

la somme d'un million de florins, laissant entièrement au Gouvernement néerlandais de disposer à sa discrétion de cette somme en faveur des pêcheurs dont il s'agit, de la manière que ce Gouvernement croira équitable.

En réponse, j'ai l'honneur de faire savoir à votre Excellence que le Gouvernement néerlandais regrette vivement que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté dans le Royaume-Uni n'a pas cru pouvoir entrer dans les vues du Gouvernement néerlandais et qu'il décline toute obligation de dédommagement au sujet des réclamations dont il s'agit et que le Gouvernement néerlandais trouve justifiées. C'est, toutefois, avec satisfaction que le Gouvernement néerlandais a relevé de la lettre précitée de votre Excellence que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté dans le Royaume-Uni s'est déclaré prêt à accorder une indemnité en faveur des pêcheries néerlandaises et, en offrant une somme d'un million de florins, fait preuve à leur égard d'un esprit large, que mon Gouvernement apprécie à sa juste valeur. Le Gouvernement néerlandais m'a autorisé à accepter cette offre, aux conditions émises dans la lettre de votre Excellence.

Le Gouvernement néerlandais prend acte de ce que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté dans le Royaume-Uni assurera aux ressortissants néerlandais intéressés, autres que ceux visés au deuxième paragraphe de votre lettre, tous droits et remèdes dont pourront profiter ses propres nationaux ou les ressortissants d'autres Puissances dans des circonstances analogues et que l'accès aux tribunaux de prises britanniques restera ouvert aux réclamants, le droit des autorités britanniques d'y faire valoir telle défense que les lois leur accordent, demeurant également réservé.

Il est, naturellement, bien entendu que le droit de chacun des deux Gouvernements de maintenir à l'avenir telle attitude qu'il jugera opportune à l'égard de la légalité selon le droit international de mesures comme celles qui ont donné lieu aux réclamations ou à l'égard d'autres points en contestation est complètement réservé, et que la position juridique d'aucun des deux Gouvernements n'est d'aucune façon préjudiciée.

Veillez agréer, &c.

R. de Marees van Swinderen.

## 8. Wiederaufnahme der Beziehungen zwischen Großbritannien und Sowjet-Rußland<sup>1)</sup>,

No. 1.

Text of Communication from His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics transmitted through the Norwegian Minister in Moscow on July 15, 1929.

His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have carefully considered the existing state of the relations between this country and

<sup>1)</sup> Cmd. 3418. Russia No. 1 (1929); Cmd. 3467, T. S. No. 2 (1930). Deutsche

the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and are prepared to re-establish the normal machinery of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, on the understanding that the reciprocal rights and duties which international law recognises as incumbent on States in their relations with one another subsist between this country and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. To this end His Majesty's Government invite the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to send a responsible representative to London in order to discuss with the Foreign Secretary direct the most expeditious procedure for reaching as rapidly as possible a friendly and mutually satisfactory settlement of the outstanding questions between the two countries, including those relating to propaganda and debts.

No. 2.

Translation of Communication from the Soviet Government received through the Norwegian Minister in Moscow and dated July 23, 1929.

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics note the communication from the British Government that they are willing to re-establish diplomatic relations with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the interruption of which was not the consequence of the fault or desire of the Government of the Union. The Government of the Union welcome this proposal in the interest of both countries and of the cause of peace. The Government of the Union consider it necessary that there shall be established as soon as possible a lasting agreement regarding disputed questions, and believe that such a lasting agreement can only be attained through both parties being treated as having equal rights and by the maintenance of reciprocal dignity and esteem.

The Government will assume the rights and duties of States in diplomatic relations between themselves as soon as the British Government takes upon itself these rights and duties.

In view of the fact that the note from the British Government aims at a preliminary exchange of views exclusively regarding the procedure to be followed in the subsequent discussion of disputed questions and not at an actual discussion of these questions, and being of the opinion that these deliberations regarding procedure can be concluded in the course of a very short period, the Government are requesting M. Dovgalevski, plenipotentiary representative of the Union in France, to journey to London for this purpose.

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Übersetzung Europ. Gespr 1929, S. 555 ff. Über die britischen Beziehungen zu Sowjet-Rußland vgl. auch: Bull. of. Int. News vom 10. Okt. 1929 S. 3 und vom 5. Juni 1930 S. 3.

## No. 3.

Translation of Note handed by M. Dovgalevski to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on July 31, 1929.

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have done everything on their side to facilitate the rapprochement between the Union and Great Britain and the resumption of normal diplomatic relations between the two countries. The fact, however, that the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has stated to M. Dovgalevski, the Soviet Ambassador to France, that it is impossible for the British Government to re-establish normal relations between the two countries before the solution of the questions outstanding between them, shows that the British Government do not desire or are unable to bring about the resumption of these relations. If such were not the case, the British Government would not have proposed, as a preliminary condition for the re-establishment of normal relations, the solution of questions so complicated and contentious as the mutual claims and counter-claims. This new circumstance, which was not foreshadowed by the note from the British Government addressed to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs on the 17th July, requires a fresh examination of the question. For that reason the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs finds itself compelled to ask for fresh instructions from the Praesidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Union, which will consider the new proposals of the British Government at its next plenary session.

## No. 4.

Foreign Office Communiqué of August 2, 1929.

The conversations between Mr. Henderson and M. Dovgalevski, which began on the 29th July, were resumed yesterday evening. M. Dovgalevski returned to Paris this morning, and the conversations will not be continued for the present.

In his original invitation Mr. Henderson made it clear that it was the desire of His Majesty's Government to resume regular relations with the Government of the Soviet Union, and that a responsible representative of the latter would be welcomed with a view to discussing the most expeditious procedure for the settlement of outstanding questions, including debts and propaganda. Though the reply of the Soviet Union to this invitation was somewhat ambiguous, it was presumed that in offering to send M. Dovgalevski to London the Soviet Union had authorised him to discuss the procedure for settling outstanding questions on the lines proposed by Mr. Henderson.

In their first interview Mr. Henderson explained to M. Dovgalevski the lines on which His Majesty's Government wished to proceed, that he was anxious to avail himself of the present parliamentary recess in order to set up the necessary machinery for dealing with such outstanding questions as debts, claims, trade, &c. He felt sure that, with goodwill on both sides, sufficient progress might be made to enable

him on the reassembling of Parliament in October to report what had been achieved, that the principles on which a settlement could be worked out had been defined, and to request authority, even if complete settlements of all outstanding questions had not been reached, for the exchange of fully accredited Ambassadors between the two countries.

M. Dovgalevski, on instructions from his Government, replied that in the view of his Government the best method of proceeding was the immediate exchange of Ambassadors, that the Government of the Soviet Union could not at present accept Mr. Henderson's proposals, and would have to refer them to the next session of the Praesidium of the Central Executive Committee.

His Majesty's Government adhere to their desire to resume normal relations with the Union of Socialist Republics, and take note that the Praesidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union will consider the new proposals of His Majesty's Government at their next session.

#### No. 5.

Statement made by the Secretary of State at Geneva on  
September 4, 1929.

The actual resumption of relations cannot take place until a report has been made to Parliament.

In the meantime, there is plenty of work to be done, and the interval between now and the opening of Parliament could still usefully be occupied in arranging the procedure and programme for the subsequent negotiations, which I hope will lead to the settlement of the outstanding questions between the two countries.

The desire of the British Government is to re-establish relations as soon as possible on a friendly and stable basis, and the invitation to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to send a responsible representative to London in order to discuss the most expeditious procedure still stands.

#### No. 6.

Statement made by M. Litvinov on September 6, 1929.

The point of view of the Soviet Government on the question of resumption of normal diplomatic relations between Britain and Russia is quite clear and well known. It was precisely stated by M. Piatakov on the 5th April last on the order of the Soviet Government to the British Trade Delegation, which visited the Soviet Union whilst the Conservative Government was in office. The same point of view was expressed in the note from Soviet Government, dated the 23rd July last, which was handed to the British Government through the Norwegian Chargé d'Affaires at Moscow. This note expressed the readiness of the Soviet Government to discuss the procedure of negotiations on the question of differences between the two countries, which negotiations were to take place after the complete restoration of normal diplomatic relations.

If the declaration of the British Foreign Secretary is to be understood in the sense that he desires again to meet a representative of the Soviet Government to discuss only procedure — into which will naturally enter formation of the agenda of future negotiations — no objection will be made on the part of the Soviet Government. The Soviet Government is ready to take corresponding steps as soon as the British Government states the place and the time of negotiations on procedure.

No. 7.

Text of Communication from His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, transmitted through the Norwegian Minister in Moscow, September 8, 1929.

His Majesty's Government have taken note of the statement made by M. Litvinov in Moscow on the 6th September on the subject of the re-establishment of relations between the British and Soviet Governments, and as that has always been the purpose of His Majesty's Government would suggest that Tuesday, the 24th September, in London would be convenient date and place for the Foreign Secretary to meet Soviet representatives for the purpose of these negotiations on procedure. His Majesty's Government would be glad to learn in due course the port and time of arrival of Soviet representatives in England.

No. 8.

Translation of Communication from M. Litvinov received through the Norwegian Minister in Moscow and dated September 12, 1929.

The Soviet Government have noted for their guidance a communication from the British Government in which, with reference to my statement of the 6th instant, they invite the Soviet Government again to send a plenipotentiary to London on the 24th September for the discussion with the Foreign Minister of the question of the method of procedure. In accordance with the above-mentioned statement and their note of the 23rd July in which is stated the Soviet Government's willingness to discuss, for the time being, only the question of the method of procedure at succeeding negotiations and not questions under dispute, the Soviet Government agree to send to London on the stated day a representative with the necessary powers. The exact time and English port of arrival of the Soviet Government representative will be stated later.

## No. 9.

Protocol Relative to the Procedure for the Settlement of Questions outstanding between His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, such Procedure to become Operative immediately on the Resumption of full Diplomatic Relations between the two States, including the Exchange of Ambassadors.

The undersigned, the Right Honourable Arthur Henderson, M. P., His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and M. Valerian Dvoglevsky, Ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the French Republic, having, on instructions from their respective Governments, entered into an exchange of views on questions connected with the above-mentioned subject, have reached the following agreement:

1. The following questions shall be settled by negotiation between the two Governments: —

- (1.) Definition of the attitude of both Governments towards the treaties of 1924.
- (2.) Commercial treaty and allied questions.
- (3.) Claims and counter-claims, intergovernmental and private; debts, claims arising out of intervention and otherwise, and financial questions connected with such claims and counter-claims.
- (4.) Fisheries.
- (5.) Application of previous treaties and conventions.

2. Negotiations between His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with a view to the settlement of the above-mentioned questions shall take place immediately on the resumption of full diplomatic relations, including the exchange of Ambassadors.

3. The aforesaid negotiations shall be conducted on behalf of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by the Soviet Ambassador in London, and on behalf of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom by His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

4. The plenipotentiaries of the two Governments shall, if necessary, be assisted by joint committees, the members of which shall be appointed in equal number by each Government from among their nationals, whether officials or not, specially acquainted with the matters under discussion.

5. These experts shall report to each of the plenipotentiaries on the results reached in their joint examination of the respective questions and on the solution thereof which they suggest.

6. All agreements resulting from the negotiations between the plenipotentiaries take the form of a treaty or treaties between the two Governments.

7. Immediately on the actual exchange of Ambassadors, and not later than the same day as that on which the respective Ambassadors present their credentials, both Governments will reciprocally confirm the pledge with regard to propaganda contained in article 16 of the treaty signed on the 8th August, 1924, between Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

8. Simultaneously with the approval by both Governments of the procedure laid down in paragraphs 1—7, His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will take the decision to resume normal diplomatic relations with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, including the exchange of Ambassadors.

9. The steps to be taken, as set out in the preceding paragraphs, including the decision concerning the re-establishment of diplomatic relations, will be brought for approval before Parliament early at the beginning of the next session. Immediately after this question shall have been discussed in Parliament, each of the two Governments will take the usual steps for the appointment of their respective Ambassadors.

London, October 3, 1929.

Arthur Henderson.

V. Dovgalevski.

No. 10.

M. Gregori Sokolnikov to Mr. Arthur Henderson

Embassy of the Union of Soviet  
Socialist Republics, December 20,  
1929.

Sir,

By Clause 7 of the Protocol signed on October 3rd last by the Soviet Ambassador in Paris on behalf of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on behalf of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, both Governments engaged themselves to confirm the pledge with regard to propaganda contained in Article 16 of the General Treaty signed on August 8, 1924, between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

The terms of that Article were as follows: —

The contracting parties solemnly affirm their desire and intention to live in peace and amity with each other, scrupulously to respect the undoubted right of a state to order its own life within its own jurisdiction in its own way, to refrain and to restrain all persons and organisations under their direct or indirect control, including organisations in receipt of financial assistance from them, from any act overt or covert liable in any way whatsoever to endanger the tranquillity or prosperity of any part of the territory of the British Empire or the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or intended to embitter

the relations of the British Empire or the Union with their neighbours or any other countries.

It was further agreed that effect should be given to this Clause of the aforesaid protocol not later than the day on which the respective Ambassadors presented their credentials.

Having this day presented to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales the letters accrediting me as Ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to His Majesty the King, I have the honour by the direction of the People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs and on behalf of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to confirm the undertaking contained in the Article quoted above, and to inform you that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics regard that undertaking as having full force and effect as between themselves and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of India.

I am instructed to add that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will be happy to receive in accordance with Clause 7 of the Protocol of October 3rd a corresponding declaration from His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of India.

I have, etc.,

G. Sokolnikov.

No. II.

Mr. Arthur Henderson to M. Gregori Sokolnikov.

Foreign Office, December 20, 1929.

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the Note, dated to-day, in which Your Excellency confirm, on behalf of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the pledge regarding propaganda contained in Article 16 of the General Treaty signed on August 8, 1924, between Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

2. In taking due note of this declaration I have the honour to inform your Excellency that in accordance with the understanding between His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as recorded in the Protocol of October 3rd, 1929, His Majesty's Ambassador in Moscow has been instructed to inform the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of India, for their part, also regard the undertaking contained in Article 16 of the Treaty signed on August 8, 1924, as having full force and effect as between themselves and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

I have, etc.,

Arthur Henderson.



## No. 12.

Note verbale handed to Mr. Arthur Henderson by M. Gregori Sokolnikov on December 20, 1929.

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in giving the undertaking contained in Article 16 of the General Treaty signed on August 8, 1924, between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Great Britain and Northern Ireland and confirmed by the Notes exchanged to-day, have considered that undertaking as extending also to the dominions (Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, the Irish Free State, and Newfoundland). Consequently, as soon as the Government of any Dominion shall have regulated their relations with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in such manner as the circumstances of the particular case may require, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will be ready to repeat on the basis of reciprocity the undertaking above referred to in a separate exchange of Notes with such Dominion.

London, December 20, 1929.

## No. 13.

Mr. Arthur Henderson to M. Gregori Sokolnikov.

Foreign Office, December 20, 1929.

Your Excellency,

With reference to your Note Verbale, dated to-day, I have the honour to inform your Excellency that the attitude of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as indicated in your Note, is being communicated to His Majesty's Governments in Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, the Irish Free State, and Newfoundland.

2. Further, I have the honour, at the instance of His Majesty's Governments in Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, the Irish Free State, and Newfoundland, to state that each of these Governments will regard the undertaking contained in Article 16 of the Treaty signed on August 8, 1924, between Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as having full force and effect as between themselves and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

I have, etc. Arthur Henderson.

## No. 14.

Sir Esmond Ovey to M. Maxim Litvinov.

Your Excellency,

Moscow, December 21, 1929.

By clause 7 of the protocol signed on the 3rd October last by His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on behalf of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain

and Northern Ireland, and the Soviet Ambassador in Paris on behalf of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, both Governments engaged themselves to confirm the pledge with regard to propaganda contained in article 16 of the General Treaty signed on the 8th August, 1924, between Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The terms of that article were as follows: —

“The contracting parties solemnly affirm their desire and intention to live in peace and amity with each other, scrupulously to respect the undoubted right of a State to order its own life within its own jurisdiction in its own way, to refrain and to restrain all persons and organisations under their direct or indirect control, including organisations in receipt of financial assistance from them, from any act overt or covert liable in any way whatsoever to endanger the tranquillity or prosperity of any part of the territory of the British Empire or the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or intended to embitter the relations of the British Empire or the Union with their neighbours or any other countries.”

It was further agreed that effect should be given to this clause of the aforesaid protocol not later than the day on which the respective Ambassadors presented their credentials.

Having this day presented to the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics the letters accrediting me as His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, I have the honour, by the direction of His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and on behalf of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of the Government of India, to confirm the undertaking contained in the article quoted above, and to inform your Excellency that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of India regard that undertaking as having full force and effect as between themselves and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

I am instructed to add that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will be happy to receive, in accordance with clause 7 of the protocol of the 3rd October, a corresponding declaration from the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

I avail, etc.

Esmond Ovey.

No. 15.

M. Maxim Litvinov to Sir Esmond Ovey.

(Translation)

Monsieur l'Ambassadeur,

Moscow, December 21, 1929.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note of the 21st December, in which you confirm, on behalf of His Majesty's Govern-

ment in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of India, the pledge regarding propaganda contained in article 16 of the General Treaty signed on the 8th August, 1924, between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

In taking due note of this declaration I have the honour to inform you that, in accordance with the understanding between the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, as recorded in the protocol of the 3rd October, 1929, the Ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in London has been instructed to inform His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of India that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, for their part, also regard the undertaking contained in article 16 of the treaty signed on the 8th August, 1924, as having full force and effect as between themselves and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of India.

I have, etc.

M. Litvinov.

## 9. Monopolverträge

a) Vertrag zwischen der Regierung des Königreichs der Serben, Croaten und Slowenen und der Schwedischen Zündholzaktiengesellschaft vom 30. Oktober 1928.<sup>1)</sup>

### *Contrat*

*conclu entre le Gouvernement Royal du Royaume des Serbes, Croates et Slovènes, ci-après dénommé le Gouvernement, représenté par son Ministre des Finances, Monsieur le Docteur Nicola Soubotitch d'une part, et la Svenska Tändsticks Aktiebolaget, ci-après dénommée la Stab, de Stockholm représentée par Monsieur Walter Ahlström, Stockholm, dûment autorisé, d'autre part.*

### *Article 1.*

La Stab s'engage à organiser, seule ou avec les usines allumettières existantes dans le Royaume des Serbes, Croates et Slovènes, la vente d'allumettes dans le Royaume, que le Gouvernement confie exclusivement à la Stab ou à l'organisation créée ou désignée par elle et toujours sous sa direction et sa responsabilité.

Les allumettes dont la Stab aura le droit exclusif de vente doivent être fabriquées dans le pays, excepté les cas prévus par le présent contrat. La fabrication actuelle des allumettes ordinaires sera répartie entre les usines existantes d'après les contingents déjà fixés ou à fixer par la

<sup>1)</sup> Službene Novine 1928, Nr. 273. 23. November 1928.