

*Vanguard Studies
of Soviet Russia*

SOVIET RUSSIA
AND HER NEIGHBORS

R. PAGE ARNOT



*Vanguard Studies
of Soviet Russia*

SOVIET RUSSIA AND
HER NEIGHBORS

VANGUARD STUDIES OF SOVIET RUSSIA

Edited by JEROME DAVIS

Head of the Department of Social Service, Yale University

HOW THE SOVIETS WORK, *by* H. N. BRAILSFORD

THE ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF THE SOVIET UNION,
by SCOTT NEARING AND JACK HARDY

SOVIET PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION, *by* W. JETT
LAUCK

SOVIET TRADE UNIONS, *by* ROBERT W. DUNN

THE FAMILY IN SOVIET RUSSIA, *by* JESSICA SMITH

VILLAGE LIFE UNDER THE SOVIETS, *by* KARL BORDERS

THE NEW SCHOOLS OF NEW RUSSIA, *by* LUCY L. W. WILSON

HEALTH IN SOVIET RUSSIA, *by* W. H. GANTT

RELIGION UNDER THE SOVIETS, *by* JULIUS F. HECKER

CIVIL LIBERTIES IN RUSSIA, *by* ROGER BALDWIN

THE JEWS AND NATIONAL MINORITIES IN RUSSIA, *by*
AVRAHM YARMOLINSKY

SOVIET RUSSIA AND HER NEIGHBORS, *by* R. PAGE ARNOT

ART AND CULTURE IN SOVIET RUSSIA, *by* JOSEPH FREEMAN,
ERNESTINE EVANS, LOUIS LOZOWICK, BABETTE DEUTSCH AND
LEE SIMONSON

Vanguard Studies of Soviet Russia

Soviet Russia and Her Neighbors

By R. PAGE ARNOT



NEW YORK
VANGUARD PRESS

Copyright, 1927, by
VANGUARD PRESS, INC.

VANGUARD PRINTINGS

First—November, 1927

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



*To the sincere men and women of Russia who, despite
prison, exile, and death, burned out their
lives trying to attain freedom, peace,
and brotherhood for the
common people.*

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

R. PAGE ARNOT

Born in Greenock, Scotland, in 1890; after leaving the University of Glasgow in 1914, became secretary of the Fabian Research Department in London, the foundation of the present Labor Research Department, of which he was secretary until 1925, and since that time has been director. The following works have been produced by him or under his guidance: *The Labour Year Book*, 1916; *Trade Unionism on the Railways* (with G. D. H. Cole), 1917; *The Russian Revolution*, 1923; *The Politics of Oil*, 1924; *The General Strike: Origin and History*, 1926. Mr. Arnot is, also, a regular contributor to *The Labour Monthly*, a British labor review.

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

THE Russian Revolution startled a war-diseased world and ushered in the most daring political and economic experiment of the twentieth century. Considering the vast territory affected, the radical changes inaugurated, and the influence which has been and still is being exerted on international relations, there is probably no greater event in modern history, whether for good or evil. Most Americans forget that a decade has already passed since Lenin and his Communistic followers assumed the power. The period of rapid revolutionary change has gone. Russia is painstakingly, step by step, building something different, something unique, something whose final destination is unpredictable.

America has been a land of discovery from its foundation. Not only in the realm of scientific invention, but in first attaining the coveted North Pole and in exploring other unknown areas of the world, Americans have given generously of life and treasure. Today we are uninformed about a great nation covering one-sixth of the land surface of the world. Russia is cut off by an Atlantic Ocean of prejudice, misunderstanding, and propaganda. We still maintain a rigid official quarantine about the Soviet Government. The result is ignorance frankly admitted by one "of the highest authorities in our Government," who declares this inevitable "in the absence of diplomatic relations." Judge Gary corroborates this verdict, "Like many other Americans, I am ignorant in regard to many of the

conditions which exist in Russia at the present time."*

Every scientist realizes that ignorance is one of the most dangerous forces in the world today. No matter how good or how bad the Soviet system, we should know all about it. Instead, we have been ruled by propaganda and hearsay.

The fact is that for the past ten years the Bolshevik government has been operated on, dissected, and laid in its coffin amidst loud applause and rejoicing by distinguished orators in all parts of the world; yet today it is stronger, more stable, than ever before in its history and its leaders have been longer in power than any other ruling cabinet in the world. It is high time that we appraise this government as scientifically and impartially as possible, without indulging in violent epithets or questionable and controversial dogmas. Surely the world is not so abysmally ignorant that after ten years of the rule of the Soviet we cannot discover a common core of truth about Russia.

Whether the Communists are thought to be "dangerous enemies of society" or the "saviors of humanity," the facts should be known before judgment is pronounced. No matter what our conviction, we have to admit that the Bolsheviki are hammering out a startling new mechanism in the field of political control. Their experiment deserves scientific study, not hostile armies; intelligent criticism, not damning epithets.

In the past, America has been flooded with propaganda of all shades. Dr. E. A. Ross dedicates his last volume on Russia "To my fellow-Americans who have become weary of being fed lies and propaganda about Russia." In his chapter on the "Poison Gas Attack"

* *Current History*, February, 1926.

he lists forty-nine stories broadcast throughout America which have been proved totally false. Other writers have pointed out similar facts. Walter Lippman, Editor-in-Chief of *The New York World*, in his illuminating study of all Russian news which appeared in *The New York Times* in the early period of the Revolution, has proved the stupidity, inaccuracy, and falsehood of the "facts and fabrications" which have passed as news. Even those articles and books which have tried to deal honestly with the subject have usually been inadequate. They have either been too general or they have been specific but too brief to be of more than passing value. In all too many cases they are based on only a few weeks of observation in Russia by someone who did not know the native language.

The present series is designed to meet the need for reliable, accurate information on the major aspects of present-day Russia. We have tried to make it as scientifically accurate as is possible in the treatment of contemporary phenomena. It has been our aim in selecting each author to choose someone who because of previous experience and training was peculiarly well qualified as an authority on the particular subject to which he was assigned. In every case we have chosen those who either have made a prolonged stay in Russia, actually writing their volumes while in the country, or those who have made a special trip to Russia to secure the facts about which they write. We have tried to make the series inclusive, covering the more important aspects of the many-sided developments in Russia. Each volume is devoted to one major subject alone. People want detailed, accurate facts in readable form. Here they can be found, ranging all the way from an

analysis of the governmental machinery to the school system. Within this series some repetition has been inevitable. The editor believes that this is distinctly desirable since each author expounds his subject in his own way, with an emphasis original to him and in the light of his own data. No effort has been made to eliminate contradictions, yet they are surprisingly few. Where the testimony of all is unanimous, the conclusions reached are overwhelmingly strong. Where differences exist, they should stimulate the reader to weigh the evidence even more carefully.

It is probably too much to hope that propaganda organizations will not endeavor to discredit any such genuine effort to arrive at the truth. Perhaps it is sufficient to say in refutation that no similar attempt to secure the facts about Russia from trained experts has yet been made in America or elsewhere, so far as the writer is aware. There is scant ground for intelligent criticism unless similar scientific studies have been made with conflicting results; even then time alone can proclaim the final truth. No sincere and unprejudiced scientist will deplore an effort to study and describe what has happened in the first experiment the world has ever seen in applied communism, even if mistakes have been made in the analysis.

These volumes on the whole not only contain the most valuable data so far available, but they will probably remain of permanent worth. In the future no real historian endeavoring to master the facts about the great political upheaval in Russia will care to ignore them. Is Russia the most tyrannical dictatorship of bloody despots that the world has ever seen? Is Russia the first step in the building of a new world order whose keynote will be industrial democracy? We do

not pretend to give here the final judgment of history, but we do claim to have made a sincere effort to portray the facts.

Thanks are due to the authors who have so painstakingly sought to present the truth as they found it, to the publishers for their assistance in making this a notable and usable series, and to all those whose labor, whether by hand or brain, has helped to give these volumes to the American public.

JEROME DAVIS,
Yale University.

PREFACE

MR. ARNOT has written authoritatively about the international relationships of the Soviet Union. He has perhaps described more in detail the activities of foreign powers towards Russia than the activities of Russia towards foreign powers. Because he recognizes and accepts the distinction between the Communist International and the Soviet Government and was concentrating attention on the latter, the former necessarily received summary treatment.

It is generally known that the Communist International is the international organ of the Communist parties of the world. It was created following the Russian Revolution and held its first congress in 1919. At present it has representatives from sixty-six different countries. About half of these parties have been driven underground by the various national governments in power. The Communist International usually gives financial aid to those parties which have been declared outside the law. It should therefore be clear to conservative governments throughout the world that in making Communistic parties illegal, they are in actual effect increasing the assistance likely to be given them by Moscow.

In 1919, 1920, and 1921 the American movement received some financial help from Russia. Now it is self-supporting and receives no financial aid from the Third International. On the contrary, today it is actually

sending some money back to Russia, according to a statement of Zinoviev.

In order that the official position of the Russian Government towards the Third International might be clear, I interviewed A. N. Mikoyan, the People's Commissar for Foreign and Domestic Trade, who is also a member of the all-powerful Political Bureau of the Communist Party. My questions and his official answers follow herewith.—JEROME DAVIS.

First Question: It is known that the Komintern* is located in Moscow, that it is sending small amounts of money and sometimes agents of the Communist Party to other countries. It is the aim of the communist parties of other countries to seize power by violence overthrowing the capitalist governments. Naturally, this is furthering the revolutionary movement in China, India, Germany and other countries. If the Soviet Government wants to be left alone, why does it not leave other countries alone? Why does the Soviet Government tolerate the existence of the Komintern in Moscow?

Answer: The Soviet Government must not be identified with the Komintern and I as a member of the Government cannot speak in the name of the Komintern. The Communist International exists by itself, apart and independent from the Soviet Government. It is difficult to understand on what "principles of freedom and justice" the Komintern should not be permitted to remain in Moscow. The Komintern does not receive any financial aid from the Soviet Government. We have enforced the strictest laws against any kind of propaganda by agents of the Soviet Government in any country and anyone who would violate these rules would be discharged. Even the raid by the English

* Communist International.

Police on the Arcos and the Russian Trade Delegation in London proved the fact that neither the Trade Delegation nor Arcos is in any way connected with the Third International. It is true England claims to have found a certain list of names on one of the employees. We doubt whether this is true, but even if it were, it is purely a personal affair of that particular clerk and such an employee would be held strictly accountable. Even the English authorities had to confess that there was nothing else found on anybody. If anyone on the staff of the Soviet Delegation were found guilty of carrying on propaganda, he would be immediately discharged.

In America today there exists the Amtorg Company* which has in its staff some Soviet employees. It is said that you have in the United States a very experienced police force and there is nothing which can be hidden from it. If the employees of the Amtorg were engaged in propaganda, your police would have soon found it out. The fact that no one of the employees of the Amtorg has ever been accused of carrying on propaganda shows how false all such accusations are.

Some time ago the British Government made a protest against the transmission of money by the Russian Trade Unions to the striking English coal-miners. The Soviet Government cannot interfere when the workers or the people of the Soviet Union wish to collect and transmit money for kindred organizations abroad which are in need of money to carry on their fight for the betterment of their conditions. A similar collection was made in the United States, of course not to the same extent, but it did not occur to England to send any notes of protest to the American Government on this account.

* The official Russian-American trading corporation.

The only country to whom England sent a hostile note was the Soviet Union.

It is impossible for the Soviet Government to interfere in the mutual relations between the Komintern and the Communist Parties of other countries. Communist parties exist in all countries. In a number of countries communists carry on their work quite openly and without any interference, having their representatives in the Parliament; as, for instance, in Germany, England, France, Czecho-Slovakia, etc. It is therefore quite incomprehensible why the Soviet Government alone should place obstacles in the way of the activities of communist organizations, when even the conservative bourgeois governments of various countries are compelled to tolerate the existence of legal communist parties.

The Soviet Government is asked to exercise pressure upon the communist organizations of other countries in order to limit their activities and their propaganda. In addition to the fact that the Komintern and the Communist organizations are not subordinated to the Soviet Government, such acts would actually mean interference in the internal affairs of foreign states. The Soviet Government which has not allowed heretofore and will not allow henceforth any interference in its internal affairs, is in general against the interference of one state in the internal affairs of another.

At the same time we cannot be induced to restrict our workers' organizations in expressions of sympathy or in assistance to communists of other countries, just as the American Government could not keep their citizens from sympathizing with and helping, let us say, the Sinn Fein party in Ireland. I know, for instance, that a loan was obtained in America to help the Sinn Fein

party and that the money was used for purchasing arms and ammunition. The Soviet Government has given no financial aid to the Komintern and the communist parties of other countries. It is true, that some of the Soviet officials are at the same time members of the Komintern, but in this respect they do not differ from members of other governments. Mr. Vandervelde, Prime Minister of Belgium, is at the same time one of the leaders of the Second International. When he goes to the League of Nations, he appears there at one and the same time as head of the Second International and as Prime Minister of Belgium. Yet this does not raise objections from any one. We are in possession of proofs that some of the members of the Second International made attempts to organize a rebellion in Georgia, yet it did not occur to us to send notes to the Government of Belgium requesting them to stop the Second International from maintaining its offices in Belgium, or to prohibit members of their government from being members of the Second International.

In conclusion, I wish to refer to the fact that the Soviet Government in its notes to foreign powers has repeatedly emphasized the falsity of the assertion of identity between the Soviet Government and the Third International. I will cite, for instance, part of the official note of the Assistant People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs to the British Minister of Foreign Affairs of September 27, 1921:

"The Russian Government wishes to take this opportunity of emphasizing once more, as it has repeatedly done before, that the Third International, for very obvious reasons, chose Russia as the headquarters for its Executive Committee, this being the

only country giving full freedom for the spreading of communist ideas and also personal freedom to communists.”

Second Question: Inasmuch as the Soviet Government and the Komintern are under the control of the Communist Party, is it not true that the policies of the Soviet Government and the Komintern will be identical?

Answer: This question is not quite clear to me. The Soviet Government is at the present time composed chiefly of members of the All-Union Communist Party, but the Soviet Government should by no means be identified either with the Communist Party or with the Komintern. The majority of the English Government are members of the Conservative Party, which, however, does not lead to the assertion that the British Government and the Conservative Party is the same thing. The same is true of your Government, which is composed of members of the Republican Party, yet it acts quite separately from the Republican Party. It is also said that Soviet Officials, who belong to the Communist Party, are supporting by their membership dues the Communist Party and through the latter, the Komintern. I do not see that there is anything to this which should raise questions in any one's mind. I was told that Mr. Coolidge, President of the United States, is donating money for foreign missionaries. It is believed by many people that the foreign missionaries have provoked unrest in China and that in particular during the "Boxer" rebellion, the Chinese tried to rid themselves of foreign missionaries. Even though Mr. Coolidge, or his Government officials have been financially helping Chinese missionaries, the American Government is by no means responsible for the deeds of missionaries, inasmuch as

this financial aid was a private affair of the members of the American Government, and inasmuch as this subsidy was not expended from the funds of the United States Treasury. The same applies to the Soviet Government. Inasmuch as the Soviet Government has not been extending any financial aid to communist organizations from the State treasury, the Soviet Government cannot be held responsible for the actions of communist organizations.

What I have said, I am sure, will convince you that America has been given false information about our policy. All the propaganda against the Komintern and its seeming connection with the Soviet Government is merely a pretext. Had the Communist International chosen another country for its headquarters, our enemies would surely have found some other pretext to hinder the building of a Socialist State in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Before closing, I want to remind you that at the Geneva Conference of 1927 the question of the possibilities of peaceful cooperation and the coexistence of the capitalist and the socialist systems of national economy was discussed. The Conference, having fully and thoroughly analyzed this problem, decided:

“Considering the importance of peaceful trade and the desirability of abstaining from politics, the Conference thinks the participation of members of all countries present—*irrespective of all the differences in their economic systems*—is a happy sign for future *peaceful trade relations* between all nations.”

One of the best means to check all the falsehoods which are being spread against the Soviet Union by all its enemies, is the maintenance of direct contact between

American business men and the Soviet Union, and their visiting our country, where they can see for themselves the vast possibilities for economic *rapprochement* between these two countries. This is especially true since there are no antagonistic interests and no direct causes for conflict involved.

The experience of many Americans, who have visited this country for business purposes, has shown that upon their return to America they gave up their former prejudices against the Soviet Union and, while they did not hide the shortcomings which still exist in our economic structure, they none the less fully contradicted all the assaults and calumnies spread broadcast against the Soviet Union.

I believe that if representatives of our trade and industry will, on the other hand, visit America, it will help us to better learn and know the achievements of American science and technique, as well as facilitate the establishment of normal trade and cultural relations with the United States, which will be beneficial to both countries.

FOREWORD

I HAVE not attempted in this book to do more than sketch the main outlines of the subject, while I have given prominence chiefly to those features whose recital illuminates the whole course of foreign relations. But, naturally, within the limits given, it has been impossible to present a complete record of diplomatic exchanges; or to give more than a brief selection of representative documents. The treatment of Asiatic questions, in particular, is highly compressed. But any attempt to unravel the very complex foreign policy of Britain, or to trace its working out in relation to the Soviet Union in Asia, or to set forth in order the rapidly changing actions and reactions of the seething peoples of China and the Middle East, would involve such a mass of events as to demand a separate book for the treatment to be adequate.

I have to acknowledge the very great help I obtained from Mrs. Pollard in the preparations of materials for this book.

R. PAGE ARNOT

June, 1927.

CONTENTS

<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Page</i>
EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION	vii
PREFACE	xiii
FOREWORD	xxi
I. BREST LITOVSK: THE FIRST PERIOD OF SOVIET DEMOCRACY	1
II. INTERVENTION AND CIVIL WAR	13
Soviet-German Relations in 1918	18
War on Soviet Russia	22
III. THE FORMATION AND GROWTH OF THE COM- MUNIST INTERNATIONAL	26
IV. THE OUTLOOK OF SOVIET RUSSIA ON THE WORLD	31
Foreign Relations in General	31
V. AMERICA AND SOVIET RUSSIA	39
VI. THE BRITISH EMPIRE CALLS A TRUCE	48
VII. FROM THE VOLGA FAMINE TO THE GENOA FIASCO	60
VIII. THE FLUCTUATIONS OF BRITISH POLICY	71
The First Attempt to Break the Agreement	71
Recognition	74
The General Treaty of Peace and Its Collapse	75
The Second Attempt to Break the Agreement	78

<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Page</i>
IX. RELATIONS WITH THE FRENCH REPUBLIC AND	
ITALY	87
Soviet Russia and the French Republic	87
Soviet Russia and Italy	95
X. JAPAN AND SIBERIA	98
XI. RELATIONS WITH GERMANY AND THE BORDER	
STATES	104
Germany	104
The Treaty of Rapallo	108
The Berlin Treaty	112
The Border States	113
Rumania	117
Soviet Russia and the Lesser European States	118
XII. SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE SEMI-COLONIAL COUN-	
TRIES	120
Afghanistan	122
Persia	123
Turkey	125
XIII. SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE CHINESE REVOLUTION	130
APPENDIX	141
Official Statement of the United States Gov-	
ernment on Intervention	141
Chicherin's Note to Woodrow Wilson	143
Text of Anglo-Soviet Trade Agreement,	
March 16, 1921	153
Four Clauses from the Soviet-Persian Treaty	162
Soviet Russia's Relations with America	164

APPENDIX

OFFICIAL STATEMENT OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IN REGARD TO INTERVENTION

Vladivostok,
August 5, 1918.

IN the judgment of the Government of the United States, a judgment arrived at after repeated and very searching consideration of the whole situation, military intervention in Russia would be more likely to add to the present sad confusion there than to cure it and would injure Russia rather than help her out of her distress. Such military intervention as has been frequently proposed, even supposing it to be efficacious in its immediate object of delivering an attack upon Germany from the East, would, in its judgment, be more likely to turn out to be merely a method of making use of Russia than to be a method of serving her. Her people, if they profited by it at all, could not profit by it in time to deliver them from their present desperate difficulties and their substance would meantime be used to maintain foreign armies, not to reconstitute their own, or to feed their own men, women and children. We are bending all our energies now to the purpose of winning on the western front and it would, in the judgment of the Government of the United States, be most unwise to divide or dissipate our forces. As the United States sees the present circumstances, therefore, military action is admissible in Russia now only to render such protection and help as is possible to the Czecho-Slovaks against the armed Austrian and German prisoners who are attacking them and to steady any efforts at self-government or self-defense in which the Russians themselves may be willing to accept assistance. Whether from Vladivostok or from Murmansk and Archangel, the only present object for which American troops will be employed will be to guard military stores which may

be subsequently needed by Russian forces and to render such aid as may be acceptable to the Russians in the organization of their own self-defense. With such object in view, the Government of the United States is now cooperating with the Governments of France and Great Britain in the neighborhood of Murmansk and Archangel. The United States and Japan are the only Powers which are just now in a position to act in Siberia in sufficient force to accomplish even such modest objects as those that have been outlined.

The Government of the United States has therefore proposed to the Government of Japan that each of the Governments send a force of seven thousand men to Vladivostok with the purpose of cooperating as a single force in the occupation of Vladivostok and in safeguarding so far as it may, the country to the rear of the westward-moving Czechoslovaks, and the Japanese Government has consented.

In taking this action, the Government of the United States wishes to announce to the people of Russia in the most public and solemn manner that it contemplates no interference with the political sovereignty of Russia, no intervention in her internal affairs, not even in the local affairs of the limited areas which her military forces may be obliged to occupy, and no impairment of Russian territorial integrity, either now or hereafter; but that what we are about to do has as its single and only object the rendering of such aid as shall be acceptable to the Russian people themselves in their endeavors to regain control of their own affairs, their own territory and their own destiny.

The Japanese Government, it is understood, will issue a similar assurance.

These plans and purposes of the Government of the United States have been communicated to the Governments of Great Britain, France and Italy, and those Governments have advised the Department of State that they assent to them in principle. No conclusion that the Government of the United States has arrived at in this important matter is intended, however, as an effort to restrict the actions or interfere with the independent judgment of the Governments with which we are now associated in the war.

It is also the hope and the purpose of the Government of

the United States to take advantage of the earliest opportunity to send to Siberia a commission of merchants, agricultural experts, labor advisers, Red Cross representatives, and agents of the Young Men's Christian Association, accustomed to organizing the best methods of spreading useful information and rendering educational help of a modest kind in order in some sympathetic way to relieve the immediate economic necessities of the people there in every way for which an opportunity may open. The execution of this plan will not be permitted to embarrass the military assistance rendered to the Czecho-Slovaks. It is the hope and expectation of the Government of the United States that the Governments with which it is associated will wherever necessary or possible lend their active aid in the execution of these military and economic plans.

(Signed) POLK,

Acting Secretary of State.

NOTE OF CHICHERIN, PEOPLE'S COMMISSARY FOR FOREIGN
AFFAIRS OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERAL SOVIET
REPUBLIC, TO PRESIDENT WILSON, DATED
OCTOBER 24, 1918.

To Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of North
America.

Mr. President:

In your message to the Congress of the United States of North America on January 18, you expressed, in paragraph 6, your deep sympathy with Russia, which at that time was carrying on negotiations face to face with the powerful German imperialism. Your program, you said, is to secure the liberation of the entire Russian territory, and such a solution of all questions affecting Russia as would guarantee her 1) the most complete and free assistance on the part of other nations in the matter of securing full and unhindered opportunity for adopting independent decision with regard to her own political development and her national policy; 2) as would secure for her—whatever be the form of government

she may choose for herself—a welcome reception in the family of free nations; and 3) as would likewise secure for her every assistance she may need and may herself desire. And you have also added that “the attitude of the other great powers towards Russia in the course of the coming months will be the acid test of their good feelings towards her, their understanding of her needs as distinct from their own interests, as well as their wisdom and the unselfishness of their sympathies.”

The desperate struggle which we were engaged in at Brest Litovsk against German imperialism apparently only increased your sympathies for Soviet Russia, for you sent to the Convention of Soviets which ratified under the threat of German offensive, the outrageous treaty of Brest, your greetings and the assurance that Soviet Russia could rely on the help of America.

Six months have passed since then and the people of Russia have had ample time to test by experience the good feelings entertained towards them by your Government and that of the Allies, as well as their understanding of Russia's needs, their wisdom and the unselfishness of their sympathies.

This attitude of your government and that of your Allies towards the Russian people has first of all manifested itself in the fact that the financial assistance of your French Allies with the diplomatic aid also of your own government a plot was organized on Russian territory by the Czecho-Slovaks to whom your government is rendering all possible aid. For some time attempts were made to create a pretext for war between Russia and the United States of America and for that purpose stories were circulated to the effect that German war prisoners had seized the Siberian railroad. But your own officers and later Colonel Robins, the head of your Red Cross Mission, were able to satisfy themselves that the whole thing was pure invention. The Czecho-Slovak uprising was organized under the pretext of saving these unfortunate dupes from being delivered into the hands of Germany and Austria. But you can learn among other things from the open letter of Captain Sadoul, member of the French Military Mission, to what extent this invention is devoid of all real foundation in fact. The only reason why the Czecho-Slovaks had not

departed from Russia already at the beginning of the year was that the French government had not supplied any vessels for them. For several months we were waiting in vain for your allies to enable the Czecho-Slovaks to depart. Evidently for these governments it was much more desirable that the Czecho-Slovaks should stay in Russia—for what purpose was shown by what followed—than that they should go to France to participate in the war on the French front. The true character of the Czecho-Slovakian rebellion is best shown by the fact that, having got the Siberian railroad in their hands, they did not use it for their departure, but by order of the governments of the Entente powers which were directing them, they preferred to become in Russia itself the main-support of the Russian counter-revolution.

Their counter-revolutionary insurrection which has rendered impossible the transport of oil and grain along the Volga, has cut off the working men and peasants of Russia from the bread and other supplies of Siberia, and has doomed them to famine—this was the first thing that the working men and peasants of Russia experienced in practice from your government and that of your allies after the promises made by you in the beginning of the year. And after that they experienced another thing—the invasion of the North of Russia by the troops of your allies in which American troops participated; the occupation of Russian territory without any cause and without any declaration of war; the executions of the Soviet officials and all kinds of acts of violence perpetrated upon the peaceful population of Russia.

You have promised, Mr. President, to help Russia to secure full and unhindered opportunity for the adoption by her of independent decision with regard to her own political development and her national policy. But in reality this assistance expressed itself in the fact that the Czecho-Slovakian troops and soon afterwards your own troops and those of your allies attempted at Archangel, at Murmansk, in the Far East to force upon the Russian people the government of the oppressors, of those exploiting classes whose yoke the working men and peasants of Russia had already thrown off in October of last year. The revival of the counter-revolution, which had already been transformed into a corpse; attempts by means of

violence to reestablish its bloody domination over the people of Russia—this is what the latter have experienced instead of help for unhindered expression of their will, which was promised to them, Mr. President, in your declarations.

Likewise you promised, Mr. President, to help the Russian people in their struggle for independence. In reality what happened was that at a time when the Russian people were engaged on the southern front in a struggle against the counter-revolutionary elements, which had sold themselves to German imperialism and were threatening the Russian people's independence; at a time when on their Western front the Russian people were straining all their energy for the organization of their territory, they were compelled to throw their troops to the East against the Czecho-Slovaks, who were bringing for them oppression and enslavement, and to the North against the troops of your allies and your own troops, which were invading the Russian people's territory, and against the counter-revolution that was being organized by these troops.

The acid test of the relations between the United States and Russia has not given exactly the kind of results that one would have expected after your message to Congress, Mr. President. But we have cause to be not entirely dissatisfied even with these results, for the outrages of the counter-revolutionaries in the East and in the North have shown to the Russian working men and peasants what the Russian counter-revolution and its foreign supporters are aiming at, and as a result of this there has been created among the Russian masses an iron will to defend their freedom, to defend the conquests of the revolution—the land, which has now been given to the peasants, the factories, which have now been given to the workers. After the fall of Kazan, Simbirsk, Sizrán, Samara, the effect upon us of the deeds, into which in reality the promises made by you on January 18 were translated, must be clear to you too, Mr. President.

Our experience has helped us to create a firmly-welded, disciplined Red Army which is growing every day in strength and power and is learning to defend the revolution. The attitude towards us, which was shown in reality by your government and your allies, could not destroy us. On the con-

trary, we are stronger now than we were several months ago, and the international negotiations for a general peace, which you are proposing now, find us alive and strong, and permit us in the name of Russia to express our consent to participate in them.

As a condition for armistice, during which peace negotiations should begin, you in your note to Germany have made the demand that troops must be withdrawn from occupied territories. We are ready, Mr. President, to conclude an armistice on these conditions and we request you to inform us as to the time when you, Mr. President, and your allies intend to remove your troops from Murmansk, from Archangel and from Siberia. You are not willing, Mr. President, to permit an armistice to take place, unless Germany, while withdrawing her troops from the territories occupied by her, abstains from outrages, looting, etcetera. We take the liberty to conclude from this therefore that you and your allies will order the Czecho-Slovaks to return to us that part of our gold reserve which they have stolen from Kazan; and that you will prohibit them during their forced withdrawal—for we will force them to a most speedy withdrawal without waiting for your order—from continuing their robber activities and from committing against the working men and peasants the same acts of violence as heretofore.

As to your further peace conditions, namely, that the governments which conclude the peace must express the will of the masses of the people, our government as you know fully corresponds to this requirement. Our government expresses the will of the Soviets of Workers, Peasants and Red Army Deputies, representing at least eighty percent of the Russian people; which is more than can be said of your government, Mr. President. But we in the name of humanity and peace do not make it a condition of general peace negotiations that all peoples participating in them must necessarily be represented by Soviets of People's Commissars, elected at Congresses of Soviets of Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies. We know that this form of government will soon be the universal form and that it is exactly this general peace that will free the peoples from the oncoming disaster; that will untie their hands to enable them to demolish that social order

and those cliques, which precipitated the world slaughter of humanity; that will lead the tortured masses of the world spontaneously to establish Soviet Governments, which will exactly express their will.

Agreeing at the present time to participate in negotiations even with those governments that do not as yet express the will of the people, we on our side would like to learn from you, Mr. President, exactly how you picture to yourself that League of Nations which in your opinion must crown the work of peace.

You demand the independence of Poland, Serbia, Belgium, and freedom for the peoples of Austria-Hungary. Probably you want to say thereby that the masses of the people must first take everywhere into their own hands the decision of their own destinies, in order later on to unite in a free league of nations. But strangely we do not notice in your demands any mention of freedom for Ireland, Egypt, India or even for the Philippine Islands. And we would wish very much that these peoples should have the opportunity to participate together with us through their freely elected representatives in the establishment of the League of Nations.

We would likewise wish very much to learn, Mr. President, before the beginning of the negotiations for the establishment of the League of Nations, how you represent to yourself the solution of many questions of an economic character, which have substantial bearing on the cause of future peace. You make no mention of the war expenses, of that crushing burden which would be placed upon the shoulders of the popular masses, if the League of Nations should not renounce the payment of loans due to the capitalists of all countries. You know no less than we do, Mr. President, that this war is the result of the policy of all capitalist states; that the governments of all countries vied with each other in armaments; that the ruling classes of all civilized nations participated in the policy of conquests, and that therefore it would be extremely unjust if the masses of the people, who have paid for this policy with the blood of millions, who have suffered from this policy in the general economic ruin, should, in addition to all this, have to pay to people actually responsible for the war, tribute for that policy which has brought on all this

incalculable suffering. We therefore propose, Mr. President, that the League of Nations should adopt, as one of its basic principles, the repudiation of war loans.

As to the reconstruction of the countries devastated by the war, we consider it entirely just that all peoples should in this respect help unfortunate Belgium, Poland and Serbia. And no matter how poor and ruined Russia may be, she on her part is ready to help these victims of the war in whatever way she can and she expects that American capital, which did not in any way suffer from this war, but which has even benefited by it to the extent of many billions of war profits, will on its part help these nations liberally.

But the League of Nations must not only settle the present war. It must make all wars in the future impossible. It cannot be unknown to you, Mr. President, that the capitalists of your country contemplate continuing in the future the same policy of conquests, and of exaction of high profits from China and Siberia, and that fearing the competition on the part of Japanese capitalists they are making military preparations in order to overcome the resistance which may be offered them by Japan. You undoubtedly know of similar plans of the ruling capitalist circles of other countries with regard to other territories and other nations. Knowing this you will have to agree with us that it is not possible to leave the factories, mines, banks in the hands of private individuals, who always use the great means of production created by the masses of the people to export the products and capital to foreign countries, to extract from them excessive profits, provoking imperialist wars by their struggle over the booty. We propose, therefore, Mr. President, that the expropriation of the capitalists of all countries be adopted as another of the basic principles of the League of Nations. In your country the banks and the industries are in the hands of such an insignificant group of capitalists that, according to the assertion of your personal friend, Colonel Robins, it will be sufficient to arrest twenty leaders of capitalist cliques and to put into the hands of the popular masses that which the capitalists have concentrated in their own hands by the usual methods of the capitalist world, in order to destroy the main source of new wars. If you agree to this, Mr. President, if the sources

of wars in the future are thus to be destroyed, then without doubt it will be easy to put down all economic barriers; and all nations, having in their hands the means of production, will be vitally interested in exchanging among themselves that which they do not need for what they do need. In such a case the problem will concern the exchange of products among nations, each of which will produce whatever it can best produce, and the League of Nations will be a league of mutual aid among the toiling masses. It will then be easy to reduce the armed forces to the level necessary for the maintenance of internal security. We know full well that the greedy class of capitalists will endeavor to create this internal danger, just as at present the Russian landlords, the Russian capitalists, aided by American, English and French armed forces, are endeavoring to take away the factories from the workmen and the land from the peasants. But if the American working men, enthused by your idea of the League of Nations, will break the resistance of the American capitalists, as we have broken the resistance of the Russian capitalists, then neither the German nor any other capitalists will be a source of sufficiently serious danger for the victorious working class. Then it will suffice if every member of the community, working six hours in a factory, will in the course of a few months study for two hours a day how to handle arms, and all the people will then know how to take care of internal danger.

Thus, Mr. President, though we know from experience what your promises mean, still we have placed ourselves upon the ground of your propositions with regard to international peace and the League of Nations, only we have endeavored so to deepen your propositions that they could not bring results contradictory to your promises, as has happened with your promise of help for Russia. We have tried to formulate your proposition for the League of Nations so specifically as to prevent the League of Nations from turning out to be a league of capitalists against the nations. If you do not agree with us, we have nothing against "open discussion of your peace terms," as it is provided for in the first paragraph of your peace program. We can easily agree upon details, if you place yourself upon the ground of our propositions.

But something else is possible too. We have had to do with

the President of the assault upon Archangel and of the invasion into Siberia. We have also had to do with the President of the Peace Program of the League of Nations. Is not the first of the two the real President, who actually directs the policy of the American capitalist Government? Is not the American Government the government of the American Joint Stock Banks, of American industrial, commercial, railroad trusts, of American banks—in short the Government of American capitalists? And could not the propositions made by this government with regard to the establishment of a League of Nations result in the putting of new chains upon the people, in the organization of an international trust for the exploitation of working men and for the suppression of weak nations? If that is the case, Mr. President, you will not be able to answer our questions and we will say to the workers of all countries: Look out! Millions of your brothers, set one against the other by the capitalists of all countries, are still perishing in the war, and the capitalist chiefs are already coming to an agreement among themselves, in order to suppress by their combined force the survivors, who are demanding an account from the men responsible for the war.

However, we have no desire whatever, Mr. President, to be at war with America, even at a time when your Government is not yet replaced by a Soviet of People's Commissars, and your office is not yet occupied by Eugene V. Debs, whom you are now keeping in prison. We have no desire whatever to be at war with Great Britain, even at a time when the Cabinet of Mr. Lloyd George is not yet replaced by a Soviet of People's Commissars, headed by Maclean. We have no desire whatever to be at war with France, even at a time when the capitalist government of Clemenceau is not yet replaced by a workers' government of Merheim. Therefore, just as we have concluded peace with the imperialist government of Germany headed by Kaiser Wilhelm, upon whom you, Mr. President, look not with more favor than we the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' government look upon you, we propose to you, Mr. President, to consider jointly with your allies the following questions and to give us exact and entirely business-like answers.

Do the Governments of America, Great Britain and France

intend to stop calling for the blood of Russian people and the lives of Russian citizens, if the Russian people will agree to pay them for it and to buy themselves off by ransom, as a man who, suddenly assaulted, ransoms himself from an assailant? And if so what kind of tribute from the Russian people is it that the Governments of America, Great Britain and France demand? Do they demand franchises, the turning over to them of the railroads, or mines, gold-mines etcetera, on certain conditions, or territorial concessions, some part of Siberia, of the Caucasus or of the Murmansk shorelands?

We expect from you, Mr. President, that you will declare definitely what exactly are the demands that you and your allies present, and that you will also state whether the union between your government and those of the other Entente powers has the character of a combination comparable to a stock company formed to secure dividends from Russia, or whether your government and the other governments of the Entente powers are presenting to us, each for itself, separate demands, and what exactly these demands are.

We would especially like to learn what are the demands of your French allies with regard to those milliards of roubles which the Paris bankers advanced as loans to the oppressor of Russia, to the enemy of his own people, to the criminal government of the Czar. And in this connection you, Mr. President, as well as your French allies, cannot help knowing that the Russian people who are exhausted by war and who have not yet had time to enjoy the benefits of the popular Soviet Government and to improve their economic affairs, will not be able to pay in full to the bankers of France the tribute for the milliards spent by the Czar's government against the interests of the people. And they will not be able to pay it even if you and your allies succeeded in enslaving and drenching with blood the entire territory of Russia—a thing which our heroic Red Army will not permit.

Do your French allies present the demand for the payment to them of a part of this tribute in installments, and if so of what part; and do they realize that their claims will lead to the presentation of similar demands by other creditors of the infamous government of the Czar, overthrown by the Russian people?

We cannot for a minute think that your government and those of your allies should not have a ready answer to these questions, at a time your and their troops are attempting to advance on our territory with the evident purpose of seizing and enslaving our country. The people of Russia, in the person of the popular Red Army, are standing guard over their territory and are gloriously fighting against your invasion and the attack of your Allies. But your government and those of the other Entente powers must surely have ready prepared plans, for the sake of which you are shedding the blood of your soldiers. We expect that you will make known to us your demands with full clearness and definiteness.

But if we should be disappointed in this, if you should give us no answer to our fully definite and specific questions, we will draw from it the entirely undeniable conclusion that our supposition is correct, that your government and those of your allies intend to get out of the Russian people tribute both in cash and in the natural wealth of Russia and in territorial aggrandisement. We will say this to the Russian people, as well as to the toiling masses of other countries, and the absence of an answer on your part will be to us a silent answer. The Russian people will understand that the demands of your government and of those of your allies are so heavy and so considerable that you do not even wish to communicate them to the Russian Government.

(Signed) CHICHERIN,
People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs.

TRADE AGREEMENT BETWEEN HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S
GOVERNMENT AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE
RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERAL SOVIET REPUBLIC

WHEREAS it is desirable in the interests both of Russia and the United Kingdom that peaceful trade and commerce should be resumed forthwith between these countries, and whereas for this purpose it is necessary pending the conclusion of a formal general Peace Treaty between the Governments of these countries by which their economic and political relations shall be regulated in the future that a preliminary Agreement

should be arrived at between the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, hereinafter referred to as the Russian Soviet Government.

The aforesaid parties have accordingly entered into the present Agreement for the resumption of trade and commerce between the countries.

The present Agreement is subject to the fulfilment of the following conditions, namely:—

- (a) That each party refrains from hostile action or undertakings against the other and from conducting outside of its own borders any official propaganda direct or indirect against the institutions of the British Empire or the Russian Soviet Republic respectively, and more particularly that the Russian Soviet Government refrains from any attempt by military or diplomatic or any other form of action or propaganda to encourage any of the peoples of Asia in any form of hostile action against British interests or the British Empire, especially in India and in the Independent State of Afghanistan. The British Government gives a similar particular undertaking to the Russian Soviet Government in respect of the countries which formed part of the former Russian Empire and which have now become independent.
- (b) That all British subjects in Russia are immediately permitted to return home, and that all Russian citizens in Great Britain or other parts of the British Empire who desire to return to Russia are similarly released.

It is understood that the term "conducting any official propaganda" includes the giving by either party of assistance or encouragement to any propaganda conducted outside its own borders.

The parties undertake to give forthwith all necessary instructions to their agents and to all persons under their authority to conform to the stipulations undertaken above.

I

Both parties agree not to impose or maintain any form of blockade against each other and to remove forthwith all ob-

stacles hitherto placed in the way of the resumption of trade between the United Kingdom and Russia in any commodities which may be legally exported from or imported into their respective territories to or from any other foreign country, and not to exercise any discrimination against such trade, as compared with that carried on with any other foreign country or to place any impediments in the way of banking, credit and financial operations for the purpose of such trade, but subject always to legislation generally applicable in the respective countries. It is understood that nothing in this Article shall prevent either party from regulating the trade in arms and ammunition under general provisions of law which are applicable to the import of arms and ammunition from or their export to foreign countries.

Nothing in this Article shall be construed as overriding the provisions of any general International Convention which is binding on either party by which the trade in any particular article is or may be regulated (as for example, the Opium Convention).

II

British and Russian ships, their masters, crews and cargoes shall, in ports of Russia and the United Kingdom respectively, receive in all respects the treatment, privileges, facilities, immunities and protections which are usually accorded by the established practice of commercial nations to foreign merchant ships, their masters, crews and cargoes, visiting their ports, including the facilities usually accorded in respect of coal and water, pilotage, berthing, dry docks, cranes, repairs, warehouses and generally all services, appliances and premises connected with merchant shipping.

Moreover, the British Government undertakes not to take part in, or to support, any measures restricting or hindering, or tending to restrict or hinder, Russian ships from exercising the rights of free navigation of the high seas, straits and navigable water-ways, which are enjoyed by ships of other nationalities.

Provided that nothing in this Article shall impair the right of either party to take such precautions as are authorized by

their respective laws with regard to the admission of aliens into their territories.

III

The British and other Governments having already undertaken the clearance of the seas adjacent to their own coasts and also certain parts of the Baltic from mines for the benefit of all nations, the Russian Soviet Government on their part undertake to clear the sea passages to their own ports.

The British Government will give the Russian Soviet Government any information in their power as to the position of mines which will assist them in clearing passages to the ports and shores of Russia.

The Russian Government, like other nations, will give all information to the International Mine Clearance Committee about the areas they have swept and also what areas still remain dangerous. They will also give all information in their possession about the mine fields laid down by the late Russian Governments since the outbreak of war in 1914 outside Russian territorial waters, in order to assist in their clearance.

Provided that nothing in this section shall be understood to prevent the Russian Government from taking or require them to disclose any measures they may consider necessary for the protection of their ports.

IV

Each party may nominate such number of its nationals as may be agreed from time to time as being reasonably necessary to enable proper effect to be given to this Agreement, having regard to the conditions under which trade is carried on in its territories, and the other party shall permit such persons to enter its territories, and to sojourn and carry on trade there, provided that either party may restrict the admittance of any such persons into any specified areas, and may refuse admittance to or sojourn in its territories to any individual who is *persona non grata* to itself, or who does not comply with this Agreement or with the conditions precedent thereto.

Persons admitted in pursuance of this Article into the territories of either party shall, while sojourning therein for purposes of trade, be exempted from all compulsory services whatsoever, whether civil, naval, military or other, and from any contributions whether pecuniary or in kind imposed as an equivalent for personal service and shall have right of egress.

They shall be at liberty to communicate freely by post, telegraph and wireless telegraphy, and to use telegraph codes under the conditions and subject to the regulations laid down in the International Telegraph Convention of St. Petersburg, 1875 (Lisbon Revision of 1908).

Each party undertakes to account for and to pay all balances due to the other in respect of terminal and transit telegrams and in respect of transit letter mails in accordance with the provisions of the International Telegraph Convention and Regulations and of the Convention and Regulations of the Universal Postal Union respectively. The above balances when due shall be paid in the currency of either party at the option of the receiving party.

Persons admitted into Russia under this Agreement shall be permitted freely to import commodities (except commodities, such as alcoholic liquors, of which both the importation and the manufacture are or may be prohibited in Russia) destined solely for their household use or consumption to an amount reasonably required for such purposes.

V

Either party may appoint one or more official agents to a number to be mutually agreed upon, to reside and exercise their functions in the territories of the other, who shall personally enjoy all the rights and immunities set forth in the preceding Article and also immunity from arrest and search provided that either party may refuse to admit any individual as an official agent who is *persona non grata* to itself or may require the other party to withdraw him should it find it necessary to do so on grounds of public interest or security. Such agents shall have access to the authorities of the country in which they reside for the purpose of facilitating the carrying out of this Agreement and of protecting the interests of their nationals.

Official agents shall be at liberty to communicate freely with their own Government and with other official representatives of their Government in other countries by post, by telegraph and wireless telegraphy in cipher and to receive and despatch couriers with sealed bags subject to a limitation of 3 kilograms per week, which shall be exempt from examination.

Telegrams and radiotelegrams of official agents shall enjoy any right of priority over private messages that may be generally accorded to messages of the official representatives of foreign Governments in the United Kingdom and Russia respectively.

Russian official agents in the United Kingdom shall enjoy the same privileges in respect of exemption from taxation, central or local, as are accorded to the official representatives of other foreign Governments. British official agents in Russia shall enjoy equivalent privileges, which, moreover, shall in no case be less than those accorded to the official agents of any other country.

The official agents shall be the competent authorities to visa the passports of persons seeking admission in pursuance of the preceding Article into the territories of the parties.

VI

Each party undertakes generally to ensure that persons admitted into its territories under the two preceding Articles shall enjoy all protection, rights and facilities which are necessary to enable them to carry on trade, but subject always to any legislation generally applicable in the respective countries.

VII

Both contracting parties agree simultaneously with the conclusion of the present Trade Agreement to renew exchange of private postal and telegraphic correspondence between both countries as well as despatch and acceptance of wireless messages and parcels by post in accordance with the rules and regulations which were in existence up to 1914.

VIII

Passports, documents of identity, Powers of Attorney and similar documents issued or certified by the competent authorities in either country for the purpose of enabling trade to be carried on in pursuance of this Agreement shall be treated in the other country as if they were issued or certified by the authorities of a recognized foreign Government.

IX

The British Government declares that it will not initiate any steps with a view to attach or to take possession of any gold, funds, securities or commodities not being articles identifiable as the property of the British Government which may be exported from Russia in payment for imports or as securities for such payment, or of any movable or immovable property which may be acquired by the Russian Soviet Government within the United Kingdom.

It will not take steps to obtain any special legislation not applicable to other countries against the importation into the United Kingdom of precious metals from Russia whether specie (other than British or Allied) or bullion or manufactures or the storing, analyzing, refining, melting, mortgaging or disposing thereof in the United Kingdom, and will not requisition such metals.

X

The Russian Soviet Government undertakes to make no claim to dispose in any way of the funds or other property of the late Imperial and Provisional Russian Governments in the United Kingdom. The British Government gives a corresponding undertaking as regards British Government funds and property in Russia. This Article is not to prejudice the inclusion in the general Treaty referred to in the Preamble of any provision dealing with the subject-matter of this Article.

Both parties agree to protect and not to transfer to any claimants pending the conclusion of the aforesaid Treaty any of the above funds or property which may be subject to their control.

XI

Merchandise, the produce or manufacture of one country imported into the other in pursuance of this Agreement, shall not be subjected therein to compulsory requisition on the part of the Government or of any local authority.

XII

It is agreed that all questions relating to the rights and claims of nationals of either party in respect of Patents, Trade Marks, Designs and Copyrights in the territory of the other party shall be equitably dealt with in the Treaty referred to in the Preamble.

XIII

The present Agreement shall come into force immediately and both parties shall at once take all necessary measures to give effect to it. It shall continue in force unless and until replaced by the Treaty contemplated in the Preamble so long as the conditions laid down both in the Articles of the Agreement and in the Preamble are observed by both sides. Provided that at any time after the expiration of twelve months from the date on which the Agreement comes into force either party may give notice to terminate the provisions of the preceding Articles, and on the expiration of six months from the date of such notice those Articles shall terminate accordingly.

Provided also that if as the result of any action in the Courts of the United Kingdom dealing with the attachment or arrest of any gold, funds, securities, property or commodities not being identifiable as the exclusive property of a British subject, consigned to the United Kingdom by the Russian Soviet Government or its representatives judgment is delivered by the Court under which such gold, funds, securities, property or commodities are held to be validly attached on account of obligations incurred by the Russian Soviet Government or by any previous Russian Government before the date of the signature of this Agreement, the Russian Soviet Government shall have the right to terminate the Agreement forthwith.

Provided also that in the event of the infringement by either party at any time of any of the provisions of this Agreement or of the conditions referred to in the Preamble, the other party shall immediately be free from the obligations of the Agreement. Nevertheless it is agreed that before taking any action inconsistent with the Agreement, the aggrieved party shall give the other party a reasonable opportunity of furnishing an explanation or remedying the default.

It is mutually agreed that in any of the events contemplated in the above provisos, the parties will afford all necessary facilities for the winding up in accordance with the principles of the Agreement of any transactions already entered into thereunder, and for the withdrawal and egress from their territories of the nationals of the other party and for the withdrawal of their movable property.

As from the date when six months' notice of termination shall have been given under this Article, the only new transactions which shall be entered into under the Agreement shall be those which can be completed within the six months. In all other respects the provisions of the Agreement will remain fully in force up to the date of termination.

XIV

This Agreement is drawn up and signed in the English language. But it is agreed that as soon as may be a translation shall be made into the Russian language and agreed between the Parties. Both texts shall then be considered authentic for all purposes.

Signed at London, this sixteenth day of March, nineteen hundred and twenty-one.

R. S. HORNE.

L. KRASSIN.

Declaration of Recognition of Claims

At the moment of signature of the preceding Trade Agreement both parties declare that all claims of either party or of its nationals against the other party in respect of property or rights or in respect of obligations incurred by the existing or former Governments of either country shall be equitably dealt

with in the formal general Peace Treaty referred to in the Preamble.

In the meantime and without prejudice to the generality of the above stipulation the Russian Soviet Government declares that it recognizes in principle that it is liable to pay compensation to private persons who have supplied goods or services to Russia for which they have not been paid. The detailed mode of discharging this liability shall be regulated by the Treaty referred to in the Preamble.

The British Government hereby makes a corresponding declaration.

It is clearly understood that the above declarations in no way imply that the claims referred to therein will have preferential treatment in the aforesaid Treaty as compared with any other classes of claims which are to be dealt with in that Treaty.

Signed at London, this sixteenth day of March, nineteen hundred and twenty-one.

R. S. HORNE.

L. KRASSIN.

FOUR CLAUSES FROM THE SOVIET-PERSIAN TREATY

Clause I

The Government of the R.S.F.S.R. in accordance with its declarations set forth in Notes of January 14, 1918, and June 26, 1919, on the principles of the R.S.F.S.R.'s policy with regard to the Persian people, once more solemnly declares Russia's immutable renunciation of the policy of force with regard to Persia pursued by the imperialist governments of Russia that have been overthrown by the will of her workmen and peasants.

Accordingly, wishing to see the Persian people independent, flourishing and freely controlling the whole of its own possessions, the Government of the R.S.F.S.R. declares all tracts, treaties, conventions and agreements concluded by the late Czarist Government with Persia, and tending to the diminution of the rights of the Persian people completely null and void.

Clause II

The Government of the R.S.F.S.R. brands (as criminal) the policy of the governments of Czarist Russia, which, without the agreement of the peoples of Asia and under the guise of assuring the independence of these peoples concluded with other States of Europe treaties concerning the East which had as their ultimate object its gradual seizure. The Government of the R.S.F.S.R. unconditionally rejects that criminal policy as not only violating the sovereignty of the States of Asia, but also leading to organized brutal violence of European robbers on the living body of the peoples of the East.

Wherefore and in accordance with the principles set out in Clauses I and IV of the present treaty, the Government of the R.S.F.S.R. declares its refusal to take part in any measures whatsoever tending to weaken or violate the sovereignty of Persia and declares completely null and void all conventions and agreements concluded by the late Government of Russia with third powers for the harm of Persia and concerning her.

Clause VIII

The Government of the R.S.F.S.R. declares its complete rejection of that financial policy which the Czarist Government of Russia pursued in the East, supplying the Government of Persia with financial means not in order to assist the economic development and flourishing of the Persian people but in the form of a political enfeeblement of Persia. The Government of the R.S.F.S.R. therefore resigns all rights to the loans furnished to Persia by the Czarist Government, and declares such loans null and not to be repaid. It similarly resigns all demands for the use of those State revenues of Persia by which the said loans were guaranteed.

Clause IX

The Government of the R.S.F.S.R. in accordance with its expressed condemnation of the colonial policy of capitalism, which served and is serving as a reason for innumerable miseries and sheddings of blood, renounces the use of those financial

undertakings of Czarist Russia which had as their object the economical enfeeblement of Persia. It therefore hands over to the Persian people the financial sums, valuables and in general, the assets and liabilities of the Discount Credit Bank of Persia, and similarly the movable and immovable property of the said Bank existing on the territory of Persia.

SOVIET RUSSIA'S RELATIONS WITH AMERICA

By Jerome Davis, Ph.D., Yale University

In March, 1917, the Russian Revolution broke out. On March 22 the United States was the first to formally recognize the Provisional Government. Later they granted credit for the purchase of war material in the United States to the extent of \$283,100,000. Five days after the Revolution began, the Petrograd Soviet, which actually had more military power than the Provisional Government, sent out a proclamation to the "Peoples of the World" in which it said:

"Conscious of its revolutionary power the Russian democracy announces that it will, by every means, resist the policy of conquest of its ruling classes, and it calls upon the peoples of Europe for concerted decisive actions in favor of peace."

On May 15, this same Soviet sent an appeal to the socialists of all countries which said:

"You must force your Governments to state definitely and clearly that the platform of peace without annexations or indemnities, on the basis of self-determination of peoples, is also their platform. . . . In order to unite these efforts the Petrograd Soviet has decided to take the initiative in calling for an international conference of all the Socialist parties and factions in every country."

The Provisional Government which we had recognized gave the stamp of its approval to this by declaring on May 18 that its aim was:

"To bring about, at the earliest possible date, a general peace . . . without annexations, without indemnities, and on the basis of self-determination of peoples."

Secretary of State Lansing met this appeal by stating that no passports would be issued for Americans desiring to attend the Stockholm Peace Conference. The State Department looked with disfavor on the possibility of its spreading peace sentiments in the countries participating.

On May 12 the State Department announced a *Special Diplomatic Mission* to Russia headed by Elihu Root of New York. In Moscow on June 22, 1917, Mr. Root said:

"It is a cause of joy to the democratic people of the United States if they can help to give to the Russian people the opportunity to work out their own system of government in accordance with the genius of Russian Character."

On June 22 he said to the Moscow Duma:

"You will make mistakes; you will have to retrace your steps here and there; you will find imperfections, but you will step by step go on to develop a structure of competent and successful free self-government. . . . *We will stay with you to the end.*"

On June 23 he said to the Russian War Industries Board:

"A very cheering incident is the action recently taken in Petrograd by the General Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. . . . That resolution [welcoming cooperation between capital and labor] may well be accepted as the authoritative declaration of the people of Russia, so far as they have yet been able to secure a representative assembly."

Mr. Duncan, another member of the Root Commission, said to the All-Russian Trade Union Convention on July 5:

"We advise that in addition to these political activities the working men and women of Russia should thoroughly and strongly organize into trade and labor unions. . . . Organize now into militant trade and employment associations. Take co-equal interest in economic as in political organization."

This, Mr. Duncan assured them, was necessary because without it government officials would be careless in enforcing the law.

Still another member of the United States Government Commission told the Russian people that he was a socialist:

"I come from the workers, the radicals, the American socialists, the champions of democracy. For freedom and the emancipation of man the Russian revolution is the greatest event in human history."

When the Russian people followed their reasonable interpretation of these official messages from America and organized the government on the basis of a union labor system—on the authority of occupational units, or Socialistic Soviets, America refused to deal with them.

On June 16 the Russian Provisional Government sent a note asking for a conference of Allied Powers to revise the ultimate aims of the war. On the whole, these first few months were characterized by peace and friendship between Russia and her allies.

But the ensuing period was marked by the growing misunderstanding with foreign powers.

On November 6, after the people had elected Bolsheviks to a majority control in most of the Soviets throughout Russia, the Communistic Party seized control of the national government. Two days later the All-Russian Convention of Soviets passed a resolution proposing to all the warring peoples a peace based on the formula "no annexation and no indemnities." The Soviet Government on November 22 sent a note to the Allied Ambassadors proposing such a peace. The Spanish, Norwegian, Swedish, and Swiss ministers sent replies saying that they were taking "proper steps."

General Judson, the ranking United States military representative, on November 28, sent a letter to the Chief of the Russian General Staff in which he said that America did not wish to aid any one political party in Russia against another, and that "it is certainly within the rights of Russia to bring up the question of a general peace."

The same day Trotsky sent a note to the diplomatic representatives of the Allied countries informing them that

hostilities had ceased on the Russian front and urging them to join in negotiations for a speedy armistice.

Trotsky protested on December 1 that the representative of the United States, Lieutenant-Colonel Kerth, had urged the Russian General Dukhonin to carry out a policy "directly contrary" to that of the Russian Government, and was consequently interfering in the internal affairs of the country. It was on that same day that General Judson called on Trotsky and stated: "The time of protests and threats addressed to the Soviet Government has passed, if that time ever existed." Because of his willingness to treat with the Bolsheviks, General Judson was recalled to the United States and kept here for the duration of the war.

On December 29 Trotsky once more appealed to the Allies to participate in the peace conferences. On January 2, 1918, Ambassador Francis, of the United States, in a written communication stated: "If the Russian armies now under the command of the People's Commissars commence and seriously conduct hostilities against the forces of Germany and her allies, I will recommend to my Government the formal recognition of the *de facto* government of the People's Commissars."

President Wilson, in his address to Congress on January 8, complimented the Soviet Government, saying:

"The Russian representatives have insisted, very justly, very wisely, and in the true spirit of modern democracy, that the conferences they have been holding with the Teutonic and Turkish statesmen should be held within open, not closed, doors, and all the world has been the audience, as was desired. . . . Their power [that of the Russian people] is shattered. And yet their soul is not subservient. They will not yield either in principle or in action. Their conception of what is right, of what it is humane and honorable for them to accept, has been stated with a frankness, a largeness of view, a generosity of spirit, and a universal human sympathy which must challenge the admiration of every friend of mankind."

On January 18 the Constituent Assembly met and was disbanded by the Soviet Government. On January 23 Colonel Raymond Robins, Commander of the American Red Cross,

cabled America stating that in consequence of the dissolution of the Constitutional Assembly the Soviet Government was stronger than ever before and that he strongly urged recognition.

After waiting three months for Allied recognition, the Bolsheviks on February 8 repudiated Russia's foreign debts. Yet on February 28 the American Ambassador, who had removed his headquarters to Vologda, wired to Raymond Robins, of the American Red Cross, who had remained in the Russian capital, to "Express gratitude Council People's Commissars for cooperation."

On March 5 Trotsky gave a note for transmission to the American Government asking what support they could count on from the United States if they continued to fight Germany. And on March 9 the American Ambassador cabled the Secretary of State against Japanese intervention saying, among other things:

"Trotsky furthermore asserted that neither his government nor the Russian people would object to the supervision by America of all shipments from Vladivostok into Russia and a virtual control of the operations of the Siberian railway."

On March 14 President Wilson sent a message for the Russian people through the Congress of Soviets, thus to that extent recognizing the Bolshevik Government.

Shortly afterwards Secretary Polk stated that Japanese intervention in Siberia could be justified solely with a view to "holding it safe against Germany. . . . Otherwise the Central Powers could and would make it appear that Japan was doing in the East exactly what Germany is doing in the West, and so seek to counter the condemnation which all the world must pronounce against Germany's invasions of Russia which she attempts to justify on the pretext of restoring order." All the world now knows that we did not limit intervention in Russia "to holding it safe against Germany."

On March 18 Trotsky officially asked America for officers to help train the Soviet Army and also for an American railroad commission.

During this same month the American Ambassador became alarmed about the reported arming of prisoners of war. These

reports were later shown to be largely false by official American and British officers appointed to investigate the matter. On March 23 the American Ambassador in Tokio cabled that the Japanese Government had no present intention of intervening in Siberia. Less than two weeks later Japan began landing military forces in Vladivostok. All the Allied military attachés in Moscow cabled on April 4 against Japanese intervention.

On March 29 Foreign Commissar Chicherin formally asked the United States Government for the appointment of its representative on each of six commissions to settle Rumanian-Russian affairs. During this period the Soviet Government permitted our officials to purchase platinum for the use of the United States. But, although the United States Ambassador requested our railroad commission to come on, they were held in Japan by the State Department on the theory that the Soviet leaders were "acting under the direction of the German General Staff."

On April 9 Ambassador Francis was advised by the Secretary of State that Admiral Kato had landed troops in Siberia solely on his own responsibility. The Ambassador thereupon advised the British and American admirals and consuls that this had been done "purely for the protection of Japanese life and property."

On April 12, at the request of the Commander of the American Red Cross who had had his automobile stolen, the Bolsheviks attacked and captured all the armed anarchist clubs in Russia, which the Kerensky Government had not dared to attack.

On April 17 the Commander of the American Red Cross protested because of the methods used by our consular representatives against the Bolshevik Government. He wired to the American Ambassador, who was still in Vologda,

"Business relations not usually strengthened through policy kicking people in the face. Constant desire and expectation overthrow Soviet power poor foundation business cooperation."

On April 18 the American Red Cross Commander again reiterated his belief that unless the United States would create

a commission with power to work with the Soviet Government for economic cooperation, all useful work in Russia was over.

On April 21 the Soviet Government claimed to have uncovered a conspiracy against the Siberian Soviet Government by Admiral Knight of the United States and the American Consul at Vladivostok. The American Red Cross admitted that it looked as if the Consul was at least indiscreet. The Soviet Government asked for the recall of the American Consul in Vladivostok.

On May 3 the American Ambassador wired Colonel Robins asking him if he thought "the Soviet Government would oppose Allied intervention if they knew it was inevitable."

On May 14, when Colonel Robins left for America, Lenin gave him a complete memorandum concerning "Russian-American Commercial Relations," guaranteeing that the military stores in Russia would not be sold to Germany and offering unusual concessions to America.

On May 31 the American Ambassador gave an official statement to the Russian people:

"The policy of my Government is not to intervene in the internal affairs of Russia—and this policy has never been violated."

On June 1 he added another public declaration, in which he said:

"In other words, the policy of my Government consists in non-intervention in the internal affairs of Russia and in giving the opportunity to the people of this great country to select their own form of government, make their own laws, and elect their own officials."

The American Ambassador, however, had already been working for intervention nearly a month, since on May 2 he had sent the Secretary of State this cablegram: "In my opinion the time has arrived for Allied intervention."

By July 13 United States marines had landed at Murmansk and British, French, and Serbian forces were moving into the interior, arresting Soviet officials on the way. Chicherin felt

called upon to make an official protest to the United States.

On July 25, after the Bolshevik Government had requested the American Ambassador to leave Vologda because of the possibility of military operations, Ambassador Francis sent a message to Chicherin, in which he said: "Do you expect a German siege of Archangel? Certainly you do not anticipate an Allied siege of that city." Scarcely a week later General Poole took Archangel and began moving down towards Vologda!

There followed months of warfare and bitter hostility.

On August 3, 1918, the United States Government at Washington officially made the following statement:

"In the judgment of the Government of the United States—a judgment arrived at after repeated and very searching consideration of the whole situation—military intervention in Russia would be more likely to add to the present sad confusion there than to cure it, and would injure Russia, rather than help her out of her distress. . . . As the Government of the United States sees the present circumstances, therefore, military action is admissible in Russia now only to render such protection and help as is possible to the Czechoslovaks against the armed Austrian and German prisoners who are attacking them, and to steady any efforts at self-government or self-defense in which the Russians themselves may be willing to accept assistance."

As we have noted, Colonel Robins had already proved through Captain Webster and Captain Hicks the falsity of the reports regarding serious menace from armed prisoners of war. On August 23 Trotsky protested against this prisoner-of-war charge, calling it "an American lie."

The official American statement of policy continued:

"Whether from Vladivostok or from Murmansk or Archangel, the only present object for which American troops will be employed will be to guard military stores which may be needed by Russian forces and to render such aid as may be acceptable to the Russians in the organization of their own self-defence. . . . In taking

this action the Government of the United States wishes to announce to the people of Russia in the most public and solemn manner that it contemplates no interference with the political sovereignty of Russia, no intervention in her internal affairs—not even in the local affairs of the limited areas which her military force may be obliged to occupy.”

Yet United States troops were sent hundreds of miles into the interior of Russia under an allied force in which Russians played a subordinate role. In Archangel all the ministers of the new Northern Government were arrested and, in spite of the efforts of the American Ambassador to bring them back, they found it impossible to function because “the British officers together with some of the French officers had planned a *coup d'état*.” Tchaikovsky, the head of the Archangel “Government,” was not permitted to publish his own material and, according to the report which Ambassador Francis himself reproduces, the Allied censor commission “had condemned over half of the matter in the proposed issue of the Russian governmental paper, and consequently it was not issued.”

No wonder that on August 6 the Soviet Government protested to the American Consul in Moscow:

“We therefore request you to inform your government and peoples abroad that a completely unjustifiable attack and a pronounced act of violence is being committed upon us. . . . Without a declaration of war and without the existence of a state of war, hostilities are opened against us and our national property is pillaged.”

On October 24 the Russian Soviet Government addressed a note to President Wilson in which they expressed their belief that intervention to protect Czechoslovak soldiers was mere hypocrisy. They said:

“The best proof of the real object of the Czechoslovak rebellion is the fact that, although in control of the Siberian railway, the Czechoslovaks have not taken advantage of this to leave Russia, but by order of the Entente Governments, whose directions they follow,

have remained in Russia to become the mainstay of the Russian counter-revolution."

On September 3 the Soviet Government disclosed an attempted bribery of Soviet troops by the English and French missions in Moscow. According to the Soviet Government, the purpose of the conspiracy was the seizure of the People's Commissars. A British Lieutenant, Riley, paid over a million roubles in this attempt.

In October, 1918, rumors of an approaching armistice reached North Russia. Ambassador Francis in Archangel was forced to cable on the 18th of that month that the French troops would not now fight any more and that American soldiers "were partially inoculated with the same sentiment."

But the Armistice in France did not end Russia's difficulties with America and the Allies. Russia sought peace, but in vain.

On December 2 Chicherin sent to the Allied Governments an offer of peace. On December 24 Litvinoff appealed to President Wilson formally offering "to enter into negotiations for a peaceful settlement of all questions making for hostilities against Russia."

On January 12 Chicherin sent a note to the American Government attacking former war arguments which had been used to justify American intervention, because by this time the war with Germany was over.

On January 21, 1919, the President of the United States admitted that Russia had been invaded by the Allies because they "were all repelled by Bolshevism." He went on to state that "one of the things that was clear in the Russian situation was that by opposing Bolshevism with arms they were in reality serving the cause of Bolshevism."

Before the President made this statement and while he was making it, the American Ambassador was asking that he be allowed to return to Petrograd with fifty thousand American troops! "This," he said, "would mean the extinction of Bolshevism, would save our faces, and would probably induce troops to obey orders."

On January 22 the Allied representatives at the Peace Conference proposed a meeting of all the Russian factions at Prinkipo. They again reiterated, "It is not their [the Allied]

wish or purpose to favor or assist any one of the organized groups now contending for the leadership and guidance of Russia as against the others." The Bolsheviks accepted this invitation, but all the other factions refused and the meeting was never held. President Wilson instead sent William C. Bullitt and Lincoln Steffens to Russia to observe conditions at first hand.

On March 14, 1919, the Soviet Government sent out by the Bullitt Commission an offer of peace which included recognizing all its foreign debts. To this offer the Allies never replied.

Russia then attempted direct negotiations. It sent L. C. A. K. Martens as representative to the United States. On March 19 his credentials were sent to the State Department, but they were not accepted. On June 12, the State of New York raided his offices in New York City, but found nothing incriminating. In January, 1920, a Senate Committee made exhaustive investigations into his activities, and again nothing against him was discovered. Nevertheless, he was ordered deported in December, 1920, on the sole ground that he represented the Russian Bolshevik Government.

In October, 1919, the Allies asked all neutral governments, as well as Germany, to participate in the Blockade of Bolshevik Russia. Among other things clearance papers were to be refused to every ship going into Russian ports. The United States declared on November 4 that it was not participating in the blockade. It only refused "export licenses for shipments to Russian territory under Bolshevik control and clearance papers to American vessels seeking to depart for Petrograd, the only remaining Bolshevik port." There followed Allied help to Yudenitch, Wrangel, Denikin, Petlura, and yet each and every one of these military adventures was a dismal failure.

On December 5 the seventh All-Russian Congress of Soviets, after reiterating ten distinct proposals for peace made by Russia, passed another resolution proposing peace with the Allies.

On January 16, 1920, over a year after the Armistice, the United States Secretary of State issued a statement declaring that it was the intention of the government to withdraw the American military forces from Siberia in the near future.

On the same date the Supreme Council decided to lift the blockade of Russia. Nevertheless, the United States continued to warn business men that they would refuse to protect Americans who engaged in Russian trade.

Since 1920 the United States has practiced a policy of quarantining the Russian Soviet Government, with curious spasmodic interruptions. The American Relief Administration, under Mr. Hoover, worked in Russia from October, 1921, to July, 1923, sending in tens of millions of dollars worth of grain to relieve starvation. But the policy of non-recognition continues.

In August, 1922, America offered to send "an expert technical commission to study and report on the economic situation" in Russia. The Soviet Government accepted the proposal, provided she could send a reciprocal mission to America. This proposal we refused. President Coolidge in December, 1923, suggested settling with Russia, and again the Soviet Government accepted the proposal, but the Secretary of State, in a cold unfriendly note made new demands and refused the offer.

Russian business agents are, however, welcomed, and several American banks have financed the growing Russo-American commerce. For the year ending September 30, 1926, the All-Russian Textile Syndicate purchased over \$33,000,000 worth of cotton in the United States. In three years, it purchased \$116,815,282.42 worth of cotton, dyes, machinery, and other merchandise in the United States. The total turnover of imports and exports from Russia during the year ending September 30, 1926, was over seventy-eight million dollars. But while America was entertaining Bolshevik emissaries who had gold, and while Ford was shipping 10,000 tractors to Russia on partial credit, the United States Secretary of State refused a transit visa to the Russian Ambassador to Mexico. The "quarantine" has not been ended; so far as the United States Government is concerned, officially and formally, there is no government in Russia!