

# THE SECRET AGREEMENTS

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WITH A PREFACE BY  
CHARLES RODEN BUXTON  
AND NINE MAPS ❧ ❧ ❧ ❧ ❧ ❧

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## PREFACE.

In view of the widespread misconceptions as to the nature of the agreements concluded during the war between the Allied Governments, I have collected in the following pages the actual texts of the documents in which they are embodied, so far as these documents have been published. The translations (for which I am indebted to the courtesy of the proprietors of the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Cambridge Magazine*) have been made from the Russian text as published by the *Izvestiya*, the official organ of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, in November, 1917, and the following months. The documents were there described as having been found among the secret papers of the Russian Foreign Office, and published by M. Trotzky, People's Commissioner for Foreign Affairs.

All dates are given according to the new style, *i.e.*, they correspond with our own calendar.

How far the agreements are still in force, and whether the series is or is not complete, are questions which we have at present no means of answering.

The geographical details will be readily understood by reference to the maps.

CHARLES RODEN BUXTON.  
February, 1918.

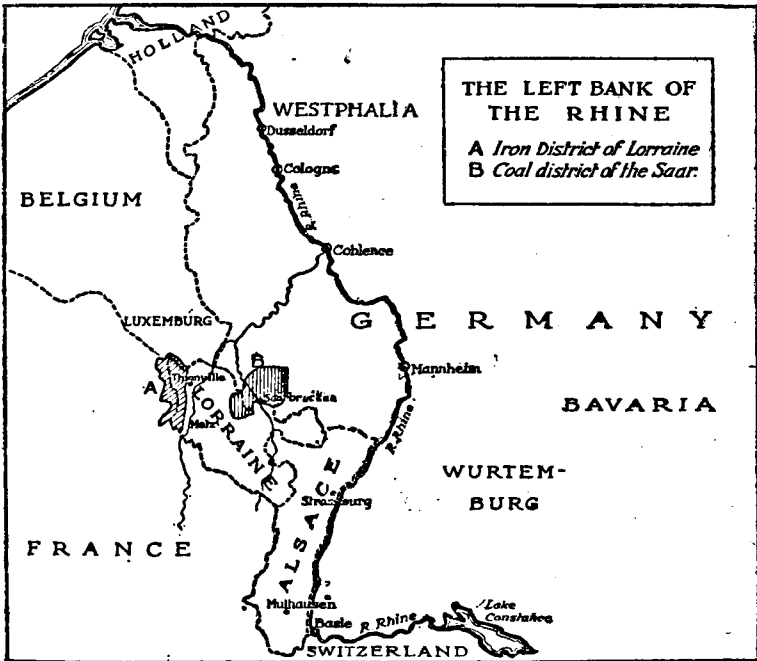
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# THE SECRET AGREEMENTS.

## I. THE LEFT BANK OF THE RHINE.

*Note of the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs of February 14, 1917, No. 26, addressed to the French Ambassador at Petrograd:—*

In your Note of to-day's date your Excellency was good enough to inform the Imperial Government that the Government



of the Republic was contemplating the inclusion in the terms of peace to be offered to Germany the following demands and guarantees of a territorial nature:—

- (1) Alsace-Lorraine to be restored to France.
- (2) The frontiers are to be extended at least up to the

limits of the former principality of Lorraine, and are to be drawn up at the discretion of the French Government so as to provide for the strategical needs and for the inclusion in French territory of the entire iron district of Lorraine and of the entire coal district of the Saar valley.

(3) The rest of the territories situated on the left bank of the Rhine which now form part of the German Empire are to be entirely separated from Germany and freed from all political and economic dependence upon her.

(4) The territories of the left bank of the Rhine outside French territory are to be constituted an autonomous and neutral State, and are to be occupied by French troops until such time as the enemy States have completely satisfied all the conditions and guarantees indicated in the treaty of peace.

Your Excellency stated that the Government of the Republic would be happy to be able to rely upon the support of the Imperial Government for the carrying out of its plans. By order of his Imperial Majesty, my most august master, I have the honour, in the name of the Russian Government, to inform your Excellency by the present Note that the Government of the Republic may rely upon the support of the Imperial Government for the carrying out of its plans as set out above.

—(*Manchester Guardian*, December 12, 1917.)

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## II. THE AGREEMENT WITH ITALY.

*Memorandum laid before the Allies by the Italian Government on the eve of Italy's entry into the war in 1915, together with the Agreement signed by the representatives of Great Britain, France, Russia, and Italy, on April 26, 1915.*

ARTICLE 1.—A military convention is to be concluded without delay between the General Staffs of France, Great Britain, Russia, and Italy to determine the minimum number of troops which Russia would have to throw against Austria-Hungary if the latter should want to concentrate all her forces against Italy. Russia should decide mainly to attack Germany. Similarly the said convention is to regulate the questions relating to armistices, in so far as such armistices form an essential part of the competence of the Supreme Army Command.

ARTICLE 2.—On her part Italy undertakes by all means at her disposal to conduct the campaign in union with France, Great Britain, and Russia against all the Powers at war with them.



ARTICLE 3.—The naval forces of France and Great Britain are to render uninterrupted and active assistance to Italy until such time as the navy of Austria has been destroyed or peace has been concluded. A naval convention is to be concluded without delay between France, Great Britain, and Italy.

ARTICLE 4.—By the future treaty of peace Italy is to receive the district of Trentino; the entire Southern Tyrol up to its natural geographical frontier, which is the Brenner Pass; the city and district of Trieste; the county of Gorizia and Gradisca; the entire Istria up to the Quarnero, including Volosco and the Istrian islands of Cherso and Lussina, as well as the smaller islands of Plavnika, Unia, Canidoli, Palazzuoli, S. Petri dei Nembi, Asinello, and Gruica, with the neighbouring islets.

NOTE 1.—Here follow the details of the frontier delimitation.

ARTICLE 5.—Italy will likewise receive the province of Dalmatia in its present frontiers, including Lissericca and Trebigne [Trebanje], in the north, and all the country in the south up to a line drawn from the coast, at the promontory of Planka, eastwards along the watershed in such a way as to include in the Italian possessions all the valleys of the rivers flowing into the Sebenico—viz., Cikola, Kerka, and Buotisnica, with all their affluents. Italy will likewise obtain all the islands situated to the north and west of the coasts of Dalmatia, beginning with Premuda, Selve, Ulbo, Skerda, Maoh, Pago, and Puntadura, and further north, and down to Melada in the south, with the inclusion of the islands of S. Andrea, Busi, Lissa, Lesina, Torcola, Curzola, Cazza, and Lagosta, with all the adjacent rocks and islets, as well as Pelagosa, but without the islands of Zirona Grande and Zirona Piccola, Bua, Solta, and Brazza.

The following are to be neutralised:—(1) The entire coast from Planka, in the north, to the southern extremity of the Sabbioncello peninsula, including this last-named peninsula in its entirety; (2) the part of the littoral from a point ten versts south of the promontory of Ragusa Vecchia to the Viosa [Vojuzza] River, so as to include in the neutralised zone the entire gulf of Cattaro, with its ports of Antivari, Dulcigno, San Giovanni di Medua, and Durazzo; the rights of Montenegro, arising from the declarations exchanged by the two contracting parties as far back as April and May, 1909, remaining intact. Nevertheless, in view of the fact that those rights were guaranteed to Montenegro within her present frontiers, they are not to be extended to those territories and ports which may eventually be given to Montenegro. Thus, none of the ports of the littoral now belonging to Montenegro is to be neutralised at any future time. On the other hand, the disqualifications affecting Antivari, to which Montenegro herself

agreed in 1909, are to remain in force; (3) lastly, all the islands which are not annexed to Italy.

**NOTE 2.**—The following territories on the Adriatic will be included by the Powers of the Quadruple Entente in Croatia, Serbia, and Montenegro:—In the north of the Adriatic, the entire coast from Volosco Bay, on the border of Istria, to the northern frontier of Dalmatia, including the entire coast now belonging to Hungary, and the entire coast of Croatia, the port of Fiume, and the small ports of Novi and Carlopago, and also the islands of Veglia, Perviccio, Gregorio, Coli, and Arbe; and in the south of the Adriatic, where Serbia and Montenegro have interests, the entire coast from Planka up to the River Drin, with the chief ports of Spalato, Ragusa, Cattaro, Antivari, Dulcigno, and San Giovanni di Medua, with the islands of Zirona Grande, Zirona Piccola, Bua, Solta, Brazza, Jaklian, and Calamotta.

The Port of Durazzo may be given to the independent Mohammedan State of Albania.

**ARTICLE 6.**—Italy will receive in absolute property Valona, the islands of Sasseno, and as much territory as would be required to secure their military safety—(approximately between the River Vojazza in the north and in the east down to the borders of the Chimara district in the south.

**ARTICLE 7.**—Italy, having received Trentino and Istria in accordance with article 4 and Dalmatia and the Adriatic islands in accordance with article 5 and the Gulf of Valona, is not, in case of the creation of a small autonomous and neutralised State in Albania, to resist the possible desire of France, Great Britain, and Russia to distribute among Montenegro, Serbia, and Greece the northern and southern parts of Albania. The latter's southern littoral from the frontier of the Italian district of Valona to Capo Stylos is to be neutralised. Italy is to have the right to conduct foreign relations with Albania; at any rate, Italy is to agree to the inclusion in Albania of a territory large enough to allow her frontiers to touch those of Greece and Serbia west of Ochrida Lake.

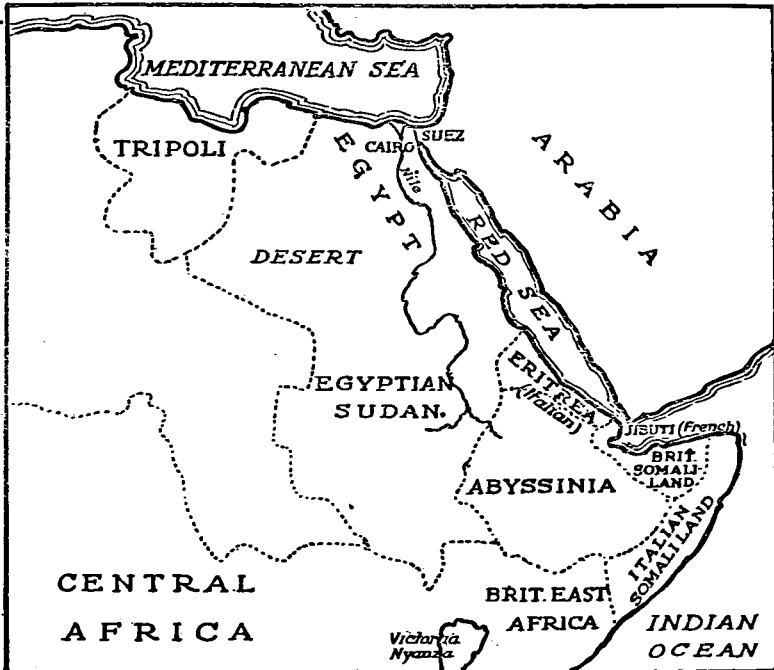
**ARTICLE 8.**—Italy will obtain all the Twelve Islands [Dodekanese] now occupied by her, in full possession.\*

**ARTICLE 9.**—France, Great Britain, and Russia admit in principle the fact of Italy's interest in the maintenance of the political balance of power in the Mediterranean, and her rights, in case of a partition of Turkey, to a share, equal to theirs, in the basin of the Mediterranean—viz., in that part of it which adjoins the province of Adalia, in which Italy has already acquired special rights and interests defined in the Italo-British Convention. The zone which is to be made Italy's property is to be more precisely defined in due course in conformity with the vital interests of France and Great Britain. Italy's interests will likewise be taken into consideration in case the Powers should also maintain the

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\*NOTE.—For these and other places belonging to Turkey see map of Turkey

territorial integrity of Asiatic Turkey for some future period of time, and if they should only proceed to establish among themselves spheres of influence. In case France, Great Britain, and Russia should, in the course of the present war, occupy any



districts of Asiatic Turkey, the entire territory adjacent to Adalia and defined more precisely below (?) is to be left to Italy, who reserves her right to occupy it.

ARTICLE 10.—In Libya, Italy is to enjoy all those rights and privileges which now belong to the Sultan in virtue of the Treaty of Lausanne.

ARTICLE 11.—Italy is to get a share in the war indemnity corresponding to the magnitude of her sacrifices and efforts.

ARTICLE 12.—Italy adheres to the declaration made by France, England, and Russia about leaving Arabia and the holy Moslem places in the hands of an independent Moslem Power.

ARTICLE 13.—Should France and Great Britain extend their colonial possessions in Africa at the expense of Germany they will admit in principle Italy's right to demand certain compensation



by way of an extension of her possessions in Erythræa, Somaliland, and Libya and the colonial areas adjoining French and British colonies.

ARTICLE 14.—Great Britain undertakes to facilitate for Italy the immediate flotation on the London market of a loan on advantageous terms to the amount of not less than £50,000,000.

ARTICLE 15.—France, Great Britain, and Russia pledge themselves to support Italy in not allowing the representatives of the Holy See to undertake any diplomatic steps having for their object the conclusion of peace or the settlement of questions connected with the present war.

ARTICLE 16.—The present treaty is to be kept secret. As regards Italy's adhesion to the Declaration of September 5, 1914, this Declaration alone will be published immediately on the declaration of war by, or against, Italy.

Having taken into consideration the present memorandum, the representatives of France, Great Britain, and Russia, being authorised thereto, agreed with the representative of Italy, likewise authorised thereto, as follows:—

France, Great Britain, and Russia express their complete agreement with the present memorandum submitted to them by the Italian Government. In respect of Articles 1, 2, and 3 of the present memorandum, regarding the co-ordination of the military and naval operations of all the four Powers, Italy declares that she will actively intervene at an earliest possible date, and, at any rate, not later than one month after the signature of the present document by the contracting parties.

The undersigned have confirmed by hand and seal the present instrument in London in four copies. April 26, 1915.

(Signed) GREY, CAMBON, IMPERIALI, BENCKENDORF.

—(*Manchester Guardian*, January 18, 1918.)

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### III. THE AGREEMENT WITH ROUMANIA.

*From a series of Russian diplomatic documents published in the "Izvestiya" on February 4, 1918, and summarised by the "Manchester Guardian's" Petrograd correspondent (February 8).*

On the same day [August 8, 1916] the text of an agreement between the Allies and Roumania is prepared, giving satisfaction to all Roumanian's claims to the Banat, Transylvania up to the

Theiss, and Bukovina up to the Pruth. M. Stürmer, in a memorandum to the Tsar, however, raises the objection that Roumania must not be regarded as on a footing with the Great Powers, and the latter must not be bound to continue the war until all Roumania's territorial claims are realised, since this would cause serious complications over the Constantinople straits. On



August 9 M. Poklefsky telegraphs that M. Bratiano is very dissatisfied with clause 5 of the proposed treaty, providing that the Allies should not guarantee territorial acquisition for Roumania by force of arms, and threatens, if this point be not conceded, to resign and leave the Government of Roumania to the Germanophils. On August 12 M. Isvolsky telegraphs to M. Sazonoff that M. Briand does not insist on the maintenance of clause 5, because if the Allies are victorious they can carry out their promises, but if only partially successful Roumania will be forced to bow to circumstances. On August 12 the Tsar agrees to all the Roumanian terms. The secret treaty was signed on August 18, the Salonika advance to take place on August 20 and the entrance of Roumania on August 28.

*From a Note signed by General Polivanoff, dated November 20, 1916, forming one of a series of diplomatic documents published by the "Izvestiya" on November 24, 1917.*

. . . In August, 1916, there was signed a military-political agreement with Italy giving her territorial extensions (in Bukovina, Banat, and Transylvania) which were obviously out of proportion with Roumania's share in the military operations.

#### IV. POLAND AND RUSSIA'S WESTERN FRONTIERS.

*From a confidential telegram from M. Sazonoff (Russian Foreign Minister) to the Russian Ambassador in Paris, March 9, 1916, No. 948.*

At the forthcoming Conference you may be guided by the following general principles:--All suggestions for the future delimitation of Central Europe are at present premature, but in



general one must bear in mind that we are prepared to allow France and England complete freedom in drawing up the western frontiers of Germany, in the expectation that the Allies on their part would allow us equal freedom in drawing up our frontiers with Germany and Austria. It is particularly necessary to insist on the exclusion of the Polish question from the subjects of international discussion and on the elimination of all attempts to place the future of Poland under the guarantee and the control of the Powers.

—(*Manchester Guardian*, December 12, 1917.)

*Telegram from the Russian Ambassador in Paris, March 11, 1917, No. 168.*

See my reply to telegram No. 167, No. 2. The Government of the French Republic, anxious to confirm the importance of the treaties concluded with the Russian Government in 1916 for the settlement on the termination of the war of the question of Constantinople and the Straits in accordance with Russia's aspirations, anxious, on the other hand, to secure for its ally in military and industrial respects all the guarantees desirable for the safety and the economic development of the Empire, recognises Russia's complete liberty in establishing her western frontiers.

(Signed) ISVOLSKY

—(*Manchester Guardian*, December 12, 1917.)

## V. CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE STRAITS.

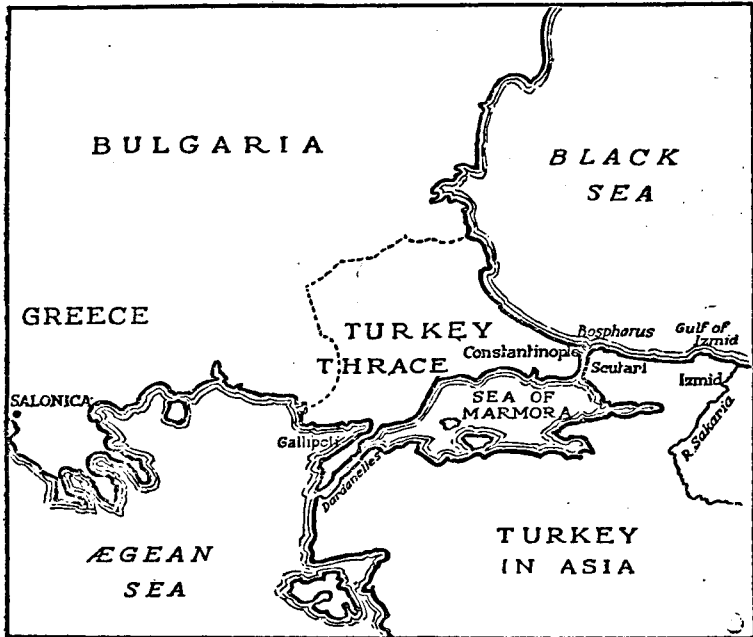
*From an undated Memorandum forming one of a series of Russian diplomatic documents published by the "Izvestiya" on November 23, 1917.*

On March 4, 1915, a Memorandum was handed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs to the French and British Ambassadors, in which was set forth the desire for the annexation, as a result of the present war, of the following territories:—The town of Constantinople, the western shores of the Bosphorus, of the Sea of Marmora, and of the Dardanelles, Southern Thrace up to the line of Enos-Midia, the shores of Asia Minor between the Bosphorus, the River Sakaria, and some point on the Gulf of Izmid, which was reserved for closer definition, the Islands of the Sea of Marmora, and the Islands of Imbros and Tenedos. The special rights of France and England within the limits of these territories were not to be infringed.

The British as well as the French Government declared their consent to the fulfilment of our wishes, on the condition of a successful conclusion of the war, and of the fulfilment of a series

of French and English claims, both within the limits of the Ottoman Empire and elsewhere.

These claims, as far as they concern Turkey, may be summarised as follows:—The recognition of Constantinople as a free port for the transit of merchandise not coming from Russia nor going into Russia, and the free transit of merchant ships through the Straits.



The recognition of certain rights of England and France in Asiatic Turkey, which rights are reserved for more precise definition by means of a special agreement between France, England, and Russia.

The placing of the sacred Mussulman places and Arabia under an independent Mussulman rule.

The inclusion within the English sphere of influence of the neutral zone of Persia (as established by the agreement between England and Russia in 1907).

Recognising these demands in general, subject to satisfaction (?), the Russian Government nevertheless made several reserves.

[There follow certain conditions regarding the future of the

sacred Mussulman places and Russian claims in Persia and Afghanistan.]

After Italy's entry into the war our desires were communicated to the Italian Government, which on its side declared its agreement on condition of a victorious conclusion of the war, of the fulfilment of Italy's claims in general and in the East in particular, and of our giving to Italy rights similar to those given to France and England in the territories conceded to us.

*Confidential telegram of the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Russian Ambassador in Paris, March 18, 1915, No. 1,226.*

On March 8 the French Ambassador, on behalf of his Government, announced to me that France was prepared to take up a most favourable attitude in the matter of realisation of our desires as set out in my telegram to you, No. 937, in respect of the Straits and Constantinople, for which I charged you to tender Delcassé my gratitude.

In his conversations with you, Delcassé had previously more than once given his assurance that we could rely on the sympathy of France, and only referred to the need of elucidating the question of the attitude of England, from whom he feared some objections, before he could give us a more definite assurance in the above sense. Now the British Government has given its complete consent in writing to the annexation by Russia of the Straits and Constantinople within the limits indicated by us, and only demanded security for economic interests and a similar benevolent attitude on our part towards the political aspirations of England in other parts.

For me, personally, filled as I am with most complete confidence in Delcassé, the assurance received from him is quite sufficient, but the Imperial Government would desire a more definite pronouncement of France's assent to the complete satisfaction of our desires, similar to that made by the British Government.

(Signed) SAZONOFF.

—(*Manchester Guardian*, December 12, 1917.)

*From a confidential telegram of the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Russian Ambassador in Paris (? London), St. Petersburg, March 20, 1915, No. 1,265.*

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theReferring to the memorandum of the British Government (for the ambassador) here of March 12, will you please express to Grey to all found gratitude of the Imperial Government for the August and final assent of Great Britain to the solution of the the entrance

question of the Straits and Constantinople, in accordance with Russia's desires. The Imperial Government fully appreciates the sentiments of the British Government and feels certain that a sincere recognition of mutual interests will secure for ever the firm friendship between Russia and Great Britain.

Having already given its promise respecting the conditions of trade in the Straits and Constantinople, the Imperial Government sees no objection to confirming its assent to the establishment of (1) free transit through Constantinople for all goods not proceeding from or proceeding to Russia, and (2) free passage through the Straits for merchant vessels. (Signed) SAZONOFF.

—(*Manchester Guardian*, December 12, 1917.)

## VI. TURKEY IN ASIA.

*Memorandum (dated March 6, 1917) of an agreement arrived at between Britain, France, and Russia in the Spring of 1916.*

As a result of negotiations which took place in London and Petrograd in the Spring of 1916, the Allied British, French, and Russian Governments came to an agreement as regards the future delimitation of their respective zones of influence and territorial acquisitions in Asiatic Turkey, as well as the formaton in Arabia of an independent Arab State, or a federation of Arab States. The general principles of the agreement are as follows:—

Russia obtains the provinces of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van, and Bitlis, as well as territory in the southern part of Kurdistan along the line Mush-Sert-Ibn-Omar-Amadjie-Persian frontier. The limit of Russian acquisitions on the Black Sea coast would be fixed later on at a point lying west of Trebizond.

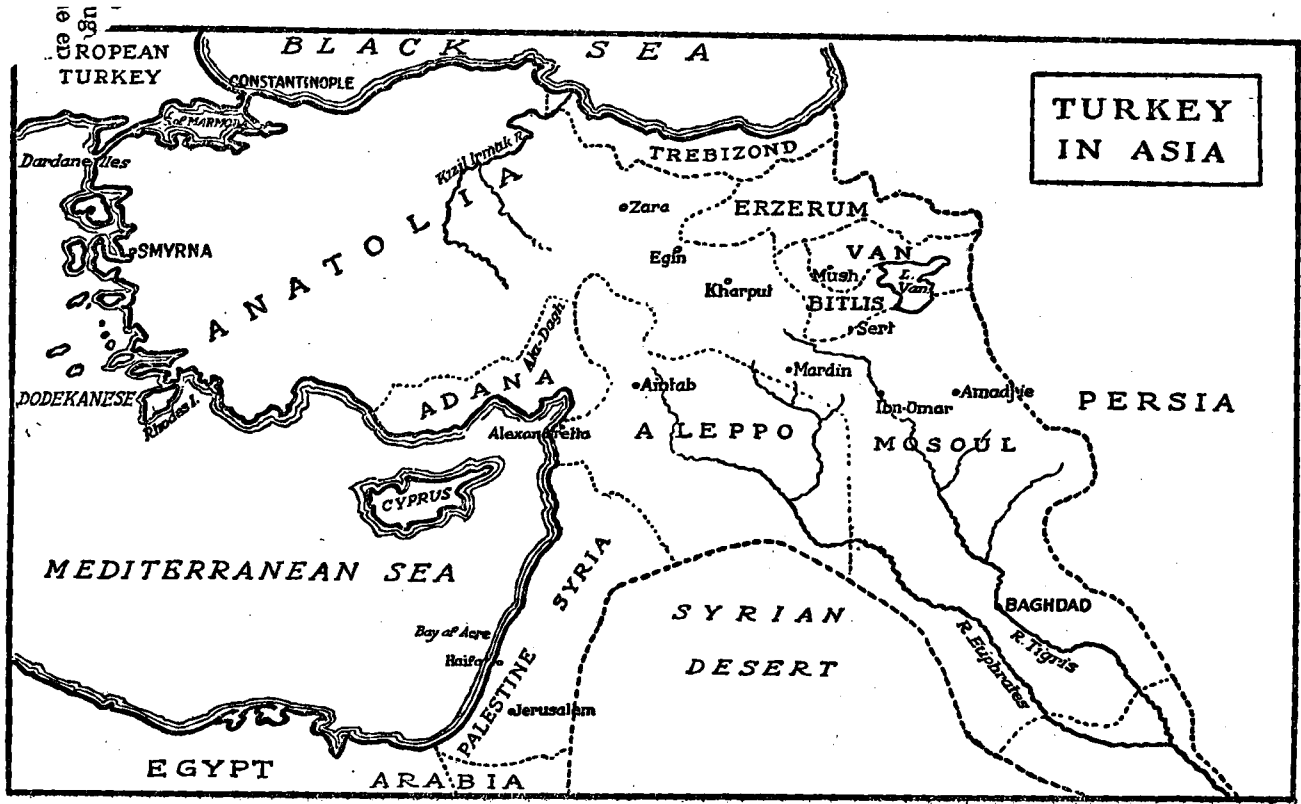
France obtains the coastal strip of Syria, the vilayet of Adana, and a territory bounded on the south by a line Aintab-Mardin to the future Russian frontier, and on the north by a line Ala-Dagh-Zara-Egin-Kharput.

Great Britain obtains the southern part of Mesopotamia, with Bagdad, and stipulates for herself in Syria the ports of Haifa and Akka.

By agreement between France and England the zone between the French and British territories forms a confederation of Arab States, or one independent Arab State, the zones of influence in which are determined at the same time.

Alexandretta is proclaimed a free port.

With a view to securing the religious interests of the Entente Powers, Palestine, with the holy places, is separated from Turkish





territory and subjected to a special régime to be determined by agreement between Russia, France, and England.

As a general rule the contracting Powers undertake mutually to recognise the concessions and privileges existing in the territories now acquired by them which have existed before the war.

They agree to assume such portions of the Ottoman Debt as corresponds to their respective acquisitions.

—(*Manchester Guardian*, January 19, 1918.)

NOTE.—The following passage occurs in an undated Memorandum forming one of a series of diplomatic documents published by the *Izvestiya* on November 23, 1917, and referring to a Memorandum of March 4, 1915 :—

“ The Russian Government, while, on the whole, agreeing to these demands [placing of the sacred Mussulman places and Arabia under an independent Mussulman rule, etc.—see above, under heading “ Constantinople and the Straits ”], nevertheless made certain stipulations for the sake of defining our own wishes with regard to the sacred Mussulman places. It is necessary, without delay, to establish whether these places are to remain under the rule of Turkey, with the Sultan as Caliph, or it is contemplated to form new independent States. In our opinion it would be desirable to separate the Caliphate from Turkey. In any case, complete freedom of pilgrimage must be secured.”

NOTE also Article 12 of the Agreement with Italy.

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## VII. PERSIA.

*From a confidential telegram of the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Russian Ambassador in Paris (? London), March 20, 1915, No. 1265.*

The Imperial Government confirms its assent to the inclusion of the neutral zone of Persia in the British sphere of influence. At the same time, however, it regards it as just to stipulate that the districts adjoining the cities of Ispahan and Yezd, forming with them one inseparable whole, should be secured for Russia in view of the Russian interests which have arisen there. The neutral zone now forms a wedge between the Russian and Afghan frontiers, and comes up to the very frontier line of Russia at Sulfager. Hence a portion of this wedge will have to be annexed to the Russian sphere of influence. Of essential importance to the Imperial Government is the question of railway construction in the neutral zone, which will require further amicable discussion.

The Imperial Government expects that in future its full liberty of action will be recognised in the sphere of influence

allotted to it, coupled in particular with the right of preferential developing in that sphere its financial and economic policies.

(*Manchester Guardian*, December 12, 1917.)

NOTE.—The same stipulations are contained in the undated memorandum quoted above under the heading "Constantinople and the Straits."



#### VIII. CHINA.

*Treaty between Russia and Japan, signed by the Russian Foreign Minister, M. Sazonoff, and the Japanese Ambassador at Petrograd, July 3, 1916.*

The Russian Imperial Government and the Japanese Imperial Government have, with a view to the greater consolidation of their close friendship, established between them by the secret agreements of July 30, 1907, July 4, 1910, and July 8, 1912, agreed to supplement the above-mentioned secret agreements by the following articles:—

ARTICLE 1.—The two high contracting parties acknowledge

that the vital interests of both require the safeguarding of China against the political domination by any third Power entertaining hostile designs towards Russia or Japan, and therefore mutually pledge themselves, each time when circumstances demand it, to enter into frank relations based on complete mutual trust with one another with a view to taking joint measures for the preven-



tion of the possibility of the advent of such a state of affairs (in China).

ARTICLE 2.—If as the result of the measures taken by mutual agreement by Russia and Japan, in virtue of the preceding article, war should be declared by the third Power referred to in Article 1 of the present Convention on either of the contracting parties, the other party shall on the first demand of its ally come to its assistance, and each of the high contracting parties pledges itself hereby, in case such a situation should arise, not to conclude peace with the common enemy without the previous consent of its ally.

ARTICLE 3.—The terms on which each high contracting party is to render armed assistance to the other in accordance with the preceding Article, as well as the form in which this assistance is

to be rendered, shall be determined jointly by the respective competent authorities of the two contracting parties.

ARTICLE 4.—Provided that neither high contracting party shall regard itself bound by Article 2 of the present Convention in respect of rendering armed assistance to its ally so long as it has not been given guarantees by its allies that they, too, will render such assistance to it as would correspond to the seriousness of the impending conflict.

ARTICLE 5. The present Convention enters into force from the moment of its signature, and shall remain in force until July 14, 1921. Should one of the high contracting parties not deem it necessary, twelve months before the expiry of this term to give notice of its unwillingness to prolong the validity of the present Convention, the latter shall remain in force for a period of one year after it has been denounced by one or the other of the high contracting parties.

ARTICLE 6.—The present Convention shall be kept in complete secrecy from everybody except the two high contracting parties.

In witness whereof the undersigned have confirmed the present instrument by hand and seal at Petrograd, July 3, 1918, corresponding to the Japanese date of Thursday, seventh month and fifth year in the reign of Taisho.

(Signed) SAZONOFF, MOTONO.

—(*Manchester Guardian*, February 1, 1918.)

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