

**SOVIET RUSSIA PAMPHLETS, No. 3**

**TWO YEARS  
of Foreign Policy**

BY

**GEORGE CHICHERIN**

**The Relations of the Russian Socialist Federal  
Soviet Republic with Foreign Nations, from  
November 7, 1917, to November 7, 1919.**

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# TWO YEARS of Foreign Policy

*The Relations of the Russian Socialist Federal  
Soviet Republic with Foreign Nations*

from November 7, 1917, to November 7, 1919

BY

**GEORGE CHICHERIN**

People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs



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### NOTE ON THE CONTENTS.

*The article that appears here for the first time in English translation was originally published in Russian, in four installments, in four issues of the Moscow daily, IZVESTIA, beginning November 6 and ending November 13, 1919, to commemorate the second anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Government.*

*The attentive reader will occasionally need to supply the year, as frequently dates are given without the addition of the year, but he will recall that he has in most cases merely to decide whether 1918 or 1919 is meant.*

*As the diplomatic documents mentioned in the text have in some cases been already published in English, footnotes have been added, which are not by the author of the original, to refer English readers to publications where they may find translations of such documents.*

*A large collection of valuable documents will be found in "Russian-American Relations 1917-1920," published by Harcourt, Brace, and Howe, New York, 1920. Price \$3.50.*

## THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF SOVIET RUSSIA FOR TWO YEARS.

By G. Chicherin

**O**UR much suffering Soviet Republic has lived through so much during the past two years that within the space of a brief newspaper review one can only point out the most important milestones of this period. The political history of the foreign relations of Soviet Russia for these two years is a tragic story of ceaseless struggle, inspired by innumerable enemies who have literally allowed no respite to the young workers' and peasants' regime. Born at a moment of wide-spread distress and general ruin, caused by the destruction of three years of war, the Soviet Republic entered upon the difficult, thorny road to which it still holds and gradually matured and increased its strength a hundred fold in the midst of trials and tribulations.

The November revolution, the first act of the world social revolution, at once placed the Russian Soviet Government at the front of the revolutionary movement of the world as the herald and inspiration of the proletarian revolution. The first three months of its existence was the period of revolutionary political offensive, when the Soviet Government freely sent forth its revolutionary slogans to the tolling masses of the whole world, when it called upon the agonized peoples to put an end to the war, when it proclaimed, and carried out by actions and not merely on paper the self-determination of the toilers of every nationality, and when by deed and not by word it abolished secret diplomacy, breaking at

once with imperialistic traditions by the publication of the secret treaties as well as by the renunciation of all the agreements dictated by the imperialistic policy of the czarist regime, thereby opening for the peoples of the East a new page in their political development and leading them by this action to the path of liberation from the oppression of European imperialism. These first three months of the existence of Soviet Russia constituted a period of amazingly rapid successes of the new system, of the almost concurrent spread of the workers' and peasants' revolution through the whole territory of Russia, and of decisive victories on the internal fronts.

But the first period of exhilarating victories was soon over. Soviet Russia was immediately confronted by Western imperialism, first of all in its nearest neighbor — Germany. The Berlin strikes\* ended in failure, the hour of revolution in Germany had not yet come, and, with the aid of the reactionary petty-bourgeois Petlura Government which, after it was driven out of Ukraine and had obtained the support of France, soon sought the support of Germany, the imperialistic victors dictated the Draconian peace terms of Brest. The workers' and peasants' Russia had to break away from the imperialistic world war, but at the same time it refused to sign an annexationist peace. All those who lived through this period will never forget the trying days of the German advance, of the evacuation of Petrograd and the swiftly approaching threat to the very existence of the Soviet Republic. At last the Central Executive Committee was forced to accept the beastly German ultimatum; a new delegation went to Brest and declared that they would sign the peace under compulsion, that, in view of the gun held at the heart of Soviet Russia, they would sign the treaty without even entering into any discussion of its contents, and on March 3, 1918, the treaty was signed.

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\* January, 1918.

The new frontier of Russia cut away Riga and Vilna, leaving to Russia Dvinsk, Vileika and Minsk, and leaving entirely with Germany the determination of the fate of Courland and of a considerable part of Livonia, Lithuania and Poland. Esthonia and the remaining part of Livonia were left under the temporary control of German "police power", "until the institutions of the country will be able themselves to restore public safety." Nothing was said about ending the sovereignty of Russia in these countries. In reply to a question by the Social-Democrats during the discussion on the Brest treaty in the German Reichstag, the German Government was compelled to admit that the sovereignty of Russia in Esthonia and northern Livonia was still in force. Only later, in the treaty of August 27, the Soviet Government declared that it took into account the *de facto* situation and recognized the end of the sovereignty of Russia in these countries. In addition, the localities which had been occupied by the German troops during their rapid advance at the end of February and in the early days of March were to remain under temporary German occupation until the conclusion of a general peace, though Russia retained the sovereign power. Having taken Pskov and reached Orsha, the German troops occupied all the places up to the line which they had decided upon from military considerations. On March 3, immediately after the signing of the treaty, which act had been somewhat delayed by the Germans in order to enable their troops to advance to the line that had been decided upon, General Hoffmann issued an order to halt military action. The boundary lines were established by the local command in the next few days, and during the endless conflicts which occurred in the following months on the boundary line, we were confronted by certain local agreements between the military commands, mainly of March 5 and 6. The Brest treaty forced Soviet Russia to withhold all aid to Finland and Ukraine against the German military monster which was preparing to occupy these countries and to carry

thither all the horrors of counter-revolution. In the Caucasus the treaty deprived Russia of Kars, Ardagan and Batum, and the non-recognition of the treaty because of this change by the anti-Soviet pseudo-government of Tiflis gave the Turkish army an opportunity for a further advance in Caucasia, resulting in its gradual conquest, partly by Germany and partly by Turkey, under cover of fictitious republics. The Brest treaty contained no provision binding Germany to respect the integrity and inviolability of the territory left to Soviet Russia after all the slashings and occupations, and the treaty therefore could serve as a basis for a policy of gradual encroachment and infiltration by Germany into the depths of Russia, particularly to the east, in which direction Germany aimed to occupy strategical points to meet the eventual advance of the Entente from Siberia, and in Caucasia, through which new roads appeared to open for the Asiatic plans of German imperialism. This policy of masked encroachment, based on the vagueness of the Brest treaty, enabled Germany to threaten continually during the following half year the Soviet regime and the very existence of the Soviet Republic. The complete indefiniteness of the frontiers of Ukraine, which by the treaty became a mere mask for the German military machine, gave Germany the opportunity to continue from this direction its advance towards Moscow. Before the question of the Ukrainian frontiers was definitely settled a similar vagueness and indefiniteness in the financial and economic provisions of the Brest supplementary treaties opened for Germany the possibility of the most extensive exploitation of Russia. The principle of indemnities was renounced by the treaty, but supplementary agreements were to be concluded between Russia and Germany covering reparation for the losses entailed in the care of war prisoners as well as for all the damages caused in the military zone by other than military actions, and also covering the restoration of the property rights of the nationals of both countries, thereby enabling Ger-



many to present new drastic demands on Russia. The Soviet Government consciously faced the severe trials resulting from the Brest treaty, knowing that the workers' and peasants' revolution would prove stronger than imperialism and that a respite would insure victory. Consenting to the oppressive terms of the treaty, the Soviet Government in no way consented to German interference in the internal regime of Soviet Russia or to any kind of change in this regime. The treaty, moreover, provided for the recognition of the principle of Soviet nationalization, and the question of reparation for the losses incurred by German nationals through nationalization were to be settled by later agreements. Thereby Soviet Russia saved everything, since the Soviet Regime constituted the irresistible force which was bound in the future to transform the Brest treaty into a fatal crisis for German imperialism itself, which after this moved rapidly to its fall, and into one of the most important stages of the revolution on the road to victory over imperialism. "Clause 2", which prohibited either government from carrying on agitation against the institutions of the other, could not halt the course of history.

The period of revolutionary offensive was at first only a period of retreat and tacking. The Brest treaty marked a change in the history of the foreign relations of Soviet Russia. In a struggle of unprecedented difficulty the latter was destined to demonstrate concretely to the toilers of the whole world that a Soviet regime was capable of bearing the combined attacks of internal counter-revolution and of the imperialism of all countries. The first six months after the conclusion of the Brest treaty were characterized by the struggle to overcome its oppressive consequences and to combat the resulting possibilities of further military and economic aggression by German imperialism. The latter, in addition to the constant complications, the threatening troop concentrations and the threats of the local commanders along the boundary line, immediately after the Brest peace flooded Finland and Ukraine

with its troops and, crushing by superior numbers and technique the desperate resistance of the Red troops, as early as April reached the provinces of Great Russia and commenced to move into the latter. The following months witnessed a further gradual advance and infiltration of Germany to the east and south-east. Its aid to the counter-revolutionary forces, which were formed in south Russia or moved there from the territory occupied by the Germans, resulted in the creation of fictitious republics in the Caucasus and of a fictitious Don government, which served to cover the further encroachment of German and, in the Caucasus, also of the Turkish imperialism. The formation of the Skoropadsky government in Kiev rose before Soviet Russia as a concrete threat of an all-Russian restoration, to be supported by the German military command in the Ukraine. The latter furnished Krasnov with military supplies and tried to extend its connections with the counter-revolutionary elements further to the east. German military supplies found their way even to the counter-revolutionary forces which had aligned themselves with the Entente. Parallel to this gradual unfolding of the German policy of encroachment, developed the daily and hourly struggle to dam this encroachment or to change its direction so that it would not menace the existence of Soviet Russia and in general, to put an end to the indefiniteness which resulted from the Brest treaty and to fix the relations with Germany. This process of fixation passed through a number of successive stages, which culminated in the treaties of August 27. Simultaneously an effort was made to fix the relations with the countries which masked the German encroachment — with the Hetman's Ukraine and with Finland, which was continually sending White guard bands to the Murman and Olonetz regions and which had attempted to transform the Ino fort into a Finnish fortress menacing Petrograd. The first step in this direction was the arrival of the German diplomatic representative Mirbach in Moscow on April 25 and the almost

concurrent arrival of Comrade Yoffe in Berlin. On April 28 our peace delegation, which was proceeding on its way to Kursk, had already commenced conversations with the Ukrainian delegation then already at Voronezh, which resulted on May 4 in the first local armistice with Ukraine, which, however, was not very secure. The opening of peace negotiations with Ukraine was complicated by the fact that technically communications with Kiev depended on the German authorities, who were hindering the negotiations. Only on May 17 Comrade Rakovsky and Manuilsky left for Kiev, where they carried on negotiations, among other things, as to the boundary line, simultaneously with similar negotiations between us and Germany in Berlin and Moscow. On June 11 a treaty was concluded with Ukraine providing for an armistice, reciprocal repatriation and trade relations. The whole of May was an extremely unsettled time, owing to the gradual movements to the north and north-east, partly of German troops and partly of irregular bands supported by the former. But the main blows of the Germans at this time were directed toward the south-east, — on Bataisk and further in the direction of the grain producing Kuban. While the Turkish troops at this time, disregarding the treaties, were advancing in the Caucasus and were supporting there the fictitious counter-revolutionary governments. Considerable progress toward the fixation of the relations with Germany resulted from the exchange of notes between Moscow and Berlin, which took place about the end of May and the beginning of June, with regard to the question of the return of our warships from Novorossiysk to Sevastopol and with regard to a definite settlement of the boundary line. This exchange of notes enabled the "political commission" and the "economic commission" in Berlin to commence their work. As early as April 26, when, despite the conclusion of peace at Brest, there was actually no state of peace and the German troops in the southern part of the Russian Republic were moving further toward the north, advancing on Orel, Kursk and Voronezh, the

Soviet Government had addressed a communication to the German Government asking for definite information as to whether the latter considered the terms of the Brest-Litovsk treaty as still in force and what measures it intended to take to stop the military operations which were still continuing and which were clearly infringing the peace treaty between Russia and Germany, and requesting the German Government if it had any new demands to make of us, to inform us clearly and precisely. In reply to this the German Government consented to the creation of a "political commission" for the definite settlement of the remaining questions between Russia and Germany. Simultaneously the excessive economic claims of the German representative in Moscow and the attempts of the Russian bourgeoisie, hiding behind the former, to wrest back from the Soviet Government their expropriated wealth, demanded the speediest conclusion of the economic agreements which were provided for by the Brest treaty and which were only indicated by this treaty in their most fundamental features. Therefore simultaneously with the members of the Russian "political commission" our delegates to the "economic commission" also left for Berlin.

While our relations with Germany were slowly but steadily becoming more stable, the danger from the other side was increasing. Even during the Kerensky period Japanese intervention was hanging over Russia as a sword of Damocles, as a means of punishment by the Entente. In March, 1918, the Japanese press was energetically preparing public opinion for intervention in Siberia. In the meantime, Wilson sent his message of greeting to the Fourth Congress of the Soviets, and on March 14 the American Ambassador Francis declared at Vologda that the United States was willing to support Russia in her struggle against Germany. The Entente thus had at this time two policies and had not yet agreed on one. The American diplomatists, and also some of the British diplomatists, who were acting in Soviet Russia, aimed to draw Soviet Russia

into the struggle against Germany as their ally. Some of the French military representatives in Soviet Russia sympathized with this policy, which was, however, absolutely rejected by the French Government, which had not for a moment wavered in its unqualified hostility to Soviet Russia and which had consistently striven to crush the latter by means of intervention. While Comrade Litvinov was at work in England, our Ambassador Extraordinary Comrade Kamenev was not allowed to enter France. In the following months the French agents were ceaselessly carrying on underground work, particularly in the South among the Cossacks, and in eastern Russia and in Siberia. French diplomacy had persistently conceived the re-establishment of the eastern front as an outcome of intervention, stepping across the corpse of Soviet Russia crushed by the Entente powers. On April 5 a Japanese force was landed at Vladivostok, after which followed a small British force. This was the beginning of intervention. On April 9 we published secret telegrams of June 1917, which proved beyond doubt that the Japanese Government of Motono-Terauchi had already in March, 1917, resolved to crush the Russian revolution. The next move of the Entente intervention was made through the obedient Chinese Government: on April 6 the latter refused to abide by its promise of March 15 that Semionov would not be allowed to cross the Russian border or to interfere in Russian affairs, and at the same time the Chinese representatives told the Siberian Soviet representatives that they could not permit the Soviet troops to cross the border to fight Semionov. On April 16 the so-called Far Eastern Government was formed at Peking, with Khorvat as Premier and Admiral Kolchak as Minister of War. On the following day occurred the arrest of Japanese spies in Irkutsk, and it was proved that the Japanese consul was involved in the espionage. In the following days a counter-revolutionary conspiracy was discovered at Vladivostok and documents were seized showing the hand of the En-

tente in the formation of the counter-revolutionary Siberian Government. On April 25 the Soviet Government asked England, France and the United States to recall their consuls at Vladivostok, to investigate their activity, and to define the attitude of these powers to the counter-revolutionary actions of their agents in Russia. The French Ambassador Noulens, the chief advocate of a consistent interventionist policy, in his famous interview of April 22, impudently defended the Japanese landing. On April 28 the Soviet Government demanded his recall, and, when this demand was not heeded, began to regard him as a private person, absolutely ignoring his political status. During the whole month of May, French agents were working energetically to unite and to organize the counter-revolutionary forces. At this time the anti-Soviet bourgeois parties of Russia definitely entered into a close alliance with the Entente, and the conference of the Socialist-Revolutionists adopted the well known resolution in favor of armed intervention in Russia by the Entente. At the end of May the storm broke out. The counter-revolutionary insurrection of the Czecho-Slovaks took place, and they rapidly occupied a large part of the railway net of Western Siberia. On May 29 the Czecho-Slovaks revolted in Penza and Zlatoust and occupied the railway station in Syzran. Almost concurrently there occurred a number of counter-revolutionary insurrections — among others, in Saratov, — all of which were the result of the work of the secret agents of the Entente, at that time mainly of the French agents. Martial law was declared in Moscow, and on May 30 was made public the discovery by the all-Russian Extraordinary Commission of the counter-revolutionary conspiracy by the "Alliance for the Defense of the Fatherland and Freedom".\*

The Entente threw off the mask and openly sided with the counter-revolution. On June 4 the Allied

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\* A Soviet Government note to Italy, of Feb. 14, 1919, treats these Allied intrigues in some detail. See *Soviet Russia*, Vol. I, No. 10 (pp. 5-9).

representatives (with the exception of the Japanese) informed the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs that their Governments considered the Czecho-Slovak forces as Allied troops under their protection and that the disarming of these troops would be considered an unfriendly act toward the Entente powers.

An unbearable situation was created in the Murman region. Entente ships had remained there from the time when Russia was participating in the war, and through Murman there were gradually departing the Entente military missions and technical units and generally those auxiliary military forces which were still left in Russia. Loath to accelerate, the crisis between Soviet Russia and Great Britain, the Soviet Government did not take any decisive steps to insist on the evacuation of Murman by the British and the other Entente nations. Moreover, the Soviet forces there were insufficient to force the British out. But after the decisive change of the Entente policy, manifested in the official support by the Entente Governments to the Czecho-Slovak counter-revolutionary insurrection, which gave the Entente a splendid opportunity for a more violent policy in Russia, the Soviet Government could no longer allow any further postponement of the evacuation of Murman which was required by Russia's neutral position. The German Government at this time began to look upon the situation in Murman with great anxiety, expecting from this side an attack by the British on their extreme left flank, namely, their army of occupation in Finland. The activity of the German submarines in the Murman waters had already increased in May, and in June, when this question became acute, Germany assured the Soviet Government that if the Entente would evacuate this region the German fleet would not hinder the sailing of our fishermen. The activity of the German submarines deprived them of all possibility of engaging in fishing or of bringing fish from Norway, and thus condemned the whole region to starvation. In the meantime, Great Britain seduced the chiefs of the Murman Soviet by a promise of food

relief. In June the Soviet Government began to receive more and more information which showed that the British were preparing an expedition to Murman and that new transports with British troops had already left for this region. Soviet Russia accordingly had to take measures for self-defense, and we began to create our northern front. On June 14 we sent a note to Great Britain, France and the United States, demanding the immediate evacuation by them of Murman and our territorial waters. But step by step the Entente was advancing on the path of intervention, and in the second half of June British transports began to arrive with the object of invading Russia through Murman. In a note to Lockhart of June 27 the Soviet Government declared that the toiling masses of Russia wanted peace, that they did not threaten war upon any people, and that Great Britain could have no fear of any menace from them; that the Soviet Government therefore protested the more emphatically against the British invasion of Soviet territory, which was an act of aggression without any justification whatsoever; and that the Soviet troops would never fail in their revolutionary duty and would fight with all their power against foreign invasion. On June 29 the *Nashe Slovo* published an interview with certain Entente diplomatists in which the latter spoke of a well developed plan of intervention. On the same day, June 29, the Kurgansk newspaper *Svobodnaya Misl* and the Omsk newspaper *Dielo Sibiri* published an official statement of commandant Alphonse Guenet, the head of the French military mission attached to the Czecho-Slovak troops, in which he congratulated the Czecho-Slovaks on their actions against the Soviet Government. "Until recently", he wrote, "the representatives of France tried to maintain normal relations with the Soviet authorities, but now these authorities, in the opinion of the Allies and of all the civilized world, no longer deserve it". He greeted the re-establishment by the effort of the Czecho-Slovaks of the "eastern front against Germany".



The Entente offensive did not, however, induce Germany to weaken its pressure on Soviet Russia and thus enable the latter to transfer troops from the western and southern fronts for use against the new enemy. On the contrary, fearing an Entente campaign from the east, the Germans began to take steps to forestall this campaign by seizing beforehand important strategical points. The demarcation line of all the northern border of Ukraine had already been settled, but the eastern border was still undefined, and here occurred a further slow penetration of German troops toward the north and in the southern part of this sector, by means of aid to Krasnov and an attempt to establish connections with the counter-revolutionary forces further east, especially with the Cossacks. But at this time the last great offensive in the west absorbed all the forces of German imperialism; the boiling volcano of Ukraine, surcharged with rebellion, demanded too many German troops; and the forces of German imperialism were no longer adequate for its aggressive designs on the east. After the assassination of Mirbäch by the Socialists-Revolutionists of the Left on July 6 it turned out that German imperialism had its hands too full to try to take advantage of this splendid pretext for crushing Soviet Russia. The Soviet Government took all measures to satisfy the German Government, as it was apparent that the assassination of the German representative was the work of the enemies of the Russian Soviet Government, who had simultaneously stirred up a number of rebellions against it. The German Government, however, could argue the lack of safety for its embassy at Moscow; which in fact it did, and on July 14 demanded permission to send to Moscow a battalion of German troops. It appeared to be the most critical moment of our relations with the German imperialism, and in Moscow the working class was already rising heroically for a decisive defense against imperialism and counter-revolution. Confronted with our resolute refusal, the German Government immediately weak-

ened. An exchange of notes in the second half of July resulted in the following agreement: the auxiliary staff of the German embassy and of the various German commissions was increased to 300 persons, and additional forces were to come to Moscow in groups of 30, without arms and without German uniforms. We on our part agreed to furnish a stronger and especially reliable force to guard the German embassy building on all sides. On July 28, the new German Ambassador Helfferich, one of the most eminent leaders in Berlin economic spheres, arrived at Moscow. His appointment clearly showed the desire on the part of Germany to strengthen its economic relations with Soviet Russia, and this precisely was the policy which was pursued by the Soviet Government and which was followed by comrade Yoffe in Berlin. Admiral Hinze, Kuehlmann's successor to the post of Secretary of Foreign Affairs, pursued a conciliatory policy toward Russia. However, owing to the growing revolutionary movement and economic dissolution, the power of German imperialism was constantly and rapidly declining. On August 7 Helfferich left Moscow to take part in a particularly important meeting of the German Crown Council. At this conference, as it has since transpired, the German Government for the first time took up the question of the swiftly approaching collapse. Instead of taking special pains to guard the German embassy in Moscow, it was decided to transfer it to some point nearer the border. Petrograd was chosen as a suitable place, and thither the German embassy departed on August 7, simultaneously with Helfferich's leaving for Berlin. However, the embassy did not stay in Petrograd, but went through Finland to Pskov, in the occupied territory. In Moscow Germany was represented by its Consul-General Hauschild. In the summer we still feared that harvest time would see the German troops marching into the interior of Russia to seize its grain. But when the time for the crop arrived it turned out that the appetite of

the German imperialist monster was becoming more restrained.

We were, however, attacked by the Entente. Concurrently with the assassination of Mirbach, insurrections took place in Moscow, Yaroslav and Murom, the insurrections in the two latter cities having been organized by Savinkov and the Entente agents. Bribed by the Entente, commander-in-chief Muraviev betrayed us and opened the front to the Czecho-Slovaks. The Moscow insurrection was followed by mutinies in certain army units, particularly at Lgov. The officers and other agents of the Entente were busy recruiting men for the Czecho-Slovak troops and for the Murman front. The net of underground conspiracies was constantly growing. The English plan was based on the seizure of the rectangle: the Murman railway — Archangel — Zvanka — Vologda. The question of the presence of the Entente embassies in Vologda became very acute; the counter-revolutionary elements, particularly the Serbians, Poles, and former czarist officers, were gathering in Vologda, taking advantage of our necessarily cautious attitude toward their presence there. An insurrection in Vologda would compel us to fire on the city, and our shells could make no distinction between ordinary buildings and the buildings of the embassies. The further presence of the Ambassadors in Vologda was therefore absolutely impossible. On July 10 we telegraphed to the principal embassies, inviting them to come to Moscow, and on the same day Comrade Radek was sent to Vologda to reach an understanding with the embassies as to their leaving Vologda to avoid complications. The main opposition to our proposals again came from our chief enemy Noulens, whom we considered a private person having no official standing. The embassies categorically refused to come to Moscow. But when, on July 22, we warned them most emphatically of the danger that threatened them, they agreed to leave for Archangel. The fact that this city was under martial law, and the expectation of a bombardment by the British, made their pre-

sence in it impossible, and on July 30 they left for Kandalaksha, which had been occupied by the British. On July 31 the English made a landing at Onega, after which they bombarded the approaches to Archangel and occupied the latter on August 5. In the meantime comrade Lenin's statement, made at an executive session, that Great Britain and France were in a state of war with Russia, caused the Entente representatives at Moscow to demand an explanation concerning this statement and ask whether they could any longer remain in Soviet Russia. In a note sent on August 2 to the American Consul Poole, we declared that we deemed it impossible to give a public explanation with regard to a statement that was made at an executive session. In connection with this, we sent on August 5 a note to Poole which forms the first link in the long chain of our peace proposals, pointing out that the invasion of our territory was not caused by any act on our part and that the toiling masses of Russia wanted to live in peace with all peoples and had not declared war against anybody. The note energetically protested against the invasion of our territory without cause and without a declaration of war; against the destruction of the property of the toiling masses of Russia; against the seizure and pillage of our cities and villages and the execution of the local workers who were faithful to the Soviet power. We did not declare war, the note further stated, — but we would reply to these actions by appropriate measures of defense and by resorting to the necessary preventive measures, interning in concentration camps the bourgeois citizens of the countries attacking us; these measures would not be used against workers of these countries, since the workers of all the world were our friends. In view of the fact that the American people, according to the declaration of the American consul, had no desire to attempt to overthrow the Soviet power, we asked him to find out Great Britain's aims in her attack upon us — did the latter aim to destroy the power of the workers and peasants and to bring

about a counter-revolution, to restore the horrors of czarism, or did she desire to get possession of some definite city or some definite territory? We asked the co-operation of the American representative to find out precisely what Great Britain desired.

In the meantime the policy of underground conspiracies of the Entente agents was making rapid progress. The British lieutenant Sidney Reilly was preparing an attempt to seize Vologda and incite an insurrection in Moscow. Lockhart tried to bribe the Lettish sharp-shooters for a *coup d'etat*. On August 30 an attempt was made on Comrade Lenin, and the latest disclosures by Savinkov show that an attempt was also planned on Trotsky. On September 1, Lockhart was arrested and the conspiracy directed by him liquidated. Some time later a conference which was being held at the British embassy at Petrograd, and in which Russian White-guardists participated, was raided. When the agents of the Extraordinary Commission forced their entrance into the embassy, the British naval officer Cromie opened fire and in the exchange of shots that followed was himself killed. This circumstance was, of course, made use of by the British interventionist press in their agitation for more energetic intervention in Russia. The British socialist press, however, published the information about Lockhart's conspiracy and made clear to those who were open minded the real meaning of this crisis.

In Germany at this time we continued our work aiming at the determination of our relations with that country. Despite the weakening of the German military policy in the east, the pressure upon us was still sufficiently strong to demand energetic activity on our part to overcome it. During this period an attempt was made to settle our relations with Finland. In the middle of March Comrade Kamenev, who was sent in February on an extraordinary mission to France, where he was not allowed to enter by the worst of our enemies — the Government of Clemenceau — was arrested by the

Finnish authorities at the Aland Islands, which were then under German occupation. On March 27 we addressed to the German Government a sharp protest against this arrest. In Finland, in the meantime, the most brutal reaction was raging, cruel punishments were used against Russian citizens, Russian Red Cross vessels were seized and our representative in Helsingfors, Kovanko, was arrested. On May 9 the Finnish White guard Government offered to let comrade Kameney return to Russia if in exchange we would extradite the Finnish comrades Menner and Tokoy. During the same period Finnish troops made an attempt to seize by force fort Ino, which forms a part of the fortification system of Kronstadt and which is necessary for the defense of the approaches to Petrograd. In a note dated May 8 Germany demanded that we surrender Ino to Finland. This question was taken up among others in the notes that we exchanged with Germany about the end of May and the beginning of June, with the object of adjusting the critical situation between us and Germany. In the negotiations following we agreed under pressure from Germany to cede to Finland the Western part of the Murman region, in exchange for which we were to retain fort Ino, and Finland was to turn over to us the Raivola district and the Government of Viborg. At last, on June 13, as a result of our persistent demands for comrade Kameney's release, Germany made a formal proposal to gain his release from Finland on condition that we release Finns who were under arrest, and on June 17 we gave our consent to this proposal. But the official consent of Germany did not mean that Finland would put it into effect. Only on July 29 did we come to an agreement with Finland through the mediation of the German representative Ritzler in Moscow, for a reciprocal exchange of prisoners and for the return, first of all, of comrades Kameney and some others who were detained with him. On August 3 a Russo-Finnish conference opened in Berlin. The Finnish representatives at the confe-

rence revealed the most unbridled appetites, desiring to annex the whole Kola Peninsula and Korelia up to the White Sea.\* It became clear that the negotiations were hopeless and they were suspended.

In the meantime our break with the Entente had considerably strengthened Germany's diplomatic position against us. At the same time the "Bolshevist menace" threatening Germany had become palpable and not merely theoretical. The German press cast off the restraint which had characterized its attitude toward us in the first months after the Brest treaty. Our internal difficulties, the unrest among the peasants, and the counter-revolutionary insurrections gave the German Government an impression of our apparent weakness. Thus the decline of the German power, which was already noticeable, was neutralized by the impairment of our position in relation to the German Government. In August it was becoming ever more difficult to negotiate with Germany. Nevertheless, after continued delays the labors of the "political commission" and the "economic commission" were concluded by three supplementary treaties of August 27 which fixed the amount of our payments on various obligations to Germany which we had assumed, for the losses inflicted on German nationals by our acts of nationalization up to July 1, at one and a half billion marks in gold and bank-notes, in five installments, one billion marks in commodities, and a loan of 2½ billion marks to Germany. Simultaneously with our payment of these sums Germany was to evacuate White Russia. Germany also pledged itself not to support any more the slicing off of more of our territory. Germany bound itself to evacuate a part of the Donetz basin and Rostov. The treaty acknowledged as a fact the recognition by Germany of Georgia's independence. Baku was recognized as belonging to us, and we bound ourselves to

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\* That the appetites of the Finnish annexationists have not lessened may be seen from a number of exchanges between Finland and Soviet Russia, of later dates; see *Soviet Russia*, Vol. II (1920), Nos. 5, 6 and others.

furnish a part of the naphtha to Germany. We were to get a part of the coal from the Donetz. We declared that we recognized, in view of the *de facto* situation, the end of the sovereignty of Russia in Esthonia. We were assured an outlet to the sea through Reval, Riga and Windau.

Strange relations were formed during this period with Turkey. Germany pretended to be powerless to control Turkey. With the material in our possession we cannot tell to what degree certain elements in the German Government had supported Turkey's campaign on Baku, but the fact remains that the capture of Baku by the Turks violated Germany's treaty with us, which provided that we furnish naphtha to Germany, for which we were to receive compensation. During the gradual advance of Nuri Pasha's army toward Baku the German Government replied to all the protests of Comrade Yoffe by presenting to him telegrams from the German general Kress, from Tiflis, and from the Turkish Government, which denied the very fact of a Turkish campaign. The appearance of the British in Baku provided the Turks with a convenient pretext for a final attack on this city. But even then the Turks declared that the army in Baku was not theirs, alleging that these troops belonged to the local Mussulman rebels. After the capture of Baku by the Turks on September 16, we demanded its immediate evacuation. Talaat Pasha in his negotiations with Comrade Yoffe in Berlin agreed to everything, except the most essential. We demanded the surrender of Baku directly to our troops, since without this condition the Turks could easily declare that they had evacuated Baku, but that the city was occupied by Mussulman bands which were not under their control. But to this demand that the city be surrendered directly to us the Turkish Government did not agree. Accordingly, on September 20 we notified Turkey that we considered the Brest



treaty abrogated on her part and no more in effect between Turkey and Russia.\*

We correctly fulfilled our obligations towards Germany which followed from the agreements of August 27th, and the first payments in gold were made by us at the required times. The German troops, on their part, were gradually evacuating White Russia. Commissions were at work on the transfer to us of the evacuated districts and on the settling of the boundaries of Esthonia and Livonia. The questions which had caused conflict formerly, seemed more amenable to adjustment, but every day showed an ever stronger baiting of the Bolsheviki in the German press. The German Government began to shower upon us complaints of our alleged violation of paragraph 2 of the Brest Treaty, which prohibited either government from carrying on an agitation against the institutions of the other side. On September 2, Hauschild addressed to us the well known note concerning the "inflammatory articles" of the Russian press, and on September 13 he presented an even more caustic note concerning the agitation which we were alleged to have been carrying on against the existing order in Germany. At this time took place the first concerted diplomatic step of both imperialistic coalitions against the proletarian revolution. When on September 3 all the local foreign representatives at Petrograd visited Comrade Zinovieff to protest against the "red terror", which protest was officially confirmed in the note of the Swiss representative, Odier, of September 5, the German Consul General Bretter participated together with other representatives in this demonstrative protest.\*\* But the days of German imperialism were drawing to a close. At the end of Sep-

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\* The full text of this Soviet Government note of September 20, 1918, will be found in *The Class Struggle* (New York), Vol. II, pp. 637-640 (December, 1918), with other data on the negotiations conducted in this matter with the Turkish and German governments.

\*\* The able answer of Chicherin, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, will be found in English translation in *The Liberator*, New York, December, 1918.

tember Bulgaria left the coalition, and the panicky tone of the German press pointed clearly to the approaching complete military collapse of Germany. On October 3 the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, in reply to the letter from Comrade Lenin, made the epoch-making declaration which stirred the whole world. In view of the expected attack of Anglo-French imperialism on the German working class after its liberation, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee promised its assistance to the latter. We no longer took into account German imperialism, since its collapse was but a question of days. The policy of mutual aid of the revolutionary workers' states against the attack on them by foreign imperialism has thus been given official international expression. On the next day, October 4, the Government of Maximilian of Baden was formed in Germany, with Scheidemann as a member, and on the same day Germany informed the United States that she was ready to conclude peace on the basis of President Wilson's 14 points. During October the Russo-German Boundary and Evacuation Commissions peacefully continued their work, and the Marine Commission had already met, taking up the questions regarding the reciprocal return of the seized vessels, and regarding the realization of the decisions of August 27 to allow us free transit and access to the Baltic Sea. But the rising revolutionary wave in Germany gradually forced the technical diplomatic work into the background. Three days before the German revolution and the abdication of the Kaiser, on November 5, and after the vaudeville incident with our trunk, which quite opportunely broke at the Berlin railway station and in which were found leaflets that we had never put there, all our representatives and all commissions were sent out of Germany on the ground of our alleged violation of the second article of the Brest Treaty, and all the German representatives and commissions were recalled from Russia.

This was followed by a prolonged and complex procedure of mutual exchange and evacuation from

Russia of Consulates and all kinds of Commissions which tried to take along with them also Russian citizens under the pretext that they were German employees. In the meantime the question as to the attitude of new Germany toward Revolutionary Russia had at once bluntly arisen. The new German Government was composed one-half — the Scheidemannists — of our open enemies and the other half of the cowardly Independents, who yielded to the former in everything essential. On November 17 the German Government declared that it refused the bread which we sent for the starving populace of Germany. While the Berlin Soviet resolutely demanded the re-establishment of diplomatic relations with us and the return to Berlin of Comrade Yoffe, the German Government used all means of postponement, in order later definitely to prevent the re-establishment of relations. It made this conditional upon our definite recognition of this government and also upon our return of all German consulates. We declared that we recognized every *de facto* government, while the German consulates and Commissions would soon be returned to Germany in exchange for our Embassy and our Commissions. Nevertheless, the German Government continued to drag on this question without any definite decision. When we sent a delegation to the All-German Congress of Soviets, the Berlin Soviet and later also other German workers' Soviets greeted its approaching arrival with enthusiasm. But, despite all this, the German Government did not allow the delegation to enter Germany, and the military authorities on the other side of the boundary line forced the delegation back by aiming a machine gun at them, and sent them across the boundary in the most offensive manner. At the joint congress of the German Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, the German Government succeeded in getting recognition of the fact of the absence of our delegation. The reaction in Germany was rapidly advancing and on December 23 the German Government informed us of its refusal to allow us

to have any representatives in Germany, not even excepting the Red Cross Commission. We have since then repeatedly declared our readiness to restore at any time normal relations with Germany, but without any effect. The care of the Russian war prisoners was entrusted by the German Government to a private bureau, which was composed of elements for whom we could not take responsibility. In January the office of the Rosta was raided and looted. Shortly after this event, the office of the private bureau for the care of war prisoners, which was created by the German Government itself, was also looted. The White Guard bands seized the headquarters of our Embassy in Berlin. Finally the Entente took upon themselves the care of our war prisoners in Germany, hoping to find in them a source from which to fill the ranks of the Russian counter-revolutionary armies, although in the vast majority of cases they met resolute resistance from the war prisoners themselves. Parallel with this took place the arrests and the deportations of our commissions for the care of the war prisoners and of the Red Cross commissions in Austria, Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia.

The most important question which divided us and Germany was the actual assistance which the German Government was willing to give the Entente in the effort of the latter to replace the former in the policy of aligning against us the counter-revolutionary border provinces. The Entente wanted the German troops to remain in the districts which had been occupied by them, until such time as they would be replaced by Entente troops. After the defeat of Germany a formidable danger was moving on us from the side of the Entente. Against us world imperialism was literally mobilizing. "Revolutionary" Germany was supposed to furnish the world counter-revolution with the necessary aid in this. The German troops were to surrender the South and West of the former Russian Empire to the troops of the Entente imperialism. This plan failed owing to the German troops themselves, who

hastily left for their own country, absolutely disregarding the clever plans of Kautsky, who was aiding the Entente imperialism and the counter-revolution. The evacuation of the occupied districts by the German troops took place in a very disorderly manner, and the German command devastated the evacuated district in the most barbarous way. Repeated encounters occurred between our troops and the German troops, who were incited against us by their counter revolutionary command, which had tried in every way to bring them into conflict with us. The Soviet troops, gradually clearing the territory which had been occupied by the Germans, acted with great caution and first of all tried to come into direct contact with the German soldiers whenever they succeeded in doing away with the obstacle of the counter-revolutionary German command. As a result the most friendly relations were established. The transfer to us of the evacuated districts occurred quite peacefully, and the mass of the German soldiers gave signs of a Spartacan state of mind. The evacuation of Ukraine occurred with the least trouble. The situation in the Western border provinces was more complex. In southern Livonia and Courland were created White Guard bands and volunteer detachments of various kinds—the "Iron Division", the "Landswehr" — and the German commissary Winnig soon concluded an agreement with the British marine command to continue the occupation of this district.\* The counter-revolutionary elements of the German army were concentrated mainly in Kovno, where the disintegrating remnants of the old German army were soon replaced by new volunteer units which did not long to return home.

Gradually the cloud of the Entente intervention was becoming denser. Russia was gradually closed in, isolated by the Entente blockade, by the so-called ring around her, of the "Cordon Sanitaire". The last months of the year 1918 were a period of

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\* See article by O. Preedin, "Great Britain's Baltic Policy," *Soviet Russia*, Vol. II, No. 3, and succeeding numbers.

constant exchanges of representatives, missions, hostages, citizens. The peace delegation at Kiev was the object of continual threats of arbitrary interference on the part of the white guard bands which were dominant during the last period of the Hetmanism. Toward our peace delegation a system of provocation and calumny was used which justified the expectation of the worst results. On December 14 occurred the exchange of our representatives and consulates in Ukraine for the Ukrainian consulates which were returning from Russia. The exchange of the Entente representatives required the most diplomatic red tape. A number of neutral missions and consulates intervened in this affair, and their intervention forced us to release in exchange for Comrade Litvinov and other comrades in England also the French diplomatic and consular representatives. The French military mission remained in Russia to be exchanged for our soldiers in France. The American representatives were allowed to depart without any exchange, owing to the special position which the United States had occupied toward us all the time and which we expected to continue in the future. Finally, on October 14, Comrade Litvinov arrived in Petrograd. Almost at the same time with our Berlin representative, Comrade Berzin and the other members and collaborators of our embassy arrived in Switzerland. Comrade Rosin, whom we appointed to Holland, notwithstanding the official consent of the latter to his mission, could not get further than Berlin, and immediately thereafter the Dutch Government recalled all its representatives from Russia. Similar action was taken by Spain. In December Comrade Vоровsky was requested to leave Stockholm. His final departure took place about the end of January. After Norway and Denmark had broken diplomatic relations with us, the sole foreign representative

in Russia was the Danish Red Cross, which left Russia in the summer of 1919.\*

During this time we made a large number of peace proposals. Shortly after our note to Pouget of August 5 we took advantage of the departure of the Norwegian representatives from Kiev to make an attempt through them to start oral negotiations with the powers attacking Russia. In the well-known note to President Wilson, of Oct. 24, 1918,\*\* containing an exhaustive criticism of the whole American policy toward Soviet Russia, we asked a definite question: Precisely by what means could we buy the cessation of the attacks on us by the Entente Powers? On November 3 the Soviet Government, through all the neutral representatives who were then in Moscow, proposed to the Entente Governments to open peace negotiations. This step was approved by the Sixth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which on November 8 solemnly addressed to the Entente powers a peace proposal and authorized the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs to take all necessary steps in this direction. Comrade Litvinov, who went to Sweden on a mission from the Soviet Government, on December 23 sent a circular note to the Entente representatives in which he proposed the opening of preliminary negotiations with the view of removing all the causes of conflict. Subsequently he sent a special dispatch to Wilson on the same subject. On January 12, having learned through a radio of the speech by the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee at Washington regarding the causes of intervention in Russia, we sent a radio to the American Government, pointing out that all the motives

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\* The Danish Red Cross Commission in Russia was unfortunately guilty of many acts favoring the counter-revolution, and even now, after its exclusion from Soviet Russia, has done much to embitter the lot of Russian prisoners of war still held in Vienna, Austria, whom it is supposed to shield from harm.

\*\* *The Liberator*, New York, January, 1919, prints an English translation of this note, which was forwarded through Mr. Christiansen, Norwegian Attache in Moscow.

mentioned, regardless of any former validity, had lost their force at that moment, and requesting that a place and time be set for the opening of negotiations. On January 14, having learned of the proposal made by the English Government to bring about an agreement between the warring *de facto* governments of Russia, the Soviet Government informed its representatives at Stockholm of its readiness to enter into negotiations with the Entente Governments. On January 17, having learned that the French Confederation of Labor and the Administrative Committee of the Socialist Party had expressed their satisfaction with the declaration of the Government renouncing intervention in Russia, the Soviet Government sent a radiogram to the Entente powers, asking them to state when and in what form this renunciation of intervention would be realized and when negotiations could be opened with this end in view. The climax to all these steps was our note of February 4, which we addressed to the Entente Governments after an unaddressed invitation had been sent out from Paris by wireless, asking all the *de facto* Governments of Russia to meet in conference at Prince's Island. In this note of February 4, the Soviet Government expressed its willingness to pay the foreign debts, to grant concessions to send goods to cover its obligations, to recognize the seizure of certain territories and to abstain from revolutionary propaganda in the Entente countries.\* A detailed statement of peace terms was drawn up by us in the middle of March, partly with Mr. Bullitt, who came on a mission from President Wilson with the knowledge of Lloyd George. When Nansen,\*\* on the basis of an understanding with the Entente Governments, asked us to admit into Soviet Russia his commission for the distribution of provisions, on the condition that we cease

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\* The text of the note of February 4 1919, will be found in *Soviet Russia*, Vol. I, No. 1 (June 7, 1919).

\*\* The correspondence of the Soviet Government with Nansen will be found in *Soviet Russia*, Vol. I, No. 14. See also "The Bullitt Mission to Russia," published by B. W. Huebsch, New York (paper, price 50 cents).



our military action, but without any guarantee that this would not be taken advantage of by the opponents of the Soviet order for new attacks, we gave our consent to Nansen's proposal in our reply of May 7 and asked him to state the place and date to meet representatives of his commission, qualifying this consent only by the remark that the negotiations regarding the cessation of military activities could not be conducted with his politically irresponsible commission, but only with the Entente Governments themselves. However, all our attempts were fruitless. Immediately after Bullitt's visit to us, we had Kolchak's offensive, which restored the hopes of the Entente, and this, in turn, was followed by Denikin's offensive.

The soldiers of the Entente, when they were sent to advance on Ukraine, refused to fight against the workers' and soldiers' revolution, just as the German soldiers had refused to remain in the occupied provinces until the appearance of the Entente. The provinces cleared of the German troops of occupation were only partly occupied by the troops of Soviet Russia. Ukraine was occupied by the Ukrainian red troops; Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania — by the red troops of these Republics. On December 24, 1918, the Military Central Executive Committee triumphantly recognized the independence of the Esthonian, Latvian and Lithuanian Soviet Republics. On January 28 the Ukrainian Soviet Government issued a manifesto, in which they proposed to all peoples to enter into diplomatic relations with them. At that time we were carrying on negotiations with the representative of the Petlura Government, Mazurenko, as a result of which we proposed to act as intermediaries in peace negotiations between the Ukrainian Soviet Republic and Petlura's Government. The latter, however, having lost all its territory, fell into the power of reactionary agents, who at that time made it impossible to reach an agreement. The Polish Republic was formed when the German revolution broke out and the first Polish Government, composed of social-patriots, began

to carry on negotiations with Soviet Russia in an extremely hostile tone. At the time of the Polish revolution, the Polish working masses in Moscow replaced the delegation of the former council of the Regency — this organ of the German authorities of occupation — by an elected Polish representative body. The Government of Morachevsky protested against the dismissal of the agents of the Council of the Regency. Negotiations for the return of these to Poland had begun, as the Soviet Government had in principle consented to this. But in January occurred the cruel assassination of our Red Cross mission, deported from Poland near the village of Mien in the county of Vysoko-Mazovietzk. On January 19, the power was taken over by the purely bourgeois Government of Paderewski, which Government, however, assumed a less hostile attitude towards Soviet Russia. Its representative, Ventzkowsky, came to Moscow for the purpose of settling various controversial questions, such as the assassination of the Red Cross mission, the exchange of hostages, the return of refugees, etc. Ventzkowsky transmitted to the Soviet Government the declaration of the Central Workers' Committee of the Polish Socialist Party concerning the alleged aggressive policy of the Soviet Government against Poland. We answered definitely that we had no aggressive intentions, and pointed out our readiness to enter into an agreement with Poland on the basis of popular referendum in the provinces over which disputes had arisen, and to offer this agreement to the Lithuanian Soviet Government. Shortly after this, however, the Polish offensive began, and after a treacherous invasion of Vilna by the Polish legionaries, the Soviet Government was compelled to ask Ventzkowsky to leave Soviet Russia, having at the same time declared that at any moment it would be ready to begin peace negotiations again as soon as Poland ceased her military operations.

One of the greatest historic factors, which influenced our entire foreign policy of the year 1919, was

Esthonian, Latvian and Lithuanian Soviet Govern-  
proclaimed at the Moscow Congress opened on March  
2. On March 21 the Hungarian Soviet Republic was  
formed, then the Bavarian and the Slovak. Rou-  
mania, which separated Hungary from us, assumed  
a more hostile attitude towards us. In Bessarabia,  
which was occupied by Roumania, a barbarous white  
terror reigned, accompanied by a rigid policy of  
Roumanization and by merciless robbery. On May  
1 two Soviet Governments — the Russian and  
Ukrainian — demanded from Roumania an im-  
mediate withdrawal of Roumanian troops, officials  
and agents from the whole of Bessarabia; also, the  
bringing of the law-breakers to the people's court;  
the return of the military property of Russia and  
Ukraine seized by Roumania; and the return to the  
inhabitants of Bessarabia of the property confiscated  
from them.\* Denikin's offensive, which began short-  
ly after this, aided in strengthening politically the  
Roumanian Government and the counter-revolution-  
ary role which it played with regard to Hungary.

The question of exchange of the French Military  
Mission for our soldiers in France remained un-  
solved. Half of the French Military Mission was  
released at the time of the departure of our Red  
Cross Commission for France, at which time several  
thousand of our soldiers were returned to us. But  
the Red Cross Commission was isolated in France,  
and, shortly afterwards, when we refused to return  
immediately the remaining members of the French  
Mission, our Commission was deported from France  
to Russia.\*\* The negotiations with England with  
regard to the exchange of war prisoners and civil  
prisoners lasted all summer. Comrades Raskolnik-  
off and Ninuk were returned in exchange for eight-  
een British war and civil prisoners. But a general  
exchange has not yet been realized, as England has

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\* For full text of this joint note to Roumania, see *Soviet  
Russia*, Vol. I, No. 15 (August 16, 1919).

\*\* On the sad lot of Russian prisoners in France, Vol. I and  
II of *Soviet Russia* have much material.

refused to admit our representative for conferences with Russian citizens in England for the purpose of controlling the organization of their return to Russia. In the United States, our representative, Comrade Martens, began openly to initiate wide connections with the commercial world for the resumption of trade with us immediately upon the lifting of the blockade. When the newspapers brought the news of his arrest on July 21, we sent a note to the American Government with a protest and a threat of reprisals. The American Government replied, however, that Comrade Martens had not been arrested. But a severe blow was dealt to his activity by the declaration of the American Government that no transaction with the Soviet Government would be recognized or protected by the American authorities.\* Negotiations were carried on with England regarding the exchange of arrested citizens and the repatriation of citizens of the two countries. The Finnish offensive, however, interrupted these negotiations.\*\*

All the strength of the Entente — insofar as it still has some strength left at this time of growing disintegration of the old imperialistic world — was concentrated on the destruction of Soviet Russia and the support of its enemies. The year 1919 was the period of a general advance of counter-revolution. The Entente imperialism incited all the frontier states against us, having set up bourgeois governments by means of outside aid in those states which were, upon German evacuation, ruled by workers' and peasants' governments. Finland, Sweden and Denmark sent volunteers to crush the workers' and peasants' governments of Esthonia and Latvia. From Germany officers and soldiers entered Courland and Lifland to fill the ranks of the

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\* The announcement of Mr. Martens to the State Department at Washington was circulated in pamphlet form by the Russian Soviet Government Bureau, as well as printed in its *Information Bulletin*.

\*\* See Soviet wireless of October 29, 1919, in *Soviet Russia*, Vol. II, No. 5 (January 31, 1920).

white guards of Prince Lieven, which were being gathered by the German Government. The German "Iron Division" and the "Landswehr", together with the Lettish white-guard bands of Ballod, moved on Red Latvia.\* German volunteer detachments together with Lithuanian white-guard bands operated against red Lithuania. The main enemy of the latter was Poland. In Ukraine, Petlura and the Entente initiated and supported uprisings of rich peasants ("kulaki"). As a result of all this the counter-revolution separated us from the West by a barrier of aggressive white frontier states. Esthonia and Finland served as a base for the formation of Yudenich's army. In June the utmost vigilance of the working class and Soviets of Petrograd disclosed the machinations of the Entente and the counter-revolutionary conspirators, and forestalled the intended blow from within. On the other hand, gradually and unceasingly the revolutionary movement kept on advancing in the Entente countries and all over Europe the ruling classes are panic stricken as they feel the approach of world revolution. The marvelous picture of the attack of world reaction upon Soviet Russia, the latter's desperate struggle and successful defense, inspire the working classes of all countries. This year (1919) we write fewer notes to governments, but more appeals to working masses. The Soviet Government sent proclamations to the toiling masses on various questions with regard to the blockade, the aid to counter-revolutionists, the demonstrations of workers in the Entente countries planned for July 21, but broken up by social-traitors, the influence of the Entente on peace negotiations with our neighbors, and the outrages of the Entente and its agents and subject governments and bands of small nationalities in the various parts of the former Russian Empire. In the absence of official diplomatists, prominent men

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\* See Soviet wireless message of October 9, 1919, on these recruitings, in *Soviet Russia*, Vol. II, No. 8 (February 21, 1920).

who came here, such as Professor Goode,\* the left-liberal British Col. Malone,\* or journalists through whom we bring the truth of the Russian situation to the wide masses of all countries, played a more important part. With the gradual decline of the power of the imperialists, the peace movement increases among the toiling masses of neighboring states who long for peace with us. In answer to the willingness of the Baltic States (except Finland) to begin peace negotiations with us, the Entente let Yudenich loose on Petrograd and asked all other governments to form a complete blockade of Soviet Russia. The struggle between the old world and the Revolution is strenuous. The war between us and Denikin, Yudenich and Kolchak, is only part of the world civil war which is assuming a more obvious shape. In the East we are becoming more friendly with Afghanistan and are upholding the cause of all oppressed peoples.\*\* The scene of the present struggle between two worlds has no precedent in the immensity of its proportions. Every day its growth is becoming more and more noticeable in England, France and America. All central Europe is on the threshold of great new events. The foreign policy of Soviet Russia conforms more and more to the universal struggle between the revolution and the old world.

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\* Both these gentlemen set down their observations in book form: *The Russian Republic*, by Colonel Cecil L'Estrange Malone (Harcourt, Brace and Howe, New York, 1920); *Bolshevism at Work*, by William T. Goode (same publisher, 1920); price \$1.00 each.

\*\* See "The Soviet Power and the Mussulman World," Soviet wireless of August 11, 1919, in *Soviet Russia*, Vol. I, No. 25 (November 22, 1919).

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