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Red Russia's Rage at "The Concert at Locarno"

(From Literary Digest)

A new concert of European powers, from which Russia has been significantly excluded, was organized at the Locarno Conference, say the Soviet press angrily, adding that the so-called "lasting peace of Locarno," which European statesmen have been rejoicing over, may prove to be a "naïveté" against Soviet Russia. Soviet leaders and newspapers give vent to their indignation over the new international situation resulting from the Locarno negotiations, by such exclamations as "Germany has capitulated," and "England has won a great diplomatic victory." The official organ of the Soviet Government, *Isvestia* (Moscow), remarks:

"On all chief questions, England succeeded in having her way. She made Germany follow her lead, and has brought about tension in Russo-German relations. She has succeeded in weakening the ties binding France to her Allies, by assuming the rôle of arbiter between Germany and France, and by leaving the subjects of the occupation of the Rhine provinces, of the Saar basin, and of military control, without being settled. The unsettled status of these points of dispute will serve England as a club to hold over Franco-German relations and, at the same time enable England to compel Germany for sharing England's anti-Soviet policy."

This official newspaper then tells us that Russia's Foreign Minister Chicherin had warned German statesmen of the inevitable damage Russo-German amity must suffer in a case Germany consented to enter the League of Nations without the preliminary abrogation of Article XVI and XVII. These articles, it is recalled, provide for the co-operation of members of the League upon decisions by the League on military and other measures to be taken against disturbers of the peace. Now Germany, it is charged, has been content with "vain verbal promises" of the Allies that they will show special care in applying these articles to her. She has agreed to enter the League in spite of the fact that they have not been canceled, this newspaper alleges, adding that such action on the part of Germany is a hostile movement toward Russia, and while "it may be that the German press can succeed in making the German bourgeoisie believe this is not so, they can not fool the Union of Soviet Republics." *Pravda* (Moscow), the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist party, has a similar say of the effect of the Locarno treaties on Russia's international situation:

"In order to understand the change that has been wrought upon Germany's international policy, one must recall the Russo-German Treaty of Rapallo, which was concluded in April, 1922. The Rapallo Treaty did not contain any general clauses of purely political import. It simply liquidated the heritage of the Great War and provided for the mutual assistance of the two contracting parties in all economic undertakings that would contribute to a Russo-German rapprochement. Why did that treaty provoke the wild rage of the Entente Powers? Why did it give birth to legends of the existence of a secret Soviet-German alliance directed against England?"

"The reasons for such indignation are perfectly evident. What did this treaty mean to Germany? At that time authority in Germany was in the hands of the little bourgeois elements headed by Chancellor Wirth. These elements professed loyalty to the Versailles Treaty and tried to abide by it, insofar as possible. Yet, in concluding the Treaty of Rapallo, Chancellor Wirth proved at the same time that Germany had not wholly surrendered, that she was trying to regain her strength so that in time she would oppose the Allied Powers. The Treaty of Rapallo symbolized a policy of mutual re-encouragement between Germany and Russia, through economic co-operation. The Allies saw in the Treaty of Rapallo a way not leading to the recovery of Germany, but also to the recovery of Russia, and only the beginning of the liquidation of the Treaty of Versailles, but also the beginning of the failure of their anti-Soviet policy."

"Thus, according to *Pravda*, the real meaning of the Locarno treaties is a complete capitulation by Germany to England, a capitulation which transforms Germany into "England's political tool," and although:

"Officially speaking, the Locarno treaties do not annul the Rapallo Treaty, after the conclusion of the Locarno treaties the continuation of the policy embodied in the Rapallo document will be hardly possible. The Rapallo Treaty was rather the programme of a policy than a concrete policy. Locarno will undoubtedly stand in the way of the realization of that programme. Locarno is a great victory for the British. This victory is shrouded by the peaceful words, but it is full of the seed of future international conflicts."

Not every rejoinder over Locarno is found in anti-Bolshevik Russian newspapers, published outside Russia, but at least they are not devoid of noting that the Soviet press admit they have

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lost an ally in Germany, and that now Soviet Russia remains isolated in Europe. One of the essential features of the Locarno treaties, they assert, is that Europe has cut itself off from the realm of the Third International, "a fact sharply realized by the Third International." *Vozrozhdenie* (The Resurrection), a Russian anti-Bolshevik daily, published in Paris and reflecting the opinions of Grand Duke Nicholas Nikolaevich as well as of extensive nationalist and constitutional-monarchist circles of Russian emigres, has this to say:

"As we have maintained from the beginning of the Locarno Conference, it would be naïve to think that a scheme of international attack against the Soviets would be elaborated in the little Swiss city. Such a foolish conception of the Locarno problem, which was supported by the 'Cassandras' of the Bolshevik press, was certainly inaccurate. The Locarno peace embodies no provisions for an immediate fight on the Soviets. But it may bring about conditions which will render such a fight possible."

"The European Powers may bet once more on the 'peaceful evolution of Bolshevism,' and they may try again to include Soviet Russia in the general system of the existing peaceful relations among the nations. Such attempts will always remain fruitless. Bolshevism can not cease to be Bolshevism. Communism, the common enemy of all European nations, will not cease to foster all sorts of international misunderstandings in keeping with the old formula: 'Divide et Impera.' Lenin said on several occasions that the Soviets owe their existence to European quarrels and disorders. Therefore, a new step toward the establishment of a lasting peace in Europe is undoubtedly a blow to the Third International and to its domination over Russia."

A liberal anti-Bolshevik Russian paper, the *Berlin Rul*, declares that it is a mistake to say that Locarno witnessed no defeat, because:

"There was one who suffered defeat there, though he did not participate directly in the conflict and did not witness his own defeat. It was Chicherin, who remained in Berlin during the Locarno negotiations. He and his press did their utmost to keep Germany from signing the treaties by advice, threats, demands and warnings. At the moment when the delegates inked their pens to initial the Locarno documents, Chicherin left for Wiesbaden to restore his shattered health. It was time for him to go



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there, too, for his presence in Berlin was just as unhelpful to his affairs as it was bad for his health. His diplomatic defeat is obvious, for the pacification of Europe is just as undesirable to the Soviets as it is desirable from the viewpoint of Russia's national interests."

An official Russian opinion, whose purport may be traced to the accomplishment of Locarno, is given to the London Sunday Observer by Mr. Rakovsky Soviet Russian Charge d'Affaires at London. Referring to Soviet Russia's district of the League of Nations, Mr. Rakovsky pointed to the questions of disarmament and security, which, he said, were considered the League's chief objects, and he continued:

"As for disarmament, our viewpoint is that we are prepared to go very far in that direction, provided that the same measure be applied in all countries. Whether we are in the League of Nations or outside of it, the Soviet Union will fulfill faithfully an obligation which it may voluntarily assume."

"So far as security is concerned, the word is used mainly with reference to security of frontiers. For us, however, the question is one not only of security of frontiers but security of our existing social structure."

According to Mr. Rakovsky, as quoted in this interview, "the question which arises involuntarily before every Soviet citizen is whether the League of Nations may not be used for forcing us to change our social structure." In preference to the League, he advocates "an international organization for furthering economic and political co-operation between countries," on which subject he remarks:

tions, such as that of raw products and credits. Thirdly, all countries would participate on a footing of equality. We mean judicial quality, such as is so little in evidence in the League of Nations."

"Such an association as we suggest ought to depend on its moral authority, not on force. We are still in favor of such an organization."

With reference to the remark in an anti-Bolshevik paper, noted above, about Mr. Chicherin's activities in Germany during the Locarno Conference, we find him quoted in the *Berliner Tageblatt* as charging that the present British Government considers the Soviet character of Russia a menace to Britain's expansionist policy and to its methods of domination in its colonies; and he adds that he believes Britain "will do all in its power to injure us politically and economically." Soviet Russia's Ambassador to France, Mr. Krassin, is quoted in an interview given at Kharkoff as saying: "Russia is sufficiently confident of her power, and is quite calmly watching the regrouping of the European Powers, and awaiting the further development of events."

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