' note to Kolchak and his acceptance of it.	765
July 12	<i>The Secretariat-General of the Paris Peace Conference to the Secretariat of the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Note dated June 28 from delegations of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuanian Poles, Georgia, Republic of North Caucasus, Azerbaidshan and Poland at Paris (text printed) protesting intervention by Associated Governments in assisting Denikin as contrary to professed policy of right to self-determination of nations.	765
Aug. 20 (360)	<i>From the Commissioner at Constantinople (tel.)</i> Account of chaos and Red terror in Odessa as result of Bolshevik rule, and increasing opposition of peasants in neighboring villages to Bolshevik regime.	768
Aug. 20 (2886)	<i>To the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Polk: Request to be informed whether officers of U. S. military mission are operating with Denikin or elsewhere in South Russia; desire to know conditions they report.	769
Aug. 30 (3955)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Polk: Information that U. S. officers were part of field party sent out by Commission to observe conditions in South Russia, and that reports were of technical military nature.	769
Sept. 1 (6)	<i>From the High Commissioner at Constantinople (tel.)</i> From Ravndal: Capture of Odessa and Kiev from Bolsheviks; bitterness in Denikin circles because United States lends no aid; recommendation of appointment of U. S. economic commission for South Russia and exchange of goods for raw material.	770

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1919 Sept. 18 (4266)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Polk: Denikin's message to President Wilson (text printed) deploring withdrawal of South Russian field mission and requesting U. S. moral and material assistance in fight against Bolshevism.	771
Oct. 10 (4609)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Summary of telegram from Denikin dated September 26 (text printed) reporting the arrest and execution by the Bolsheviks of large numbers of persons in consequence of Denikin's advance north; and requesting Allies to take measures to prevent wholesale massacre.	772
Oct. 13 (229)	<i>To the Commissioner at Constantinople (tel.)</i> For Burri: Instructions to proceed to certain points in South Russia to report on political and economic conditions.	773
Oct. 20 (1805)	<i>To the Minister in Denmark (tel.)</i> Instructions to inform Government of Denikin's telegram concerning Bolshevik arrests and executions and to request Government to appeal to Bolsheviks through Danish Red Cross, or otherwise, with the hope of preventing additional acts of terror and barbarity. Information that Denikin has also been cautioned to prevent similar acts of barbarity by his followers.	773
Undated [Rec'd Oct. 26] (4835)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Ravndal at Constantinople: Progress of Volunteer Army, which is attracting widespread attention. Denikin's purpose to reconstitute Black Sea Fleet and undertake naval program. Advocacy of U. S. acceptance of mandate for Transcaucasia.	774
Nov. 12	<i>To the Secretary of War</i> Recommendation that shipments of surplus materials to South Russia be encouraged because of great need and because their exchange for raw products will assist rehabilitation of Russia.	775
Nov. 20 (265)	<i>From the Minister in Denmark (tel.)</i> Danish transmission of Bolshevik note (text printed) refusing to reply to question contained in appeal of Danish Red Cross, as beneath dignity, and calling attention to acts of ferocity committed by followers of Denikin, Kolchak, etc.	775
Nov. 24	<i>From the Secretary of War</i> Desire to cooperate in furnishing surplus stocks to inhabitants of Russia, as requested; information that contracts on favorable credit terms have already been made with cooperative societies and sales being made through Russian Embassy.	776
Undated [Rec'd Dec. 12] (1742)	<i>From the Ambassador in France (tel.)</i> From Bristol at Constantinople: Recommendation that U. S. consul be sent to Odessa to assist in establishing regular trade. Report of sufficient food, but lack of clothing and manufactured articles.	776
Dec. 11 (108)	<i>From the High Commissioner at Constantinople (tel.)</i> Precarious position of Denikin. Bolshevik drive against Kharkov and peasant menace in rear. Denikin's chance to recover dependent upon military assistance from Poles; his refusal to promise them eastern Galicia as reward for such assistance.	777

SOUTHERN RUSSIA AND THE UKRAINE

REMONSTRANCE BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AGAINST CREDIT SALES TO THE
UKRAINE OF SURPLUS AMERICAN STOCKS IN FRANCE

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 June 11 (2515)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Report of Major Martin, U. S. A., on political and economic conditions in Galician Ukraine, expressing opinion that government under Petlyura is competent and effective and that sections of Ukraine under Petlyura and Holubowitz are non-Bolshevik. Opinion that this report should be accepted with considerable reserve.	778
Oct. 8 (3370)	<i>To the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Polk: Red Cross cablegram from Paris (text printed) announcing the sending of Red Cross mission to Ukraine to investigate conditions, and commenting on purchase of U. S. Army supplies by Ukrainian mission in Paris for Petlyura government. Inquiry as to what is Ukrainian mission and whether Red Cross mission has Polk's approval.	778
Oct. 17 (4700)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Polk: No objections to Red Cross mission to Ukraine, whose report will be useful. Unrecognized status of Ukrainian mission to Paris. Opinion that sale of U. S. Army supplies to Ukrainian mission without asking views of Department was extraordinary action.	779
Oct. 21 (3512)	<i>To the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Polk: Inquiry as to details of supposed transaction between Ukrainian mission and U. S. military authorities. Request for Red Cross report on condition of Jews in Ukraine and practicability of relief.	780
Oct. 26 (4823)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Polk: Details of Liquidation Commission sale of U. S. surplus supplies to Ukrainian Republic; amount delivered; cancellation of delivery of motor equipment, due to French objection. Comment that Peace Commission was not consulted on transaction.	780
[Oct. 26] (4829)	<i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Polk: Summary of Jadwin's report (text printed) relating Petlyura's loss of area, his relations with Germans, and declaration of war on Denikin; expansion of Denikin's area, repulsion of Bolsheviks at Kiev and Kursk, welcome extended him after reign of Red terror, and steps taken by him to protect Jews.	781
Oct. 29 (3595)	<i>To the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Inquiry whether Ukrainian Republic paid cash for U. S. surplus supplies, and, if not, what terms and securities were offered.	783
Oct. 29 (3596)	<i>To the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> U. S. general policy in respect to Ukraine, believing separatist movement to be result of Austrian and German propaganda, and favoring local autonomy under modern democratic government in Russia. Request for Jadwin's opinion of above views and of role Petlyura is playing.	783

SOUTHERN RUSSIA AND THE UKRAINE

REMONSTRANCE BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AGAINST CREDIT SALES TO THE
UKRAINE OF SURPLUS AMERICAN STOCKS IN FRANCE—Continued

Date and number	Subject	Page
1919 Nov. 17	<p><i>From the Secretary-General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace</i> Letter from chairman of Liquidation Commission dated November 12 (text printed) explaining details of sale of U. S. surplus supplies to Ukrainian Republic, action having been taken under suggestion of President Wilson in letter of March 24 (text printed), urgent representations by Hoover, and commission's own judgment after careful investigation.</p>	784
Dec. 5 (5558)	<p><i>From the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> From Polk: Report that bulk of U. S. surplus supplies sold to Ukrainian Republic is still stored in France; possibility that Ukrainians may liquidate such supplies and use funds for other purposes. Possible courses of action in order to prevent misuse of the supplies in view of the collapse of Petlyura movement and its anti-Polish and anti-Denikin trend.</p>	787
Dec. 23 (9404)	<p><i>To the Ambassador in France (tel.)</i> Expression of regret over sale of U. S. supplies to Ukrainians and undesirability of their obtaining funds in France through sale of these supplies; suggestion that medical material be distributed in Russia by Red Cross; inquiry concerning method to prevent Ukrainian use of other supplies.</p>	789
1920 Jan. 20 (196)	<p><i>From the Ambassador in France (tel.)</i> Summary of note from Ukrainian mission protesting the annulment of the contract for sale of U. S. surplus supplies to Ukrainian Republic, on assumption that the <i>de facto</i> government no longer existed. Request for advice as to reply.</p>	789
Jan. 28 (207)	<p><i>To the Ambassador in France (tel.)</i> Instructions to inform Ukrainian mission informally that matter rests in hands of Liquidation Commission and that Department can take no action.</p>	790

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