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MASTER THESIS

**SOVIET-GERMAN RELATIONS IN
THE INTERWAR PERIOD**

by

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ABSTRACT

The paper is dedicated to the research of the problem – the establishment and development of German-Soviet relations during the interwar period. The qualitative method was used for the researching of our topic. The combination of two different theories in the German-Soviet relations during interwar period was found during our investigation. As the problem of our master thesis is not new, there are many earlier resources on this particular topic. But relations between Germany and Soviet Russia in the period between two world wars attract attention of historians, politicians and others even today. Popularity of our topic helped us a lot in its investigation.

INTRODUCTION

The problem of establishment and development of Soviet-Germane relations during the interwar period is not new. However, the new ways of conducting the international policy make us remind the peculiarities of these relations each time. The new circumstances make us pay attention to the process of formation of the priorities of the exterior policy of the USSR and Germany; analyze how the political and economic regional processes have influenced the cooperation between two countries. XX century has become significant for the development of international relations. It has shown the geopolitical changes not only of regional, European or Asian character, but of the global scale also. Such global convulsions as World War I, the range of revolutions, World War II have drastically changed the vision of international relations and the place of international policy in the interstate intercourses.

Germany and Soviet Union between two world wars were deciding the history not only of their own countries, but also of Baltic region, Europe and the whole world. During that time Soviet Union took place as a new actor of international relations with own governmental system, and Nazi Germany was characterized as the realization of totalitarian government which was its unique feature. Two big states, but two different regimes could not co-exist peacefully. Until today, historians are wondering how the history of the world has changed if the Nazi-Soviet Nonaggression Pact of August 23, 1939 was never signed.

Nowadays the Soviet-Germane relations in the interwar period still attract scientific attention of historians, researchers, and politicians. This fact explains political and scientific actuality of the master paper.

Aim of the thesis

The aim of the master thesis is to analyze the particularities of the development of USSR – Germany relations between two world wars. The examination of the context of Soviet-Germane relations helps to understand their influence on the regional changes, the internal policy of Soviet Union and Germany, the roots of World War II.

In order to achieve the research goal the fulfillment of the following tasks is necessary:

- To explore the external policy of the USSR and Germany in the interwar period;
- To determine the factors what influenced the decision-making process in the external policy of the USSR and Germany;
- To examine the tendencies of establishment and transformation of Soviet-Germane relations in the interwar period.

The *object* of the research is the USSR – Germany relations in the period between two world wars. The *subject* of the master work is the external policy of Germany and Soviet Union.

Research questions

The period chosen by me is excited to investigate because it gives us a clear view about what was happening in the world during these years (interwar period). Some scientists consider 20 years not enough to change a history. In my case we see how history was changing with each year. Two countries were taken into research – Germany and USSR. They were the countries which were under great attention in that period of time, they were deciding others fate, they were changing history of the whole world. Both Germany and Russia are part of Baltic region, so their history is also a part of the history of Baltic Sea Region, and both countries had a great influence on the that region, especially on Baltic countries and Poland (the map of Poland's division with signatures of Y. Stalin and I. Ribbentrop is added). Baltic States were a bridge linking Germany and USSR, where both countries had a common goal. That is why the research work might be interesting not only for people interested in particular these two countries, but also those who find it interesting to investigate the history of the whole Baltic Sea Region.

For better understanding the problem of establishment and development the relations between Soviet Union and Germany, the investigation of following research questions and sub questions can be useful:

1. What were the main goals of external policy of Germany and Soviet Union in 1920s?

1.1 Why the good relationships between two countries were so important for them during that period of time for achieving their own goals?

2. Why the treaty in Rapallo in 1922 between Germany and USSR was so important for them?

2.1 What were the results after Rapallo treaty, and how it changed the relations between two countries?

3. What were the particularities of soviet-germane relations during the prewar years?

3.1 What was the final goal of two countries' political activity?

I am sure that answering to these research questions and sub questions will bring us a clear understanding of the problem of establishment and development of soviet-germane relations in the interwar period.

Method

The research methodology for this thesis will be primarily qualitative. In the view of achievement of the research aim of the master paper (analyzing the particularities of the development of Germane-Soviet relations in the interwar period), its method was formed according the problem-chronological criteria. The work will be descriptive in nature. Sources will include secondary materials concerning the foreign policy of the USSR and Germany during the inter bellum period. Press material from that period will be used to supplement these sources. The research will also include investigation how the foreign policy of both countries was influenced by developments of their internal affairs. As E. H. Carr pointed, "the internal affairs of Germany had, in the period between the wars, direct influence on the international situation"¹. That is why the internal political situation in the USSR and Germany between two world wars is examined first. Research of internal policy of two countries will also include the review of such materials as documents of internal policy of USSR, the writings of eye-witnesses from that period of time as well as some books about the history of diplomacy, and Zhydkov's "History of the state and the law of foreign countries" helps us to analyze internal policy of Germany. These materials will help to identify the factors which influenced the decision-making process in the foreign policy of USSR and Germany and help us to give answers on the research questions and come closer to our research aim – analysis of bilateral soviet-germane relations.

I found also necessary to compare interstate germane-soviet relations before and after the conclusion of Rapallo agreement in 1922. The roots and reasons of the changes in soviet-germane relations are analyzed hereafter also. Several books about the history

¹ Carr E.H. International relations between the two world wars (1919-1939). London: Macmillan and Co LTD, 1963, p. 44.

of Soviet-German relations have been summarized. Trukhnov's "From the history of Soviet-German relations (1920— 1922)", Glazin's "Economy and Foreign Policy of the Weimar Republic (1925-1933)" and Hilger's "The incompatible allies" were researched for better discussion of our research questions about the relations between two states before and after Rapallo Treaty.

The enlightenment and analysis of the particularities of soviet-germane relations during the prewar years help to answer our third research question (What were the particularities of soviet-germane relations during the prewar years? And what was the final goal of two countries' political activity?). The research will include a review of the principal agreements concluded between the two countries (e.g. Nonaggression Pact, which shocked the world, Secret Additional protocol etc), as well as memories of famous writers. All this will help to trace the development of Soviet-German relations over the course of the interwar period.

Theoretical arguments

For better understanding the problem of establishment and development of the relations between Germany and Soviet Russia during interwar period, the theory of international relations during that time has to be discussed. What is the substance of international relations in our topic?

"The theory of international relations appeared after World War I when the necessity of understanding the phenomena and processes characteristic of international life became obvious"². It "tries to logically and reasonably interpret the most essential phenomena and processes as well as interrelations between them"³. The explanation of international relations "allows to formulate prognostic hypotheses, that it forecast their future conditions and situations"⁴.

Germane-Soviet relations during two World Wars can best be explained due to theory of political realism, which fundamental basics were formed in 1920s-1960s. They were based "on the account of the historical experience, search for the certain ideal and logical character of argumentation"⁵. Due to the theory of political realism, the stability of relations between two countries depends on the balance of powers between them, and wars begin because of its breach. Collision of trade and political interests between two countries is a reason for a war. We see it clear, when Germany attack

² Malskyy M. and Matsiakh M. Theory of International Relations, Lviv 2002, p. 389.

³ Malskyy M. and Matsiakh M. Theory of International Relations, Lviv 2002, p. 390.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Malskyy M. and Matsiakh M. Theory of International Relations, Lviv 2002, p.389.

Soviet Russia after signing a Nonaggression Pact 1939, when it needed Russian oil for its motorizing army, when their political interests clashed. The relations between two nations can only be normal when there is stability – balance of powers. Very critical to the theory “balance of powers” was American scientist Spykman, who considered that “countries can only be interested in a balance of powers which makes them at least minimum predominant”⁶.

Niccollo Machiavelli considered that “collision of the interests brings violence, and the only way to avoid its extreme forms, or to protect a country from external enemies is a rough and consequent policy of the state, deprived of tight connections with morality and religious principles”⁷.

20th century was famous by its idea of power which predominated over the idea of law. During that time power became the most important factor of international relations and the most effective mean of foreign policy.

H.J. Morgentau (“Politics among Nations”), who was German emigrant and was persecuted by national-socialists, and moved to USA, considered that “understanding interests as power makes it possible to establish the main goal of politic – to attain the power”⁸. He means that foreign policy of a state can have a character of keeping its prestige in international cooperation (using diplomatic means and military potential), and consists of wishes of powerful states to seize power of other nations. Morgentau calls such policy imperialistic – “which is based not on national interests, but on the interests of influence, and can be realized by three means: arms violence, economic and cultural expansion”⁹.

In my master thesis we see how political situation in Soviet Union and Germany drastically changed in interwar period. I describe 1930-1940 years in the USSR and Germany as the years of fight for power. German authority was preoccupied with the revision of Versailles treaty terms, and the reclamation of powerful germane nation was the mainly spread idea during the 1920 years. Simultaneously, the achievement of international diplomatic recognition was the priority of the Soviet external policy. German-Soviet relations in the interwar period describe well all these factors, what make it easier for us to understand the period before the Second World War began and reasons for that, and we see that the substance of international relations here is a

⁶ Malskyy M. and Matsiakh M. Theory of International Relations, Lviv 2002, p. 229.

⁷ Malskyy M. and Moroz Y. International Relations. History, Theory, Economy. Lviv 2002, p. 89.

⁸ Malskyy M. and Moroz Y. International Relations. History, Theory, Economy. Lviv 2002, p. 97.

⁹ Malskyy M. and Matsiakh M. Theory of International Relations, Lviv 2002, p. 235.

struggle for power between two countries, which both aim was expansion and establishment of their domination beyond their territories.

Previous studies

As the problem of establishment and development of Soviet-German relations in the interwar period is not new, there are a lot of earlier researches on that particular topic. Most of all scientific and documentary books that describe the aspects of the Second World War, had surely mentioned the interwar period, specially the relations between two powerful states of that time – Nazis Germany and Communist Russia.

Some of the books and archive materials on this topic were researched during master thesis writings. Many historical books, press materials and sources about international relations widely describe chosen topic. I researched several memoirs which also explain a lot of details and aspects which are rarely mentioned in historical books. We meet there personal opinions of diplomats and representatives during that period of time.

“The incompatible allies” by Gustav Hilger and Alfred G. Meyer is a combination of academic knowledge and personal experience. Mr. Hilger shared his personal notes, while Mr. Meyer was mostly working with “broader political developments”¹⁰. Mr. Hilger was born in a German family of business and professional men. Spending most of his life in Russia, he felt himself half a Russian. A lot of years he was working in the Main Commission for Aid to Prisoners of War, in German Workers’ and Soldiers’ Council, for German Red Cross, and as a counselor of legation of the German embassy in Russia – “he helped to make German foreign policy in the twenties and thirties”¹¹.

Such questions as prisoners-of-war, Rapallo and other Treaties, the normalization and development of both political and economic relations between Germany and Soviet Russia and other give us a great view about the establishment and development of Soviet-German relations in the period between two World Wars.

While describing the relations between two big states, we see that author describes “the collaboration with the Soviet Union as a painful job, full of mishaps and disappointments”¹², he also points that “a bourgeois state can maintain relations with the Soviet Union which are useful and not immediately dangerous as long as it is at

¹⁰ Hilger G. and Meyer A., *The incompatible allies*, 1953, New York, p. VIII.

¹¹ Hilger G. and Meyer A., *The incompatible allies*, 1953, New York, p. VII.

¹² Hilger G. and Meyer A., *The incompatible allies*, 1953, New York, p. 342.

least as strong, or at most as weak, as the Soviet Union”¹³. The theory “balance of powers” is present here. This book shows a lot of interesting reflections about different meetings between members of two governments, as well as the celebration of important events, where reader can find details describing internal and external situation of two countries, personality of famous politicians etc. Mr. Hilger described a lot of representatives of Germany in Russia during that period, for example Brockdorff Rantzau, Rudolf Nadolny, Herbert von Dirksen and others are well described in this book, both their characters, opinions and acts.

Memoirs “The incompatible allies” reflects clearly that Mr. Hilger cared a lot about the relations between Germany and Soviet Russia. In 1923 he “suggested that it was time to begin regulating the legal bases of German-Soviet trade relations...”¹⁴

The author makes a conclusion that the way for establishment of the relations between two great powers was very long and difficult. As Mr. Hilger was through all this himself, it is not strange that he once mentioned that “there can be no lasting relations between the Soviet Union and the capitalistic world”¹⁵. So, his discussions make it even easier to make a conclusion that described period for both countries was the period of fight for powers. And it is also clear that the period of establishment and development the Soviet-German relations was long and complicating, and during that time they had a lot of political, economic and time obstacles.

Many researches were made about a particular meeting, agreement, event or a person. And this is a good way to learn about Soviet-German relations while researching something particular.

“Betrayal the Hitler-Stalin Pact” by Wolfgang Leonhard describes the Pact which was signed in 1939, its context and details, and what was the reaction of the different people on it.

The aim of his research was to show how this historical event was accepted by individual people, how it influenced their lives and thoughts, how everything politically and psychologically changed.

The author describes 70 eyewitnesses’ opinions from USSR, Western Europe and USA about Non-Aggression Pact. “They were first of all those who trusted Soviet

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Hilger G. and Meyer A., *The incompatible allies*, 1953, New York, p. 179.

¹⁵ Hilger G. and Meyer A., *The incompatible allies*, 1953, New York, p. 164.

Union as a country of socialism, always ready to lead antifascist struggle”¹⁶. In one night all those people stopped trusting the government of Soviet Union.

We get to know, that the witnesses from that time knew nothing about the Additional Protocol as well as Stalin’s further plans.

In his book, Mr. Leonhard describes the opinions of many famous people during that time. One of them was Hans von Gervart, who was working in the German embassy in Moscow during that period. Later he became a critic and opponent of Nazis system, so he described that event very correctly and objective. “Hans von said that that night Stalin told to Ribbentrop that for a long time he wanted to normalize Germane-Soviet relations”¹⁷.

According to a member of Spanish Communist Party H. Ernandes, there were two things which shocked the whole Europe: “first, according to Non-Aggression Pact, the peace had to be kept only between Germany and Soviet Union, while nothing was said about keeping peace with the rest of the world; second, two governments would maintain continual contact and inform one another about problems affecting their common interests”¹⁸.

The author points four main aspects: a) Secret atmosphere. About the preparation of the Pact with Hitler, Stalin told only very few; there is also a supposition that Molotov was the only one who was informed about the Pact. B) Pact and planed division of Poland – important fact that has to be pointed. C) Communist International was not gathered for the discussion. This meant “disrespect of Stalin to Communist International”. D) Absence of directions. The leaders of Communist International didn’t inform about it the leaders of communist parties of other countries. Most of them got to know about the Pact from mass media¹⁹.

The author talks also about the opinions of workers, students and other citizens of USSR. For example, Mark Hallay, student of military school said: “Everything seemed to be so inexplicable and incomprehensible”²⁰. Though common citizens were afraid to discuss that event and express their disagreement with Stalin, their opinions are very important, and knowing how people felt about it gives us a better chance to understand German-Soviet relations.

¹⁶ Leonhard W. Betrayal the Hitler-Stalin pact. 1989 London, p. 6.

¹⁷ Leonhard W. Betrayal the Hitler-Stalin pact. 1989 London, p. 12.

¹⁸ Leonhard W. Betrayal the Hitler-Stalin pact. 1989 London, p. 23.

¹⁹ Leonhard W. Betrayal the Hitler-Stalin pact. 1989 London, p. 44.

²⁰ Leonhard W. Betrayal the Hitler-Stalin pact. 1989 London, p. 60.

We also read the thoughts of German representatives in Russia, who all their life were fighting for the normalization German-Soviet relations, and didn't achieve anything. As we see, Leonhard's research describes the reaction of different people on the Pact, their thoughts, opinions and acts, how their attitude to such powerful country as USSR and its big leader Stalin, as well as the fact of normalization Soviet-German relations was changed. At the end people understood that Hitler's aim with the Non-Aggression Pact was "to buy Stalin's permission to invade Poland"²¹. And all this help us to understand better the period between two World Wars, specially the period close to the beginning of WWII. The research of Leonhard about Non-Aggression Pact helps us to make a conclusion about the negative aspects of that Pact, which were: a) undermining of a moral status of Soviet people and army warfare effectiveness; b) destruction of the international authority of the USSR. Until nowadays, more then 50 millions documents about Nazis victims' destiny have been kept in secret, because of the German legislation about the protection of personal information. And as German Minister for justice Birgitte Zypries pointed: "Germany will work for the archive's opening"²². And it is possible that in six month we will get new information about Nazis Germany, its regime, and there is also a possibility to find a lot of new details and secrets about Soviet-German relations during interwar period.

1. INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE USSR AND GERMANY BETWEEN TWO WORLD WARS

1.1 Forming of USSR and its international recognition

We used to call USSR a country and it is not a mistake. However, it is necessary to realize that this country was the triune unity of political regime, economic and social systems and such state form what united these regime and system. The communist Soviet regime was formed in the course of the Russian revolution in 1917. The communist government was formed during two decades, but the constitutional order of the Bolshevik state what personalized the unity of equal republics was established after the five-years experiment. Bolsheviks not only built the communist order but they created the set of the ideological clichés during two post revolutionary decades.

²¹ Leonhard W. Betrayal the Hitler-Stalin pact. 1989 London, p. 44.

²² <http://www.aftonbladet.se/vss/nyheter/story/0,2789,811971,00.html>

The USSR was unique state formation with own governmental system and the state constitution. The Soviet authority took all possible measures to achieve its wide international recognition. Such political steps were the prerequisites to become the member of value of the international community and to get the opportunity to influence interstate decision-making process. The factors of economic and military character favored the adjustment and normalization of the relations between Soviet Union and the European, Asian and American countries. The international recognition of the USSR made possible to establish and to develop the diplomatic relations with certain states.

Councils appeared very spontaneously. Without any help from political parties they destroyed autocratic power of emperors. Bolsheviks proclaimed Councils as state authority and made efforts to get control over them from inside. Through the councils they tried to establish their dictatorship. And this turned out well for them.

Lenin's party controlled the councils until Gorbachev constitutional reform. Councils consisted not of labor class as it was at the beginning of revolution; higher parties' leaders were members of it. Bolsheviks party didn't want to be responsible for all every-day things. Councils were deprived of political impact, but endowed with full scope of state orders functions. That is how Soviet power was "created".

Bolsheviks had the major power in ruling the country. Communist party destroyed all other ruling parties and had divided itself into two parts – internal and external.

Internal part was a center for all soviet, trades-unions, powerful and other organs; and it was also a lever of dictatorship. The external party consisted of millions of private members, who had a "send forward" function from lower or middle class of population to the leaders of authority.

Dictatorial communist party together with powerful Soviet organs gave possibility to create centralized country in free forms. Constitutional constructions of such country had no meaning at all, because dictatorship of the violent centralized party was hidden behind the constitutions, and it was never reflected there. This was used by communist for building the national state.

1921-1922 Soviet Russia existed as a country with no name. It consisted of 9 formally independent republics.

Political department Central Committee decided to create a commission for discussion a question about the improvement of federal relationships between republics. It was in August 10, 1921. Among the members of the commission there were many who

belonged to Central Committee of Communist Party. Famous among them were Kuibyshev, Ordshonikidze, Sokolnikov, Stalin and other. Formal head of them board was Kuibyshev, and informal – Stalin. There were also representatives from all inclusive republics in this commission. And Russian delegates of that board proposed to make constitutional reform by adding independent Soviet republics into USSR. Russian Federation took away from autonomic neighbors their national status, but they reminded their national borders, capital and flag. It allowed saying that Soviet power successfully solved national question.

Such thought was proposed by commission to Central Committee (CC) and in September 23 it was adopted without making any change. But Lenin was not satisfied with that decision. He had to make some changes in that constitutional reform in order to make members of his party feel guiltless in the eyes of population of national republics, while they never really cared about the independence of republics as there was no place for that under Communist Party dictatorship's conditions. That is why Lenin ironically called the members of his party in other republics "independent". In Lenin's constitutional reform two main principles were: a) leaving the national status to all republics, and b) giving them the same national rights as Russia. That is why the new form of Soviet republics' union was proclaimed. Lenin pointed: "We proclaimed ourselves equal with Ukrainian SSR and others republics; and on equal terms and together with them we enter new union, new federation... Important is not to destroy their independence, but to create new flour – federation of equal republics"²³. It means that Lenin wasn't afraid that word "Russia" would disappear from the name of the country while he proposed to call the "second flour" of federation - the Union of Soviet Socialistic Republics of Europe and Asia (USSR). In October 1922 CC adopted new form of a country proposed by their dictator. The new Constitutional Commission was adopted; Stalin was the head of it. Commission made a decision which gave a possibility for all republics to leave union whenever they just wanted. Since then this norm was always mentioned in all Soviet constitutions. On January 1924 the constitution of USSR was adopted. It was not occasional that in the constitution the name "federation" was only used in the name of 2 republics: Russian and Caucasian. Division of power between center and circumference forms a real

²³ Documents of USSR internal policy, Volume I, 1957-1969, p. 187

federation. Soviet Union called itself a federation, but in reality it was unitary country. Dictatorship undertakes Unitarian.

Soviet Union had the most democratic constitutions, but they were occupied by dictatorship of communist rulers. Combination of democracy and dictatorship couldn't be good for those who had become "Soviet people".

Under Soviet circumstances nationality was found on the border of reality and unreality. The reality of soviet authority created illusion among people from republics that they had their own nationality. However, party committees were real too, and they strengthened soviet power organs by providing unconstitutional dictatorship. Still, the existence of nationality in Soviet colors gave some hope to the patriots' souls beyond Soviet borders.

After the new actor of the international relations, Soviet Union, appeared on the international arena at the beginning of 1920s, the question of its foreign policy had arisen – it was a problem of its international recognition.

In 1920-1921 still Russia established diplomatic relations with Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Finland and Poland. It was a time when Russia totally left international isolation which approached after Bolshevistic revolution. Shortly diplomatic relations with southern neighbors were established. In 1921 agreements about collaboration were signed with Iran, Afghanistan, Turkey, and Mongolia. In March 1921 trade agreements was concluded with England, and in 1921-1922 similar agreements were signed with Germany, Norway, Austria, Italy and Czechoslovakia. This meant a real recognition of USSR on international arena, however, most of big states so far abstained from establishing diplomatic relations with USSR until final regulation of controversial questions.

1921 government of Soviet Russia appealed to Western countries with proposition about conference construction for discussion and regulation of mutual complaints. Conference started on the 10th of April 1922 in Genoa. The representatives of 29 countries took part in it. The interests of all Soviet republics were presented by Russia on that conference. The Soviet commissar of foreign affairs, G. Chicherin, headed its delegation; he moved a proposal about general reduction of arming and prohibition of leading wars by barbarous methods. But the members of conference refused even to discuss that proposition. Although Soviet delegation achieved some success in that conference; it succeeded to conclude Rapallo peaceful agreement with Germany. It

meant a lot for Soviet Union, it was “its first official recognition by a Great Power”²⁴. Both countries agreed on mutual recognition, cancellation of debt claims, and normalization of trade relations.

After not really successful conference in 1922 “Western countries didn’t want to admit power of Soviet Councils, which was Councils’ aim even before 1920 and directly before Lenin’s death”(21st of January 1924) ²⁵. This wish was expressed by Central Executive Committee of USSR, which formed in 1923 National Commissariat of foreign affairs, common for all Soviet republics. During the same year several incidents witnessed about the tension in relationships between USSR and Western Powers. For example, “French government which kept in Bizerta several Russian warships taken out from Black Sea by Wrangel, sold some of them to Romania”²⁶. But the first step did England. British minister of foreign affairs Kerson accused Soviet Union of anti-British propaganda realization in the Near East. England demanded USSR in order form to recall its diplomatic representatives from Iran and Afghanistan. On May 10th, 1923 Soviet diplomat Vorovskoy was killed in Switzerland; after that Russia had yielded in some way. And the crisis was under control and British government canceled its order. In 1924 Great Britain officially acknowledged USSR.

Diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Soviet Russia were much stained. A lot of unsolved questions were a reason for that: prewar loan, British workers’ property; besides British government wasn’t glad over communist propaganda. In August 1924 Soviet-British relationships got spoiled because of so called Communist International Letter. This letter included instructions for British communists with methods of preparations for revolutionary projection in England. But original of “Communist International Letter” wasn’t presented and the truth of its existence hasn’t been proved until today.

Complication of British-Soviet relations was even in 1926, during general strike in England. Russia helped financially and British government accused it of interference with English internal relations. At the beginning of 1927 Great Britain was afraid to loose its position in China, so it required USSR to stop giving military and political support to Chinese government. So relations between two countries became worse

²⁴ Carr E.H. International relations between the two world wars (1919-1939). London: Macmillian and Co LTD, 1963, p. 75

²⁵ Duroseilles J. B. History of diplomacy from 1919 to present days. - Kiev: Osnovy, 1999., p. 72

²⁶ *ibid*

because Russia refused Great Britain in its request. But after the victory of anticommunist powers in China, and when Russia broke off the connections with China – England didn't want to continue the conflict, so it renewed diplomatic relations with USSR in 1929.

1924 Mussolini pointed that “fascist government doesn't find any obstacle to acknowledge Soviet Russia. It requires only economic privileges”²⁷. Same year a lot of other countries recognized USSR internationally: Norway, Austria, Greece, Denmark, China, Albania, Mexico and Hungary. In 1924 also “France acknowledged Soviet Union if its power is recognized by population”²⁸. This message could strike out republic of Georgia, where in 1924 people organized strikes against Moscow. So, 1924 -1925 years can be signified as the years of the diplomatic recognition of the USSR.

In case the Second World War would begin in Europe and Far East, the position of USA was very important to USSR. The cooperation between them could help “to prevent plans of aggressors, and to keep peace”²⁹. But no diplomatic relations existed between USA and USSR. From the first days of its existence, USSR was interested in establishing political and economic relations with USA. From 1921 until 1933 all American administrations refused to keep any official relationships with Soviet Union. But in 1933 the international recognition of USSR was the most vital question in external policy of USA.

There were several reasons for that. Until that time USSR became the second (after USA) most economic powerful country in the world. According military power, so “navy powers of Red Army were much stronger than in USA”³⁰. Washington knew about the danger which was presented to USA from Japanese aggressive policy and Germany and that is why more often USSR was seen as a counterpoise. As a result of global economic depression, USA had to extend its internal market and Soviet Union could become one of the biggest customers of American goods.

There were a lot of different discussions about it. A very good opinion was pointed in newspaper “Washington post” in the 30th of December 1933: “The main argument for the benefit of Soviet Union's international recognition was that Russia was a good

²⁷ Duroseilles J. B. History of diplomacy from 1919 to present days. - Kiev: Osnovy, 1999., p. 73.

²⁸ *ibid*

²⁹ Sipols V. Ya. Diplomatic struggle at the eve of the Second World War. 2nd ed., compl. and suppl. M.: International Relations, 1989., p.39.

³⁰ Sipols V. Ya. Diplomatic struggle at the eve of the Second World War. 2nd ed., compl. and suppl. M.: International Relations, 1989., p.40.

counterpoise for Japan in Eastern Asia, so it could reduce a danger of war between Japan and USA. The main argument against it was strengthening of Russia that could help her to pursue communist propaganda”³¹. “Lately the first Soviet diplomatic representative in USA Troyanovskyy pointed that the reason why Roosevelt acknowledged USSR was the danger from the Far East”³². American journal “Nation” agreed that “America needs Russian help in a Pacific Ocean”³³. And in the 16th of November 1933 two countries changed the diplomatic notes with each other which meant the official establishment of the diplomatic relations between USSR and USA. This was a great achievement for Soviet diplomacy. At the end of XIX century Brazil was the only Latino American country which had trade relations with Russia, but their diplomatic relations were only established in 1945.

So in 1920s a new actor of international relations appeared on the international arena. It was Soviet Union. The USSR was unique state formation with its own governmental system and the state constitution. The soviet authority took all possible measures to achieve its wide international recognition. Such political steps were the prerequisites to become the member of value of the international community and to get the opportunity to influence interstate decision-making process. The factors of economic and military character favored the adjustment and normalization of the relations between Soviet Union and the European, Asian and American countries. The international recognition of the USSR made possible to establish and to develop the diplomatic relations with certain states.

1.2 Internal political situation in postwar Germany and its foreign policy in 1920-30

Peaceful agreements of 1919-1920s became an attempt for solution of the problems which rose after WWI and even before it. It was clear from the beginning that these agreements didn't apply to the interests of the states and population. Most of the attention was paid into Germany, whose fate was already decided by the Treaty of Versailles (June 28, 1919). The last document raised the question of borders and some other questions considered Germany.

³¹ Sipols V. Ya. Diplomatic struggle at the eve of the Second World War. 2nd ed., compl. and suppl. M.: International Relations, 1989., p.41.

³² *ibid*

³³ *ibid*

On Paris Conference incomplete plan was worked out which was included to Versailles Treaty. 231 article of Versailles Treaty said: "Germany admitted its responsibility for the damage which it has done to the governments of unions, and united to them and their citizens in consequence of the war which was tied to them by aggression from German side". In the eyes of different countries and Germany itself, it was a declaration about "moral fault". Some time later German nationalists began to criticize this declaration.

The Treaty of Versailles put on Germany a list of essential restrictions and deprived it of the right to use resources which still belonged to it. Besides, Germany was deprived of all its colonies.

Germany lost its strategically industrial regions, decreased in war industry and army, needed to pay out contributions. All these and other factors caused economic and social misbalances which resulted unemployment, inflation and decrease of living standards. The psychological factors were also a reason for that. Germany was proclaimed globally as the main culprit of the war; citizens stopped trusting the government and state authority fall in the population's eyes. And last factor brought a great possibility for further extremists' movements. It was a time when new nationalistic political organizations, military and half military unions appeared. They were approximately 70, and all of them propagandized same ideology based on extremist racist nationalism, which was spread around during the year when the First World War was over, and prospered in counterrevolutionary atmosphere which ruled over Germany especially in Bavaria. One of such organizations was Nazis party which was established on January 5th 1919 in Munich. First it was called German Labor Party (GLP), but in 1920 it changed its name into National Socialist German Workers Party.

On the 24 of February 1920 in pub "Hofbrauhaus" was the first mass meeting of GLP and their program, was proclaimed there as well. It consisted of 25 points and was written by Hitler and Drexler. The most important points of the program were: fight against "percentage slavery", promise of land to peasants, workers' membership in the rise of factories, and help to small merchants in closing universal shops and escape from Jewish competitors.

So, national-socialism gave to a person everything what she wanted to hear and to embody into life. Nazism didn't present any certain social position; it aspired to grasp whole society. That is why it is called national-socialism – since there are two needs

in the mass consciousness on socio-psychological level. “The first need was to keep those social acquisitions, collective values due to which society lived ten years. This need in mass consciousness associated with socialism. The second was to get national completeness, to return to own history – and was associated with nationalism”³⁴.

Financial support from representatives of big capital and old elite played a major role in pushing Nazis party into the power. For a long time they were looking after replacement of Weimar republic. They considered that Weimar republic included chaos, international humiliation and social-democracy.

At beginning the main goal of national-socialist party was preparation and organization of own plan which would help them to come to power by violent army revolution. In order to achieve the goal, leaders of the party started to create own military organizations (SS Schutzstaffel). During 1923 was organized Nazis Party coalition with two big military organizations “Oberland” and “Reichflagge”.

Party made different plans of revolution. One of them was to gather armed battle planes at night from 10th to 11th of November and to enter Munich and after that inform everyone about its occupation. But Hitler got to know that in the evening of November the eighth Kar was planning to have a speech in the alehouse. Hitler decided that it was the best opportunity to occupy all Bavarian “leaders”.

That plan had very local character – beyond the borders of Bavaria people got to know about it long after Hitler’s time. As a result, Nazis party was divided into several competitor groups. The fraction continued even after the rebirth of national-socialistic party in 1925, which succeed to be a leader party thanks to Hitler’s personal qualities and efforts, which he couldn’t rescue in 1926. But economic depression improved the situation of national-socialist party. And in 1929 “when the crisis broke out, the party consisted of 10 thousands people”³⁵.

From that time (1929) Nazis movements began to play more important role in political activities between magnates and old elite.

Local elections in the same year showed that national-socialist party became stronger. All that time antidemocratic powers in Germany were searching after authoritative change instead of Weimar republic. Even Hitler’s connections with a big business, leaders of industry and agriculture were improving, very few were sure that they need Nazis dictatorship. The connections with military sphere were also expanded. Now

³⁴ “The need of fascism appears in crisis situation”, Dialogue, 1992, N 8 – 10, p. 24

³⁵ Kershow Ya. Hitler. — Rostov-on-Don, 1997, p. 86

“the way for Nazis Party to get to the power laid through getting contract with national-conservatives powers and getting agreement from Hindenburg to make Hitler a chancellor. The agreement with Franz von Papen was reached through rising political power of left-wingers; Hindenburg appointed Hitler as chancellor by pressure of representatives of big business”³⁶. So, on January 30, Nazis government came into power.

Success of Hitler on the post of Führer was promoted by fact that republic with its democratic institutes hadn't yet become a usual form of political system. People were tired of revolutionary effect and war and they were searching political figure similar to monarch. “German Führer had replaced in the souls of German population the previous emperor Wilhelm II”³⁷.

So, after national-socialistic movements had taken the power, it didn't need to apply any special means in order to get the trust from national mass. There were no hindrances for Nazis to start fulfill their direct plans.

As far back as 1920 Hitler appeared with a program of “25 items”, which later became a program of National-Socialist German Workers Party. The program penetrated by chauvinists and nationalists needed revenge for rebirth of “justice liquidated by Versailles”³⁸. So the main goal of the party was spreading of national-socialistic ideology, preparation of special terrorist apparatus for pushing down all democratic and antifascist forces and getting power.

On January 30, 1933 Hitler became Reichchancellor of Germany. He came to power as the head of coalition government. “This commemorated start of gradual destruction of all institutes of democratic parliamentary state, creation of new regime”³⁹.

From the first days of his ruling Hitler began to realize his program, according to which Germany had to achieve its new rebirth. It consisted of two stages. “The first stage had a task to unite all German people into “national unification”, and the second – to change it into “military unification”⁴⁰. In order to unite German people together it was necessary to clear Aryan race from “foreign blood”, to straighten out class and

³⁶ Kershow Ya. Hitler. — Rostov-on-Don, 1997, p. 88.

³⁷ Lux L. Communist theoreticians about fascism: enlightenments and miscalculations // Poms. – 1991, p. 42.

³⁸ Zhydkov O. A. History of the state and the law of foreign countries. Handbook for the students of high schools and faculties. P.1, M., 1999, p. 321

³⁹ Zhydkov O. A. History of the state and the law of foreign countries. Handbook for the students of high schools and faculties. P.1, M., 1999, p. 323

⁴⁰ Zhydkov O. A. History of the state and the law of foreign countries. Handbook for the students of high schools and faculties. P.1, M., 1999, p. 324

ideological disagreements by opposition parties' liquidation and "unifying political system". "Hitler considered that after German internal policy was realized, he could start to work with its foreign policy"⁴¹.

Realization of Hitler's two "stages" found its reflection in legislation and in change of German dictatorship's mechanism. On the 24th of March 1933 German government adopted a new law "about improvement of crisis situation among people and in state", thanks to which government got full legislative power including authority on budget questions. That law emphasized that all agreements with foreign countries and their fulfillment didn't need the agreement from parliament. Preparation of all laws was made by secretariat of national-socialistic party led by Hitler. It was the end of Weimar republic with all its representative institutes.

After president Hindenburg's death 1st of August 1934, government decision was to liquidate the post of president, and from that day all power belonged to Hitler – who became Führer and Reichchancellor until the last day of his life. He also got a right to assign not only the government, but all high positions in Germany, and his successor. From that time Hitler began slowly destroy his opposition. After Communist Party prohibition in 1933, all trade-unions were dissolved. The existence of other political parties except national-socialistic, was forbidden.

Very important elements of Nazis dictatorship's mechanism were organs which realized great ideological "elaboration" of German population. In 1933 the ministry of enlightenment and propaganda was formed to which press radio, book editions were submitted. Cultural policy of the government tried to change literature and art into "fight instruments of the party". In 1933 was the public burning of books which were the opponents to national-socialism.

German judicial system was changed too. Nazis judges fully objected personal rights of German citizens. Besides ordinary courts in every judicial district were made special courts for straighten with the opponents of Nazis regime. In 1934 was created so called independent national tribunal dealing with state betrayers which didn't even foresee to lead previous investigation.

In order to get global rule, government had to interfere into economy of the country. And in 1933 General German Council was formed whose task was to decide general directions of economic development. It was the first step for establishment the

⁴¹ *ibid*

totalitarian form of the ruling in economic sphere. All economic branches were divided into “empire’s groups”, the number of which decreased from 11 to 6: industry, banks, commerce, insurance, energetic and handicraft.

In 1935 wide militarization of German economy began which was shown not only in the growth of weapon production, but also in subordination many industrial branches especially chemical, aircraft, metallurgical into war preparation. In 1936 a four-year plan was made about changing all German economy to “military tracks”.

Militarization of the industry, thorough intervention into economy by state caused the review of civic rights and the attempt to create new “national” civil code based on Hitler’s understanding of individual freedom, which has to be limited if it objects to the freedom of the nation. The main principle of the new code was: right – is that what is useful for German population.

Nazis had a total control under workers as well. After they got the power they dispersed all workers’ trade unions and created “German Labor Front”, which became main official organization for workers.

Nazis had a goal to create the strongest army in the world. In 1935 in Germany was proposed general military obligation for men in age between 18 and 45. The period of service was first 1 year, and later it became 2 years. In 1934 Hitler together with the position of president took also the post of German commander-in-chief. Führer introduced oath of faith of each soldier and officer about personal faith to Hitler and willingness to sacrifice him for the sake of its fulfillment. In 1935 the proclamation of that oath became obligatory for all state employees. In order to concentrate all military power, Hitler in 1938 liquidated the Ministry of Defense.

Hitler created also reconnaissance apparatus of the secret service of government, which had Soviet Union as the main object of the work. The centers of investigation were organized by German embassy in Moscow, by big monopolies etc.

So, Hitler’s army became important element for weighting down the opponents of national-socialism. In 1936 it was allowed to use weapon for pressing down the “inland disorder”. For the same reason Nazis created strong punitive (terrorist) apparatus which began forming even before they came into power. In 1920 first armed groups appeared – Nazis “order service” which protected national-socialistic meetings. These groups were also used for the organization of disorder on the meetings of the left.

So, the processes which happened in the German internal policy under the time national-socialists ruled the country with Hitler as a leader, are the great examples of the realization of totalitarian form of government, which was typical for Germany and very unique by itself.

2. Soviet-Germane relations at the beginning of 1920s – end of 1930s.

2.1 Relationships between Soviet Russia and Germany in 1920-22.

Soviet government directed its efforts to normalize relations with Germany, realizing that this can be a guarantee of peaceful prosperity of German and Soviet nations. “We want, we are ready – said Chicherin – to establish economic relations with Germany, we wish to uphold friendly relationships with her, but unfortunately not all our steps end with success”⁴². On the 19th of April 1920 USSR and Germany concluded agreement about the exchange of prisoners of war and intern persons. In spite of that, German government continued to lead anti-Soviet propaganda.

Even in the first years of Weimar Republic’s existence, they also tried to rebuild strong imperial Germany, changing it as well into the place for the fight against communism. In 1920s there were a lot of different White Guards spy organizations (White Guards were members of troops fighting against the Red Guards and the Red Army in the Civil War 1918-1920).

German political actors used anti bolshevism. With slogan to fight against bolshevist danger in the country, German government worked in two fronts. From one side it supported counterrevolution, from another – had a plan about the rebuilding of militarization inside of the country. As it was against Versailles agreement, another solution was found. So, it was proclaimed the danger of aggression from the East side. In the memories of allied control commission from November 9th 1920, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Germany Simons wrote: “The events from the last period considerably reduced the hope for the fast end of the conflict between Poland and Russia. According to information, given by German and foreign press during last days, the government of USSR prepared the new attack on Lithuanian border. It is obvious that under such circumstances, the population of Eastern Prussia is terrified

⁴² Documents of USSR foreign policy, V.II, M. 1958, p. 650

of the new danger”⁴³. Simons demanded to reconsider the decision of commission “About liquidation of German military organizations”.

When Allied commission refused in Simons’ request, he began to confirm that West underestimates Germany as anti Bolshevistic power. General Seeckt expressed such thoughts in the letter to his friend on January 31, 1920. “We are ready to make a rampart against Bolshevism, as you can see it is not only in our interests, but also in the interests of Western countries. We just ask them to provide us with the weapon”, - he wrote⁴⁴. Later Seeckt spoke about normalization of Soviet-German relations. At the same time he continued to be enemy of communism.

The government of Germany guided ambiguous policy according USSR at the beginning of 1920s. When the relations between Soviet Union and Germany began to be normalized, German power at the same time “was afraid to make strong states angry, such as USA, France and Great Britain”⁴⁵. As a result famous official of eastern department of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Germany wrote: “The German way to Rapallo was forced, and Germany was pushed on that way by Western countries”⁴⁶.

And famous social-democrat Gustav Hocke also said that “agreement with Moscow was forced...”⁴⁷. Such politicians as Hocke, Simons and Blücher did all possible to widen provocation against Soviet Russia and to slow down the normalization of Germane-Soviet relations. In some way they even succeeded to congeal for some time Soviet-German commerce and economic connections.

In spite of anti-Soviet propaganda, population demanded from government to stop unfriendly policy with Soviet Russia. With each month interests of trade with Moscow increased. And in November 1920 for enlargement Soviet-German commerce, the German-Soviet economical union was made. Famous company “Trade house Wagner and Further” in 1920 sent its representatives to the south of Russia for learning all possible trade enlargements. And in 1921 their report was sent to Reichstag. It emphasized that Germany and Soviet Russia could have mutual economic relations. “Export of agricultural products from Russia and export of

⁴³ Vesnik NKND, 1920, N 3-4, p. 59

⁴⁴ Trukhnov G. M. From the history of Soviet-German relations(1920— 1922). — Minsk: BGU Pub. House., 1974,p. 24.

⁴⁵ *ibid*

⁴⁶ *ibid*

⁴⁷ Deutsche Tageszeitung, 1920, 6/XI

industrial goods from Germany to Russia can recover both countries – only this can help Germany to overcome its difficulties”⁴⁸.

The fight of German populations for the normalization of the relations with Soviet Russia had great influence on policy of German government. German government was sure that anti-Soviet policy came into dead. Representatives of some parties openly expressed their displeasure that government slows down the normalization of German-Soviet relationships. When in 1920s Reichstag discussed about the renewal of diplomatic relations between Germany and Soviet Union, deputy Kemnis, member of National party declared: “At the same time when misfortune met us, we are lonely, feel the necessity; we can not throw away the idea of renewal the diplomatic relations with Russia”⁴⁹.

The growth of economic crisis and the absence of big markets for German goods more and more confirmed the importance of commerce with Soviet Russia. Already in 1921 a lot of capitalistic countries established economic relations with Russia. German bourgeoisie was careful about English competition and it carefully followed after economic connections between Scandinavian countries and Soviet Russia. German industrialists were afraid that Germany could stay isolated while other countries could outstrip it on the way to Russian markets.

It was important for Germany to renew, broken in November 5th 1918, relations with Soviet Russia. It was the main problem of its internal and external policies. For normalization of the relation between Germany and Russia spoke out: “East-European economic alliance, which united more then 500 owners of industrial and commercial firms, Eastern export-import association, German companies “Germes”, “Ruben und Bielefeld”, “Otto Wolffa” and others”⁵⁰.

And in February 1921, in Moscow negotiations between Soviet and German representatives began. First, they passed slowly, but under influence of London’s reparation conference and after signing of new Soviet-German agreement, on March 16th 1921 government of Germany concluded temporary commercial agreement with

⁴⁸Trukhnov G. M. From the history of Soviet-German relations(1920— 1922). — Minsk: BGU Pub. House, 1974, p. 25.

⁴⁹ Verhandlungen des Reichstages, Bd 347, p. 2048.

⁵⁰ Norden A. Between Berlin and Moscow. M., 1967, p. 285.

Soviet Russia. “It was the first agreement where Germany appeared as equal country”⁵¹.

At the same day the addition to the agreement from April 19, 1920, about return of prisoners of war from both countries to homeland, was signed. This addition also pointed that “both governments take the responsibility in a shortest time to return to homeland all prisoners of war who were still not returned”⁵². Control organs from both countries were assigned, which had to take care about the fulfillment of signed addition.

Soviet-German agreement from May 6, 1921 was very significant. It helped to develop good connections between Germany and Soviet Russia. “Though Soviet representation in Germany was officially not called diplomatic, in reality it was”⁵³.

Thanks to agreements of 1921, diplomatic representations both in Moscow and Berlin were established. That is why it was a step forward in Soviet-German relations.

As Gustav Hilger pointed out in his memoirs “in 1921 and 1922 conditions were very propitious for economic relations between Germany and the Soviet Republic”⁵⁴

In spring and summer 1921 in Moscow and in St. Petersburg, the representatives from some German companies came and established business contacts with Soviet economical organs. At the same time empirical Ministry of Economy informed Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs that “it has an intention to send another group of business people, who are interested in commerce with Soviet Russia and wish to get acquainted with specifically conditions and to establish contacts on place”⁵⁵.

But when Rosen became Minister for Foreign Affairs anti-soviet position among leaders increased. Rosen was famous as one of the authors of Brest-Lithuanian agreement and as an enemy of Russia and Slovak people. After he took the post as a Minister of Foreign Affairs, Rosen dismissed the head of Eastern department of the same Ministry von Maltzan from his post, because of his sympathy with Soviet-German economic rapprochement and appointed him as German representative in Greece. Member of “Red cross” Hilgard was sent back from Moscow because he seemed to be “too Prussian” for Rosen.

⁵¹ Trukhnov G. M. From the history of Soviet-German relations(1920— 1922). — Minsk: BGU Pub. House., 1974,p. 26

⁵² Kobliakov I. K. From Brest to Rapallo. M., 1952, p. 140

⁵³ Kobliakov I. K. From Brest to Rapallo. M., 1952, p. 140

⁵⁴ Hilger G. and Meyer A. The Incimpatible allies, New York, p. 166.

⁵⁵ Trukhnov G. M. From the history of Soviet-German relations(1920— 1922). — Minsk: BGU Pub. House., 1974, p. 28

Though government pretended to fulfill established agreements, general anti Soviet tendency still continued. It was proved by incident with ship “Transbalt” and by interference of German navy into territorial waters of Soviet Russia.

In the message of the 9th of November 1921 from representatives of Soviet Russia in Germany to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was written: “On July 26 German navy... without permission from Soviet power and without notification entered territorial waters of Soviet Russia in Murmansk region”⁵⁶. German ships neglected Soviet laws with their actions.

It happened at the same time with provocation according Soviet ship “Transbalt”. That ship had to bring to homeland 446 prisoners of war. It belonged to “Russian Red Cross”. In 1921 “after the ship came to Stettin it was met by police cutters, and it was prohibited for the command to land”⁵⁷. Soviet representatives protested against ship “Transbalt” provocation. On the request German government in every way tried to calm down Soviet Russia about the incident with “Transbalt”.

The incident with “Transbalt” lasted rather long period of time. Under all that time the question about Soviet-German relations was often discussed. Still, despite of government’s anti-Soviet policy, the interest about Soviet Russia in Germany increased. That is why at the end of March 1921 Soviet representative in Germany send a letter to a Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Germany where he wrote that “taking into consideration interests of German population and German artists in Russian masterpieces, Soviet national commissariat of education wishes to organize in the shortest time art exhibition in Germany”⁵⁸. After five weeks, Soviet representation in Berlin got respond that in spite of the exhibition’s importance, the competent organs in Germany considered that it was not a proper time for that.

While the government continued to show its hostile attitude to Soviet Russia, German population supported Soviet country. For example, during the hunger in Soviet Union in 1921 they responded to the request about the help. Help committees were created through the whole country.

Expressing anti Soviet position, Rosen considered that such position was the most important method of German external policy. As it was mentioned before, Rosen

⁵⁶ Soviet-German relations from talks in Brest-Litovsk to signing the Treaty of Rapallo. 1919-1922. Coll. doc. Vol. II. M., 1968.- p. 356.

⁵⁷ Soviet-German relations from talks in Brest-Litovsk to signing the Treaty of Rapallo. 1919-1922. Coll. doc. Vol. II. M., 1968. – p. 354-355.

⁵⁸ Documents of USSR foreign policy, vol. IV, M.: Politizdat, 1960, p. 39.

became a Minister of Foreign Affairs of Germany and dismissed all supporters of tight connections with Soviet Russia from their posts. But it didn't hinder to stop the development of Soviet-Germane trading and economic relations. German industry needed Russian market and resources. During that time "import from Germany increased from 28,1 millions rubles in 1920 to 160,2 millions rubles in 1921 and to 367,1 millions rubles in 1922; Soviet export to Germany increased too – from 2,5 to 36,2 millions rubles"⁵⁹.

During that time a lot of common Soviet-German companies were established. The cooperation in scientific-technical sphere continued to develop. The bureau of foreign science and techniques in Berlin was very significant, which did a great job in 1921. A lot of German intellectuals in 1919-20 supported the normalization of Soviet-German relations. A great payment in this case made Albert Einstein. A big supporter of friendship between Germany and Soviet was famous German writer Tomas Mann, who pointed that "Russia and Germany must get to know each other better. They have to go "hand in hand" to meet a future"⁶⁰.

Already at the end of 1921 a lot of mixed Soviet-German economic companies were actively working. Many industrial groups in Germany were interested in Soviet market and they often sent requests to the Ministry of Economy about sending the delegations to Moscow.

Supporting such tendency, German representative in Soviet Russia pointed that "German government took the right way by starting rapprochement with Russia. German industrial groups have to support it"⁶¹.

The improvement of the relations between Russia and Germany in 1921-1922 created the conditions for final solution of disputable questions between two countries. It was also promoted by next factors: resignation of Minister for Foreign Affairs F. Rosen, return to government secretariat people who supported idea of renewal diplomatic relations between Germany and Soviet Russia; and further pressure on Germany from countries-winners.

However, the better economic Germane-Soviet relations became, the more problems appeared in the following ways of development these relations. German companies started active commerce with Soviet Russia and demanded immediate renewal of

⁵⁹ Commercial relations of the USSR with capitalistic countries. M., 1938, p. 128.

⁶⁰ Tomas Mann. Old and New. Stockholm, 1953, p. 477.

⁶¹ Soviet-German relations from talks in Brest-Litovsk to signing the Treaty of Rapallo. 1919-1922. Coll. doc. Vol. II. M., 1968, p. 411.

diplomatic relations with it. The Ministry of Industry in 1921-1922 continued to receive from the whole country demands about making good conditions for the development of German-Soviet commerce. “We can not allow English, French or Belgian companies seize Russian natural resources and market. With all our might, German textiles have to get a respective place in Russia. Ok, Russia can not pay cash for the goods, but in future the situation will change”- said managers of one big company⁶².

People and associations which supported the idea of renewal trade and diplomatic relations between Germany and Soviet Russia associated this question with the rebuilding of economy in postwar Europe. For example, the head of General energetic company Felix Daich considered that without Soviet Russia it would be impossible to improve European economic life. “The normalization of situation in Europe is impossible - he wrote - until people start to regard to Russian government with trust”⁶³.

Some newspapers, for example Frankfurter Zeitung, Berliner Tagenbalt and others, also started to support actively the renewal of trade and diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia.

At the end of December 1921, there was a meeting between the Minister for Industry and representatives of German oil companies, where the questions about trade with Russia were discussed. The leader of German company “Continental- caoutchouc” in 1921 wrote a letter to the Minister for Industry, and asked to familiarize him with the situation on Russian caoutchouc factories. He wrote: “We follow carefully after run of Germane-Soviet trade negotiations. We would like to see a positive result”⁶⁴.

A great interest in the trade with Soviet Russia during that time had also the leaders of factories which produced cigarettes. They needed a help from Russia, and Minister for Industry got a letter where leaders of cigarettes’ factories wrote: “We need to establish good relations with Russia and to get sufficient amount of raw material. Before war, Russia exported to Germany big amount of tobacco. The war and the stoppage of connections deprive us of important source of raw materials”⁶⁵.

⁶² Trukhnov G. M. From the history of Soviet-German relations(1920— 1922). — Minsk: BGU Pub. House., 1974,p. 37.

⁶³ Izvestiya.- 1922.- December 17

⁶⁴ Trukhnov G. M. From the history of Soviet-German relations(1920— 1922). — Minsk: BGU Pub. House., 1974,p. 38.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

Among supporters of the idea of normalization the relations between Germany and Soviet Russia were also a lot of owners of factories and merchants who led an active commerce with Russia long before the revolution and didn't stop it in spite of all difficulties connected with Civil War.

At the beginning of 1922, "the image of Soviet Russia in international relations became better and the interest of business German groups in economic relations with Russia increased"⁶⁶. At that time in Berlin double-sided Germane-Soviet negotiations started, and representatives of German industry including the deputy of government Otto Gugo visited Moscow.

After his trip to Soviet Russia, Gugo sent an interesting report to the Minister for Industry, where, together with different jokes and anecdotes about Moscow, he pointed that Soviet government made all efforts for renewal destroyed economy of the country. He wrote: "We need to develop trade with Russia and make all efforts to get her blessing for Europe. Only when this goal is realized it would be possible to reach balance in the world. Germany is particular interested in solution the Russian problem, and even more then other countries wishes it political and economic re-establishment"⁶⁷. It's clear that Gugo supported the idea of development economic relations with Soviet Russia.

Summarizing the above mentioned, we can draw a conclusion that the way for renewal diplomatic relations between Soviet Russia and Germany was long and difficult. Many complicated hindrances had the diplomacy of both countries to overcome before the negotiations, which had to be in Rapallo, would bring a successful result.

On the 16th of April 1922 Rathenau and Chicherin met in Rapallo, near Genua. They signed an agreement where both countries refused from their debts and reparations for war damages, which they easily could demand from each other. Due to this agreement, diplomatic and consular relations between two countries were renewed. Both governments decided also to use in their trade and economic relations the principle of the greatest assistance.

⁶⁶Trukhnov G. M. From the history of Soviet-German relations(1920— 1922). — Minsk: BGU Pub. House., 1974,p. 39.

⁶⁷ Trukhnov G. M. From the history of Soviet-German relations(1920— 1922). — Minsk: BGU Pub. House., 1974,p. 40.

Assignment of Rapallo Treaty meant final abolition of Brest-Litovsk agreement and stop of isolation of councils in economic and political activities. Germany became the first Western country which renewed diplomatic relations with USSR.

So, the way for establishment diplomatic relations between two countries was long and complicated. During 1920-22 Soviet-German relations were tense and unstable. Economy and finance were the main factors which supported and vivified these relations. Rapallo Treaty in April, 16th, 1922 was the compromise which caused the renewal of diplomatic relations between Soviet Russia and Germany, and for some time guaranteed stable prosperity for both countries.

2.2 The Soviet-German relations after signing the Treaty of Rapallo

Before signing the Treaty of Rapallo, German ruling circles offered service to the Western countries in the organization of the common campaign against the Soviet Union for many times. These plans of the German leaders did not remain without attention of German politicians. Lulled by a victory over Germany, the Western countries did not desire to refuse the rights which followed from the Versailles peace treaty. In such conditions, the German politicians faced the dilemma: which country should Germany rely on in restoration of its European and global positions – the Soviet Union or the Western powers. The western orientation which meant rapprochement with former enemies, the Entente countries, seemed necessary, expedient and natural. Moreover, the West had serious intention to involve Germany in anti-Soviet struggle, leaving the Versailles order conserved. And France, especially in the first half of twenties, insisted on its unconditional implementation. Therefore, “...being imperialistic itself, but being knocked down”, Germany was forced „to search for the ally against imperialism”. „This is the position we should use”, – considered V.Lenin.⁶⁸ .

Among the big capitalist powers of the world, Germany was first to move towards an establishment of good-neighbor relations with the USSR. Soviet Union that was in political and economic isolation and Germany that was in not less difficult situation signed on April, 16, 1922 the treaty in Rapallo which cancelled mutual claims and opened a way to mutually beneficial cooperation. In Rapallo, the common aversion of the European policy of the Great Britain and France worked. The Western states were

⁶⁸ Glazin V. P. Economy and Foreign Policy of the Weimar Republic (1925-1933): West-European Aspects. – Kamyans-Podilskiy: K-II. State ped. Univ., inf-pub. Dept, 1999, p. 106.

designers and guards of the Versailles shackles for Germany; and they were the main enemies of world proletariat and socialism for the USSR. The Treaty of Rapallo was also the beginning of wide cooperation between the Reichswehr and the Red Army and was extended to sphere of military-industrial manufacture. Both countries were strongly interested in re-equipment which was possible only with setting up close mutual connections. For the Soviet Russia, the main thing was to obtain the German equipment and technical experience. Germany, in turn, needed a base for testing new types of weapons, training the military staff and manufacturing weapons for Reichswehr. Germany acted similarly in Netherlands, Sweden, Turkey, Spain, and Finland. But, from the point of keeping in secret the German re-equipment which violated clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, such cooperation with Soviet Union was especially attractive. The closed Soviet society gave Germany a unique opportunity “to have a modern secret base for illegal arms”⁶⁹, reliably guaranteed preservation of secret, information about which simply could not get in press severely controlled by party-state machinery. However, it is obvious that each party aimed to realize its own purposes in this partnership. Germany intended to bypass interdictions of the Treaty of Versailles, especially its military articles, and to prepare for revenge. Soviet Union, according to the concept of protection of socialist Motherland in conditions of capitalist environment, aimed to create the powerful military industry at any cost. Also, military cooperation encouraged bilateral Soviet-German economic activities. The Treaty of Rapallo was considered by Soviet government as the beginning of pursuing New Economic Policy foreign policy aspect – a principle of peaceful co-existence of the countries with different social systems. For Germany and its government, the Treaty of Rapallo was the forced step that could compel the western states to revise the peace treaty. That is why Stresemann considered it as “necessary political evil”⁷⁰. It was expected in Berlin that the threat of the Soviet-German union will force the Great Britain and France to make concessions. Inside Germany Stresemann needed the internal opposition as well as outside Germany interim balance between the East and the West was necessary. The former and the latter were means of pressure on the western states.

⁶⁹ Soviet-German military cooperation 1920-1933 (firstly published documents). — „International life”, no. 6, 1990, p.118.

⁷⁰ Kellermann V. Schwarzer Adler, Weisser Adler. Die Polenpolitik der Weimarer Republik. Köln, 1970, p. 88.

The attitude of ruling circles of the Weimar Republic to the Treaty of Rapallo and the Soviet-German cooperation was ambiguous. We can mark here at least two general approaches – the line of Seeckt and that of the German ambassador in the USSR U. Brockdorff-Rantzau. The former intended to resolve the problems connected with the Treaty of Versailles as soon as possible. The latter was prudent and took into account realities of the European world. The former arose among a part of generals led by Seeckt; the latter emerged in political-diplomatic circles of foreign policy department of G. Stresemann.

General Seeckt was probably the initiator of the Soviet-German military cooperation and undoubtedly the author of the first line. His ideas were based on the views of German generals which had lost the war of 1914-1918. Being the opponent of war on two fronts, Seeckt thought that the USSR is interested in cooperation with Germany as it eliminates a united front against it in the West and the East. Poland also cannot be used against the USSR as long as it has "unkind" Germany behind its back. Moreover, the USSR had territorial claims on West-Ukrainian and West-Byelorussian lands to the Poland itself. But, Seeckt thought that the USSR can be assured of Germany favor only on the basis of contractual relations, otherwise "there can be an impression that having received concessions in the West Germany will sacrifice relations with Russia"⁷¹. Only after that Germany should bother itself to make the USSR leave its behavior unchanged even after signing pacts with Poland and France. And, "military cooperation should become a guarantee of good mutual relations between Russia and Germany"⁷².

As a result of that, Seeckt had to play a role of the advocate and the defender of treaties with Soviet Union many times. When in 1925 question of Germany joining the League of Nations arose, "Seeckt was seriously afraid of Russians who could see violation of the Treaty of Rapallo in it"⁷³, that, certainly, did not mean that Seeckt was the supporter of Bolshevist Russia and worried for its security. The commander of the Reichswehr stated his true intentions in the memorandum of September, 11, 1922 to the Chancellor of Germany J. Wirt from which it was obvious that the purpose of cooperation was not strengthening of the Soviet Union, but assistance in developing

⁷¹ Ursachen und Folgen, Bd. 6, p. 659.

⁷² Ibid, p. 660.

⁷³ Die ungeliebte Republik, p. 150.

the industries which would set up deliveries of cartridges for the Reichswehr. And the main thing, Seeckt hoped to speed up realization of his military ideas – to prepare technical basis for the future expansion of armed forces of many millions, to give armies the weapons adequate to a level of technical progress achievements.

It is worth noticing that Germans succeeded in this plan. It is known that hitlerite general – field marshal Manstein stated that “all or nearly all arms of the German army during the Second World War had been created before fascists gained power”⁷⁴. At the same time Seeckt did not exclude an opportunity of joint operations of the Reichswehr and the Red Army against Poland and France. Such ideas seized not only Seeckt. Even after his resignation the part of militaries continued to draw their plans on the basis of the Seeckt ideas. As we can understand from the letter of the influential manufacturer Arnold Rechberg addressed to G. Bergard, on the instructions of the Reichswehr command, oberst Nikolai developed plans of joint Reichswehr and Red Army operations against Poland and France.

Rechberg writes in the abovementioned letter: “the Pro-Soviet policy of the certain clique in the Reichswehr Ministry was not approved by the majority of the officers”⁷⁵. Rechberg himself, being the active supporter of participation of Germany in anti-Soviet plans, not only disapproved the Seeckt plan, but also was confident that aspiring to connections with the Reichswehr “the Kremlin heads pursue far-sighted goals – they want to provoke new war in Europe final result of which would be a victory of Bolshevism in the European countries”⁷⁶.

Brockdorff-Rantzau line turned to be more realistic and accordingly more influential. The ambassador of Germany in the Soviet Union understood that for the Soviet state built on class ideology assistance to capitalist system is unnatural. Brockdorff-Rantzau views at an opportunity of the Soviet-German relations are quite clearly stated in the message to the President of Germany on July, 8, 1926. “Utopian hopes, – he wrote, – which certain circles associate with the German-Russian relations are false and dangerous... The military union which present head of the Council of People's Commissaries Rykov offered to me two years ago, is out of question; and hopes that Russian “red comrades” will unite with Germany to beat France remind me

⁷⁴ Wunsche W. Strategie der Niederlage, Zur imperialistischen deutschen Militarwissenschaft zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen. Berlin, 1961, p. 29.

⁷⁵ Ursachen und Folgen, Bd. 7, p. 504.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 504.

children's amusements. 1812 or 1813 will not be repeated"⁷⁷. "My aspirations, – Brockdorff-Rantzau continued, – with my stay on a today's position, are directed to creation of counterbalance to the West by close connections with Soviet Russia, and – this expression is disgusting to me – not to depend on favor or disgrace of the Entente powers". "As I spoke a year ago, our relations with Soviet Russia permanently remain marriage of convenience; a desirable marriage is far from reality"⁷⁸.

Brockdorff-Rantzau well understood that Rapallo politics of Germany irritates the West, but saw also how necessary is support from the Soviet Union which, in turn, also tended to make temporary mutual understanding with the capitalist world.

Also, Brockdorff-Rantzau line found support from many political parties. To be convinced of it, it is enough to analyze statements of representatives of different parties in the Reichstag foreign affairs commission. Thus, on February, 23, 1927 after the message of Reichswehr Minister O. Gessler about existence of contacts of Reichswehr with the USSR for several years, social democrats and communists made their speeches in discussion. Noticing that even president F. Ebert had not known about confidential connections between the Reichswehr and the Red Army for long time, social democrat R. Gilferding spoke in support of continuation of politics of balancing and for good relations with the Soviet Union, "but not so as to come to enmity with the West"⁷⁹. "Germany cannot pursue European policy, -- he said, -- if it breaks off connections with Russia..."⁸⁰, and called "to stir up German efforts in the East to persuade the western countries to make concessions on negotiations concerning clarification of the Rhine area which came into impasse"⁸¹.

Communists had the special position; their representative Arthur Rosenberg let know that only radical internal transformations will help policy of national liberation "otherwise, -- he emphasized, -- Russian people will not struggle for bourgeois Germany"⁸². The State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs K. Schubert stated

⁷⁷ Glazin V. P. Economy and Foreign Policy of the Weimar Republic (1925-1933): West-European Aspects. – Kamyans-Podilskiy: K-P. State ped. Univ., inf-pub. Dept, 1999. p. 110.

⁷⁸ Glazin V. P. Economy and Foreign Policy of the Weimar Republic (1925-1933): West-European Aspects. – Kamyans-Podilskiy: K-II. State ped. Univ., inf-pub. Dept, 1999, p. 110.

⁷⁹ Ursachen und Folgen, Bd. 7, p. 507.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 500.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 501.

⁸² Ibid., p. 501.

an idea that “only observance of the Treaty of Locarno and the friendship treaty with Russia of April, 1926, only friendly connections with the USSR will make the West resolve a problem of the German sovereignty in Rhineland”⁸³.

However, there can be an impression that, too many people were satisfied with such level of the Soviet-German military cooperation which would not provoke objections in the West and did not lead to threateningly sharp deterioration of situation in the East and at which the German foreign policy pendulum would not leave allowable boundaries in the space of balancing between the East and the West.

Demonstration of close Soviet-German relations did not remain without consequences. In particular, the well-known diplomat, English ambassador in Berlin lord d'Abernon skeptically thought of the Treaty of Rapallo and reasonably did not believe in possibility of “teamwork of German right and Russian left”⁸⁴. Nevertheless he actively opposed intimidations and pressure upon Germany, being afraid that “it will lead to the Russian-German union”⁸⁵. London and Paris more and more tended to think that “Germany should enter the family of European peoples as its full member”⁸⁶.

Locarno agreements were serious attempt of the West to turn Germany from positions of balancing. The West countries, in particular the Great Britain, expected that “Germany which gained freedom of actions in the East will begin to curtail Rapallo policy and will join an anti-Soviet policy of the West”⁸⁷.

"Post-Locarno" euphoria in Germany was so strong that even far-sighted Stresemann for some time intended to refuse the policy of balancing in favor of peaceful revision of the Treaty of Versailles, especially its territorial clauses, on basis of the Treaty of Locarno. However, expectations did not come true and “Stresemann whose

⁸³ Glazin V. P. Economy and Foreign Policy of the Weimar Republic (1925-1933): West-European Aspects. – Kamyans-Podilskiy: K-II. State ped. Univ., inf-pub. Dept, 1999, p. 110.

⁸⁴ Die ungeliebte Republik, p. 169.

⁸⁵ Ambassador of World. Pages from Lord d'Abernon diary, p. 30.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 48.

⁸⁷ Glazin V. P. Economy and Foreign Policy of the Weimar Republic (1925-1933): West-European Aspects. – Kamyans-Podilskiy: K-II. State ped. Univ., inf-pub. Dept, 1999, p. 111.

sympathies always were on the side of the West”⁸⁸, did not allow “involving himself into a crusade against Soviet Union”⁸⁹.

The policy of balancing designed mainly for cancellation of the Treaty of Versailles continued to remain a necessary reality. Intention of Germany as a big state to conduct independent politics in Europe and the world could not be ignored here. "Expelled" from many of its pre-war commodity markets, Germany was extremely interested in trade with the Soviet Union. Therefore, support of normal relations with the USSR, within the certain framework, was vital for Germany in terms of economy and politics. Also, business groups understood that “Great Britain could not offer the German capital more that it would lose if resolute breakup with the Soviet Union took place”⁹⁰.

However, since 1925 the western field of attraction in the system of policy of balancing became stronger, reduction of the German participation in building the Soviet defensive industry had begun. Military cooperation was restricted to experience exchange, creation of the German educational centers in the Soviet Union (tank school in Kazan, aero chemical station near Saratov). In the summer of 1925 before signing the Treaty of Locarno, Germany in any possible way delayed signing the Soviet-German trading agreement. And the head of the German delegation on negotiations Kerner bluntly declared that “...the German government cannot make the decision on economic issues without preliminary private agreements with interested persons”⁹¹, i.e. industrialists and bankers. Many of them disagreed with the clauses of the Treaty of Rapallo and they were ready to present their claims. In September, 1925 the German delegation proposed “to form the conciliatory commission for consideration and resolution of all claims of the German firms and persons collected in last years”⁹².

All this, together with the difficult conditions of the credit offered by the German side, seemed like a protraction of ratification of the trading agreement. The credit agreement, eventually signed in June, 1926 opened “a way to wide use of credits by

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 112.

⁸⁹ Sethe P. *Deutsche Geschichte im letzten Jahrhundert*. Frankfurt am Main, 1960, p. 302.

⁹⁰ Glazin V. P. *Economy and Foreign Policy of the Weimar Republic (1925-1933): West-European Aspects*. – Kamyanets-Podilskiy: K-II. State ped. Univ., inf-pub. Dept, 1999, p. 112.

⁹¹ Documents of the USSR foreign policy, VOL. 8, p. 365.

⁹² Ibid., p. 534.

the German government with the purpose of re-equipment of the Soviet industry and industrialization of the country”⁹³. On August, 7 the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Schubert informed German embassy in London on political value of the German credits to USSR: “to become stronger in the USSR, to supervise all trade of the Soviet Union with foreign countries in order to bar its economic strengthening and independent development”⁹⁴. As a result, the state agencies of Germany, in particular the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, closely cooperated with the firms which traded and carried out orders of Soviet Union. Thus, as the German ambassador in the USSR G. Dirksen (1929 – 1933) says, “German experts provided him with the valuable information”⁹⁵ concerning, first of all, all economic potential of the USSR, prospects and opportunities of its development.

At this time, "attacks" on the Treaty of Rapallo began to increase. It was shown, in particular, in creation of so-called consortium of protection of the German creditors of Russian state loans which demanded from the government to bring the USSR an attention to the question on payment of pre-war duties. Bankers who were united in the consortium challenged legitimacy of the article II which was the basis of the Treaty of Rapallo and fixed mutual refusal of Germany and Soviet Union of mutual claims: on the German property nationalized in Russia, and on the part of the German reparations belonging to the USSR.

So, requirements of the consortium were unreasonable and contradicted the Treaty. The German government and, in particular, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs appeared in quite delicate position: to support requirements of a consortium meant to go on a political conflict with the Soviet government, to declare disagreement with intentions of creditors meant to weaken shares of the German banks of issue.

The policy of a gradual German withdrawal from terms of the Treaty of Rapallo began to be even more obvious when in December, 1926 People’s Commissary Chicherin brought up to Stresemann a question on the long-term loan. The latter answered that settlement of Dawes plan would take place, and if Germany allowed

⁹³ Documents of the USSR foreign policy, VOL. 9, p. 325.

⁹⁴ Glazin V. P. Economy and Foreign Policy of the Weimar Republic (1925-1933): West-European Aspects. – Kamyanets-Podilskiy: K-II. State ped. Univ., inf-pub. Dept, 1999, p. 113.

⁹⁵ Dirksen H.v. Moskau, Tokio, London. Stuttgart, 1949, p. 104.

loans to other countries “there would be an impression that as it has a lot of money and it will be imposed the worse conditions”⁹⁶.

In December, 1926 the consul general in the USSR Schlesinger informed from Moscow about “the shaky and tired relations with the USSR in the near future, and predicted recession in the Soviet economy, drew sad pictures of development of the Soviet country”⁹⁷.

The reason for negative turn of the Soviet-German relations can also be the fact that anti-communist ideas won in Germany, there was a reorientation to the West in connection with Locarno policy, the confidence of the German government of duration of economic stability of Germany was growing. Probably, all this taken together influenced change of a vector of the Soviet-German relations, as a whole, and military contacts, in particular.

It is also necessary to take into account the reasons generated by efforts of both sides. First, serious divergences about forms of military cooperation appeared. Second, and it is very important, class and national-state interests evidently collided in the Soviet-German relations. The former resisted any military cooperation of the opposite social systems; the latter tolerated it if it responded the certain state objectives. But both the former and the latter influenced and supplemented each other and were changed in system of the European and global relations, causing disagreements and conflicts.

In 1920-1921 major D. Tschunke thought that “the fact of the good Soviet-German consent hampered Poland to snip off East Prussia and the rests of Silesia”⁹⁸. At that time, government of J. Wirt assigned money to the Reichswehr for contacts with the Red Army. And during the Ruhr conflict of 1923 the Head of Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic L. Trotsky stated: “If Poland on an appeal of France invades Silesia we shall by no means stay indifferent”⁹⁹. His words were repeated by M. Bukharin: “If revolution began in Germany and Poland attacked Germany from the East, then revolutionary Russia would be forced to attack Poland”¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁶ Glazin V. P. Economy and Foreign Policy of the Weimar Republic (1925-1933): West-European Aspects. – Kamyanets-Podilskiy: K-II. State ped. Univ., inf-pub. Dept, 1999. p. 114.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 114.

⁹⁸ Ursachen und Folgen. Bd. 7, p. 511.

⁹⁹ Akhtamzyan A. Military cooperation of the USSR and Germany 1920-1933. – „New and Newest History”, 1990, no. 1, p. 7.

¹⁰⁰ „Izvestiya”, 11 January 1923.

So, cooperation between the Reichswehr and the Red Army which was understood and approved at the highest governmental levels, to some extent influenced the formation of a political climate in the Central Europe. However, the national-state interests turned to be crucial. Soviet turn to New Economic Policy – civil rest inside the country and peaceful co-existence outside – opened a way to priority of the national-state interests.

Since second half 1920th years, the situation around of the Soviet-German cooperation began to change. Skillfully using negative attitude of the Soviet leaders to private capital, Germans purposely transformed economic cooperation, including military-technical, from the state level onto a level of private companies, in other words, gradually stopped it. Germans refused co-production of tanks. The naval command, making a conclusion that appearance of strong Soviet military fleet on Baltic will be dangerous for Germany, rejected any cooperation with Soviet Union in the field of naval arms manufacture. On July, 22, 1926, at the session of naval command, the fleet commander admiral Senker declared: “Bolshevism is the greatest enemy of the western culture and of Germany as well”¹⁰¹. Military articles of the Treaty of Versailles, he considered, were originated from the English, therefore, it is possible to achieve its revision only after their consent.

On November, 19, 1926, during conversation with Brockdorff-Rantzau, Reichswehr Minister O. Gessler sharply expressed his opinion against the further participation of Germany in construction of the Soviet defense industry. And, few months later, in the article “Some notes about Russian Sphinx ” published on May, 29, 1927 in the “Deutsche allgemeine Zeitung” newspaper, future Gessler successor on a position of Reichswehr Minister general V. Gröner, intimidating the public with danger of panslavism rise of which was allegedly outlined, concluded: “We do not have reasons to support Great-Russian-imperial policy. Idea of the common union with Russia against France is a mistake... In our position, to fight with England for the sake of Russia would be courageous action, from which only France would have benefits. But, we do not want to conflict with Russia, either. We can only patiently observe how events in Russia develop”¹⁰². State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

¹⁰¹ Dülffer J. Weimar, Hitler und Marine. Reichspolitik und Flottenbau 1920-1939. Düsseldorf, 1973, p. 87.

¹⁰² Groener-Gever D. General, Soldat und Staatsmann. Frankfurt am Main, 1955, p. 232.

Schubert was even more categorical about military cooperation: “Some day Russian guns will be directed towards us”¹⁰³. After a cancellation of the allied military control in 1926 no obstacles actually remained for manufacture of the arms in Germany. Resignation of Seeckt in 1926 and Gessler in the beginning of 1928 only strengthened the tendency outlined earlier.

The Soviet-German relations were influenced with the real situation: capitalist Germany gravitated to anti-Soviet politics of the western countries but, being the state which was in the humiliating position dictated by winners, it searched for support from the USSR. Thus, we can find out from conversation of Brockdorff-Rantzau with Litvinov that took place in the beginning of December, 1926, that “Germany was very much interested in participation of the Soviet Union in forthcoming negotiations about disarmament in Geneva”¹⁰⁴. Hence, ending military cooperation, Germany required political and diplomatic shelter from the USSR in terms of conserving, to some extent, politics of balancing as main condition of successful "attack" on the Treaty of Versailles.

Zigzags of German policy in the Soviet-German relations did not remain without notice. Double nature of the German policy towards the USSR was marked at plenum of a Central Committee and Central Controlling Commission of the VKP (b) in summer of 1927. Soviet diplomats observed steady decline in the Soviet-German relations as well.

But, at almost the same period of time, the Soviet side carried out activities which also did not help improve the Soviet-German relations. German engineers and technicians who worked in Soviet Union did not avoid the litigations inspired with a certain political goal against so-called saboteurs. Arrest of six persons of the German technicians in connection with the so-called „Mine case” caused extremely negative response even among those representatives of the top echelons of power who generally supported cooperation with the USSR. In March, 1928 it was specified in G. Stresemann’s memorandum to the Soviet government that “under these circumstances we cannot continue negotiations on economic issues... Hence, the program of

¹⁰³ Akhtamzyan A. A. military cooperation of the USSR and Germany 1920-1933. – „New and Newest History”, 1990, no. 1, p. 14 – 15.

¹⁰⁴ Glazin V. P. Economy and Foreign Policy of the Weimar Republic (1925-1933): West-European Aspects. – Kamyanets-Podilskiy: K-II. State ped. Univ., inf-pub. Dept, 1999, p. 117.

cooperation between Soviet Russia and Germany is impracticable at all if the similar phenomena are possible”¹⁰⁵.

The Soviet press also helped in curtailing Rapallo politics. It published on its pages materials frankly instigating from the German government point of view and had nature of intervention in internal affairs. Thus, Luther's government was described “as the completely bourgeois cabinet, enemy to proletariat, whose policies will speed up growing German people revolutionary consciousness”¹⁰⁶. Despite the reasonable arguments of diplomats, in particular plenipotentiary in Germany M. Krestinski who tried in his letters to convince vice-president of the Revolutionary Military Council of the USSR I. Unshlikht (18.1.1927) and J. Stalin (28.12.1928) that cooperation with Germany is useful and it is worth maintaining, the supreme Soviet party-state leaders, on the contrary, was confident that “cooperation with Germans gives nothing at all”¹⁰⁷. For Stalin, gradual turn of Germany towards the West and unwillingness of the further assistance in strengthening of the Soviet defense industry were justificatory arguments.

However, there was one thing directly influencing formation of Stalin's and his nearest environment foreign policy. Many of those who participated in the Soviet-German cooperation were considered by Stalin opponents of totalitarianism that was spreading and strengthening. In these conditions, desire to be protected from democratic winds from abroad grew steadily (the Weimar Republic was the first German democracy, not only on paper. By this time, formation of a lawful state has just begun in Germany), fears appeared that contacts of militaries will assist emergence of army opposition to a totalitarian regime, especially among the older representatives of the officers. Statements of the German politicians, in particular Stresemann, in conversations with the western colleagues that the exchange of goods between Germany and the USSR should help Soviet Union become a state “we can live with”, did not remain without attention, either.

¹⁰⁵ Nikonova S. V. An outline of German European Policy in 1924-1929. – M., 1977, p. 225.

¹⁰⁶ Glazin V. P. Economy and Foreign Policy of the Weimar Republic (1925-1933): West-European Aspects. – Kamyanets-Podilskiy: K-II. State ped. Univ., inf-pub. Dept, 1999, p. 117.

¹⁰⁷ Akhtamzyan A. A. military cooperation of the USSR and Germany 1920-1933. – “New and Newest History”, 1990, no. 1, p. 15.

Many people with democratic persuasions in Germany were concerned about the system of political compulsion which had been established in the Soviet Union where “nobody can have his own thought”¹⁰⁸.

It is possible also that the Soviet leaders made a conclusion that the period of revolutionary shocks has ended in Germany and they lost any interest in bilateral military cooperation which was seen by the German communists only from the point of benefits for proletarian revolution. Thus, in 1923, during Ruhr conflict, one of German Communist Party heads A. Torgeimer tried to persuade the Reichswehr to act on his side, promising the help of the USSR in war against France in exchange. In the struggle between class interests and national-state interests the former celebrated victory. As a result, from the beginning of thirties the Soviet-German cooperation began to recess. This went on almost without notice and serious objections from the both sides. The Treaty of Rapallo being "peace treaty" fixing rather “existing situation than ideas about the program of the far-sighted goals... as a way of thinking adequate to time.. ... in a category of traditional politics of a balance of powers”¹⁰⁹, was becoming a part of history.

However, the world economic crisis that also involved Germany postponed eventual dismantling of Rapallo policy. For Germany, the Soviet market played out stabilizing role to some extent. For example, in crisis years most difficult for Germany (1929 – 1933) the Soviet orders comprised up to 4 billion Reichsmarks. Soviet side paid it all in due time. Reichsbank received 1.33 billion Reichsmarks in gold and silver, the rest was covered by the vital raw materials.

Between 1929 and 1931, the value of German exports to Soviet Union grew more than twice as much. In 1932 Soviet Union imported 10.9 per cent of German exports and the share of Germany in Soviet exports was 46.5 per cent. And, machines, production of metallurgy, electro-technical devices totaled 91 per cent of a total amount of German exports. During the crisis the Soviet Union has become the major commodity market for the German mechanical engineering. Imports of this production to the USSR exceeded 40 per cent of all German exports of machines. In 1931 Germany became the largest exporter of machines and in the next years it held

¹⁰⁸ Das Grosskapital und wir Anderen von Carl Gilbol. Leipzig, 1929, p. 55.

¹⁰⁹ Orlova M. I. Bourgeois historiography on Rapallo policy of the Weimar Republic. — “Questions of History”, 1978, no. 11, p. 69.

its positions only with the help of the Soviet Union. In conditions of the crisis at the beginning of 1930s the Soviet market played out rescuing role for companies producing means of production. That is why “top management of German industry” (Siemens, Reuter, Deutsch, Borsig, Ketgen, Klotzbach, Pensgen) led by Klöckner visited the USSR from February, 28 till March, 9. At that time, a number of agreements on allocation of orders in Germany and supplies to the USSR were signed, though on the conditions far from favorable.

Also, other milestones in the development of Soviet-German relations were the agreement between the Supreme council of national economy and representatives of German manufacturers on allocation of additional 300 million Reichsmarks orders at German enterprises, and prolongation of the Soviet-German Treaty of April, 24, 1926 on June, 24, 1931.

In spite of temporarily growing volume of commodities turnover between the USSR and Germany in the crisis years, the Soviet-German relations continued to worsen. The German manufacturers cautiously looked at possible appearance of undesirable competitor in the East. In 1931 K. Duisberg spoke with anxiety at the session of presidium of the Imperial union of German industry that Soviet Union turned to self-service in many areas of economy, and the Soviet chemical industry became the competitor to its German counterpart in the world market. Duisberg drew a conclusion from this that assisting the USSR in construction of chemical enterprises was a mistake. Therefore, despite the most-favored-nation clause stipulated in the Treaty of Rapallo German companies dictated severe constraints in trade with the USSR and their nature was not determined only by interests in obtaining profit.

Increasing their exports to the Soviet Union, Germans at the same time wished to reduce imports of Soviet goods to Germany that hampered the development of trade because the Soviet Union did not own sufficient stocks of currency to cover the difference that appeared. Pursuing the policy of intensifying economic relations with the South-East European countries, the German government did not wish to buy the Soviet bread forcedly taken away from the people of Ukraine deliberately doomed to starve to death.

Also, contradictions of economic structures of the two states negatively affected the Soviet-German cooperation: the Soviet partners wanted to cooperate with the German

authorities, while they had to deal with private companies, businessmen-capitalists “not always administered by the state”¹¹⁰.

The Soviet-German relations were more and more influenced by Nazis who "strove" for power and whose positions improved as the economic crisis deepened and support from monopolies strengthened. On June, 25, 1932 plenipotentiary of the USSR in Germany L. Hinchuk wrote to Krestinski that “there are anti-Soviet requirements and statements of national socialists whom the present government relies on and who to some extent will have the big influence on the government policy in the near future”¹¹¹. The stronger Nazis felt, the more widely they developed anti-Soviet campaign. In August, 1932 Nazi newspaper "Angriff" demanded to conduct a search in the Soviet establishments – embassy, trade mission, hostel and reasonably accused the Soviet representatives of contacts with the German communists.

The stronger positions of Nazis in Germany became, the more clearly Nazis identified their aversion to the Soviet power. In his letter to colonel von Reichenau on December, 4, 1932 Hitler excluded Soviet Union from the category of states, in usual meaning of this word. “Russia is not a state, – he writes, – but an outlook that reigns within its boundaries. It has sections all over the world that have the same revolutionary goals and are subordinated to Moscow center... Triumph of their ideas in Germany can lead to unpredictable consequences... German people are similarly poorly protected from communism today, as they were protected from ideas of revolution in 1917 and in 1918”¹¹². Therefore, Hitler concludes, if cooperation with Soviet Union in political and military spheres goes on, struggle against communism will become more difficult. “If we enlisted the support of Soviet Union, – Hitler summarizes, – it would mean rising a red flag over Germany”¹¹³.

The faster Germany moved ahead on a way of resolving its western problems, the more tendencies it shown to develop closer cooperation with the West to the detriment of the Soviet-German relations. In 1931 – 1932 Germany began to curtail them and many things were evidence of it. From the end of 1931 the Soviet exports to Germany steadily reduced. In first half of 1931 their volume was 151.7 million

¹¹⁰ Glazin V. P. Economy and Foreign Policy of the Weimar Republic (1925-1933): West-European Aspects. – Kamyans-Podilskiy: K-II. State ped. Univ., inf-pub. Dept, 1999, p. 119.

¹¹¹ Documents of the USSR foreign policy, VOL. 15, p. 387.

¹¹² Ursachen und Folgen, Bd. 8, p. 713.

¹¹³ Ibid.

Reichsmarks, but in the first half of 1932 it was 147.8 million Reichsmarks. At the same time the negative balance of the USSR in trade with Germany increased. To cover the difference, Soviet Union had to transfer a significant amount of foreign currency to Germany in 1932. This was a consequence of elimination of all advantages Soviet export to Germany used to have. After signing preferential agreements with Romania and Hungary, Germany reduced purchases of Soviet grains and raised the custom duty for a number of Soviet exportable goods. Supported by the Ministry of Economy, “Imperial union of German furriers” began unfriendly campaign against traditional import of Soviet furs. As a result of that, negative trade balance of the USSR with Germany increased again.

The aggravation of disagreements in trade and economic relations took place on a background of growing political tensions both inside Germany and in relations with the USSR. Thus, Soviet diplomats thought that German consulate staff in Vladivostok provided Japanese “with the information of espionage character”¹¹⁴, while German authorities suspected that officers of Soviet consulates and trade missions were used by the Soviet government and VKP (b) with the purpose of spreading proletarian ideology and granting Communist Party of Germany all kinds of help in the establishment of communistic dictatorship in Germany.

Summarizing the above mentioned, we can draw a conclusion that the mutual benefits from the Soviet-German relations of the Weimar republic period would be more significant if both Germany and the Soviet Union were not driven by class approaches in the foreign policy, but developed relations as equal partners exclusively on the basis of the national-state interests. Class approaches sowed mistrust and complicated realization of usually necessary and interesting plans of the parties. It resulted in disagreements and misunderstandings. “The balance of political and economic relations with the USSR was disappointing and disturbing”¹¹⁵, – the West-German historian G. Gelbig realistically summed up the results of Soviet-German relations of the Weimar republic period. The sight on economic enslavement of the USSR, its transformation to a long-term commodity market for German production turned to be a miscalculation. Behavior of the Soviet party who saw the enemy of all workers in

¹¹⁴ Documents of the USSR foreign policy, VOL. 15, p. 150.

¹¹⁵ Glazin V. P. Economy and Foreign Policy of the Weimar Republic (1925-1933): West-European Aspects. – Kamyans-Podilskiy: K-II. State ped. Univ., inf-pub. Dept, 1999, p. 122.

German imperialism was not ideal, either. Hence, there were subversive actions and provocations that pretended to be honest struggle for liberation of proletariat. One of these was already mentioned “Mine case” in which foreign experts appeared, among them Germans, too.

However, as to an initial plan to use the Soviet-German relations as a factor of opposition to the West, it is necessary to recognize that hopes of ruling circles of Germany were justified to some extent. Results of military cooperation were better. “For a military command, – Jost Dülffer emphasized, – cooperation with Bolshevik Russia was of crucial importance. Russia was interested in the further development of some systems of arms forbidden to Reich according to the Treaty of Versailles. These relations lasted until 1933: planes, tanks, warfare chemical substances were produced; and, in addition to this, the German personnel were trained”¹¹⁶.

Also, the Soviet-German contacts were quite useful for the Soviet party. Such well-known companies as “Junkers”, “Stolzenberg” and “Krupp” participated in development of the military industry of the USSR. To finance and coordinate activities of the enterprises created within the USSR borders, “Society of assistance to the industrial enterprises (GEFU) was established in Berlin and Moscow in 1923”¹¹⁷.

In general, significant results were obtained from the military cooperation. In January, 1933 Stalin, speaking at the joint plenum of Central Committee and CCC VK (b), emphasized: “We did not have aviation industry. Now we do have it”¹¹⁸.

Hundreds and thousands of German experts — engineers, technicians of high qualification took part in industrialization of Soviet Union. In the second half of 1920s – in the beginning of 1930s they shared their experience, knowledge, professional skills and abilities in many industrial regions of the USSR. Many of German experts were involved especially at the metallurgical, machine-building and chemical enterprises of Ukraine.

The Soviet-German contacts, ended after 1933, were restored only in the second half of 1930s when two totalitarian regimes, completely formed, began to search for their

¹¹⁶ Dülffer I. Weimar, Hitler und Marine: Reichspolitik und Flottenbau 1920-1939 Düsseldorf, 1973, p. 70.

¹¹⁷ Soviet-German military cooperation 1920-1933 (firstly published documents). — „International life”, no. 6, p. 108.

¹¹⁸ Poritsky L. Secret objects of the Reichswehr in the USSR. – „Zerkalo Nedeli”, 22 March 1997.

„modus vivendi” in Europe and the world and occasionally realized the need in each other.

3. THE SOVIET-GERMAN COOPERATION BEFORE THE SECOND WORLD WAR

3.1. "Special" relations of the USSR and Germany before the Second World War.

In 1939 active restoration of friendly relations between the USSR and Germany began to be observed. In Stalin's speech on March, 10, 1939 at congress of communist party there were no sharp attacks to Germany. In J. Stalin's opinion, “Germans succeeded in their military activities basically through weakness of the western countries”¹¹⁹. He let know that there are no occasions for conflicts between Germany and the USSR. “All speaks that the initiative of rapprochement between Germany and the USSR was originated from the Soviet side and Molotov’s appointment on the position of National Commissary of Foreign Affairs on May, 3 aimed to move an obstacle which could be put on a way to this rapprochement by Litvinov’s personality”¹²⁰.

On April, 17, for the first time after his appointment in June, 1938, Russian ambassador in Germany Merekalov met with the German state secretary von Weizsäcker. The official motive for this meeting was the request for performing some contracts about arms supplies made with Czechoslovak factories "Skoda" which since March, 15, 1939 were under German administration. For Merekalov, this conversation was an opportunity to make some political "advance payments". He declared that the USSR did not make use of misunderstanding between Germany and the western democracies and that there were all reasons for improving the German-Soviet relations. Later he went to Moscow together with the Soviet military attaché. Such succession of events disturbed the French representatives in Berlin. However, the German government, as it appeared, was not going to use such favorable circumstances. On May, 17 the Soviet leaders made the following step. This day, Chargé of the USSR in Germany made the visit to doctor Schnurre who was the expert on economy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Germany. They had long

¹¹⁹ Duroseilles J. B. History of diplomacy from 1919 till nowadays. – Kiev: Osnovy, 1999, p. 213.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 214.

talk at which the Soviet representative, minding the Treaty of Rapallo of 1922, emphasized that there are no reasons for enmity between the both countries.

On May, 20, 1939 the German ambassador von der Schulenburg was received by Molotov in Moscow. They talked about an opportunity of a visit of doctor Schnurre to the Soviet capital. Molotov informed von der Schulenburg that it is necessary, first of all, to establish a political basis for cooperation, to restore economic negotiations. On Schulenburg's question what is meant by this, Molotov refused to give any explanations.

On June, 14, 1939 Astakhov said to the Bulgarian ambassador in Berlin that Soviet Union would not sign the treaty with the Great Britain if it concludes Non-Aggression pact with Germany. On June, 29 Schulenburg again met with Molotov but the latter said nothing definite. He only asked whether Germany considers valid the Berlin treaty on German-Soviet friendship of April, 24, 1926, prolonged in 1939. It seemed that the decree of July, 14, 1939 on the beginning of military negotiations between the USSR, France and the Great Britain forced Germany to speed up talks. Also, it is possible that it was affected with unsuccessful attempt to conclude the military union with Japan.

On July, 26 one more step was made on a way to the German-Soviet rapprochement. At the conversation with Astakhov, Schnurre offered the plan of improvement of relations between the both countries and emphasized that Germany, Italy and Soviet Union are united with common ideology in an opposition to the capitalist states. Astakhov answered that such rapprochement meets the interests of the both countries, but it is necessary to move ahead gradually. Schnurre, in turn, tried to persuade him that Germany can give the USSR more benefits from cooperation, than the Great Britain.

This talk had important consequences. On July, 29, 1939 Schulenburg was informed by Weizsäcker about it and received the order to meet with Molotov. This meeting took place on August, 4, 1939. However, it was on August, 2 when Ribbentrop met with Astakhov. So, negotiations began. Their subject was mainly the partition of zones of influence. In the report from August, 7 Schulenburg noted contrast between Molotov's sharpness in his relations with France and the Great Britain and his courtesy to the German representatives.

So, in August, 1939 Germany finished preparations for war in Europe. Not wishing to be at war on two fronts, Hitler made a proposal to the USSR to sign the Soviet-

German Non-Aggression pact. This document would guarantee the Soviet Union not only peace, but also expansion of its own borders. J. Stalin and V. Molotov decided to agree with the proposal of Germany about the conclusion of the Non-Aggression pact.

A. Hitler who was anxious to solve the conflict with Poland by military means and could not refuse attack already prepared, on August, 20, 1939 sent the telegram to Stalin in which he insisted on the immediate signing of Non-Aggression pact. Having discussed the proposal with Molotov and having listened to Voroshilov's report on a course of talks with the Great Britain and France, J. Stalin agreed on Ribbentrop's arrival to Moscow and on signing the Non-Aggression pact.

Vladimir Pavlov, Stalin's interpreter, remembered "that Stalin openly began talk with Ribbentrop with the indication a spheres of influence delimitation line. ...The German proposal was that the line should pass along Vistula and Narev on Polish territory, along Dvina in Baltic countries, leaving Lithuania and even the western part of Latvia for Germans. Stalin did not agree and began to demand nonfreezing Latvian ports Libau (Liepāja) and Windau (Ventspils) for the USSR. Ribbentrop, not having powers for this, began hesitating and requested Hitler's opinion with the cipher telegram.... The telegram was sent at 22 hours 05 minutes Moscow time. At 1 o'clock in the morning the telephone answer came from Berlin: "Answer is Yes. Agreed.". It meant that the signatures may be put; and this was done at 2 hours 30 minutes on August, 24. But, in order to place this in morning newspapers it was decided to date this August, 23. ...Less than in a month, on September, 15 Stalin offered the new agreement to Hitler. He understood that it is dangerous for Red Army (and also for the Soviet power) to enter so far into crushed Poland. But, it was more important to take all Baltic, i.e. to withdraw Lithuania from the German sphere. The exchange was offered: the Red Army will not enter Warsaw and Lublin regions, and the Wehrmacht will not enter Lithuania. Hitler agreed, though official passage of Lithuania under protectorate of Germany had already been prepared. On September, 17 the Red Army began a campaign. Ribbentrop again arrived to Moscow for fixing the new line. One more treaty was concluded ("Boundary and Friendship Treaty") supplemented with two secret protocols and one confidential protocol, and also, the official statement of

the two countries on the character of the war that began on September, 3 was made”¹²¹.

So, on August, 23, 1939 Joachim von Ribbentrop and Vyacheslav Molotov signed the Non-Aggression pact. The document consisted of two parts. The Non-Aggression pact published on August, 24 was first of them. It was declared in it that both countries want to strengthen a cause of peace. They undertook:

- not to participate in any act of aggression one against another,
- not to support any third party which would begin war against one of them,
- not to join groups of states hostile to any of the contracting parties,
- to maintain continual contact with one another for the purpose of consultation,
- to solve conflicts between them only by a friendly exchange of opinions or arbitration.

The pact which came into effect immediately was concluded for the period of ten years with automatic extension for five years, if any of the parties does not denounce it one year prior to the expiration of this period.

The second part of the Pact, the secret supplementary protocol that consisted of three main articles was much more important. In article I, Finland, Estonia and Latvia were referred to as Russian sphere of influence “in the event of a territorial and political rearrangement”. Lithuania was included into German sphere of influence. Interest of Lithuania in the Vilna area was recognized by each party. Article II determined border of spheres of influence in Poland approximately by the line of the rivers Narev, Vistula and San, and it also stipulated that “the question of whether the interests of both parties make desirable the maintenance of an independent Polish States and how such a state should be bounded can only be definitely determined in the course of further political developments. In any event both Governments will resolve this question by means of a friendly agreement”. In Article III, attention was called by the Soviet side to its interest in Bessarabia. The German side declared its complete political disinterest in these areas.

¹²¹ History of Ukraine: Documents. Materials. Handbook / Ed.,Comment. V. Yu. Korol. – K.: Publishing Center „Academy”, 2001, p. 322 – 323.

The postscript of this document was also important. In the postscript, the following was specified: “This Pact is valid only under condition of simultaneous signing the special protocol on points of interest of both parties in the sphere of foreign policy. The protocol is an integral part of the Pact”.

After this meeting Molotov made a statement in which he denied necessity of struggle against National Socialism and proved an opportunity of the ideological arrangement with Germany. Together with Ribbentrop he signed the note in which the responsibility for unleashing wars was placed on the Great Britain and France and consultations were stipulated on military questions between the USSR and Germany in case of continued participation of these countries in the war.

Molotov-Ribbentrop Non-Aggression Pact between the USSR and Germany and the secret supplementary protocol, “being the act of violent partition of Europe into „spheres of interests”, actually untied hands of the leader of the Third Reich for the beginning the Second World War. At the same time, it became a specific countdown point of "collecting" the Ukrainian lands within the boundary of one state”¹²².

“The Non-Aggression pact secret supplementary protocol “sheds the light on the true originators of the Second World War, namely Hitler and Stalin who dreamed of new division of the world. The previously unknown Stalin and Hitler meeting concerning division of boundaries between the USSR and Germany in Lviv on October, 17, 1939 can also be an evidence of it”¹²³.

Also, the secret supplementary protocol can be considered a great-power intention to make “territorial-political reconstruction” in region that called in question the sovereignty and independence of a number of the states, from the juridical point of view. It violated the treaties that the USSR had concluded earlier with these countries and in which it undertook to respect their sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability. The secret supplementary protocol completely contradicted official assurances about refusal of using secret diplomacy made by the leaders of the USSR to the world community.

Right after signings of the Pact, anti-fascist campaign in the Soviet press stopped. Instead, the Great Britain and France were called “provokers of war”.

¹²² History of Ukraine: Documents. Materials. Handbook / Ed.,Comment. V. Yu. Korol. – K.: Publishing Center „Academy”, 2001, p. 323.

¹²³ History of Ukraine: Documents. Materials. Handbook / Ed.,Comment. V. Yu. Korol. – K.: Publishing Center „Academy”, 2001, p. 323.

The news about signing the Non-Aggression pact was the uttermost unexpected not only for world community, but also for broad Soviet masses. After signing this document official London and Paris completely lost interest in the USSR and started to search other ways to reach additional obligations from Germany for the future firmer than those it had undertaken signing the Treaty of Munich. Documents tell us that next day after signing the Non-Aggression pact with Germany, J. Stalin, having doubts about Hitler's honesty, tried to persuade the Great Britain and France to continue the military negotiations, but were no positive responses to these proposals. There are many different points of view on the necessity of concluding the Non-Aggression pact. On the one hand, on August, 19-20, 1939, at the moment of Stalin's agreement to Ribbentrop's arrival to Moscow for eventual elucidation of German intentions, the USSR had no choice. The Soviet government had to think only of how not to get in a whirlwind of the future war to which the USSR was prepared worse in 1939 than in 1941. On the other hand, some historians think that Germany in 1939 was also not ready to war with the USSR.

Estimating the Non-Aggression pact we can note that the USSR had both benefits and expenses from it. There were following positive things:

- The Soviet Union avoided wars on two fronts as the Treaty broke the German-Japanese relations, calling into question arrangements of Anti-Comintern Pact in favor of the USSR;
- The boundary from which USSR could organize initial defense was moved some hundreds kilometers away from Leningrad and Minsk.

The negative aspects of the Non-Aggression pact were that:

- The treaty undermined a moral status of Soviet people and army warfare effectiveness;
- The international authority of the USSR was destroyed.

However, to better understand consequences of signing the Non-Aggression pact for each of the parties, quoting some figures will be to the point. In compliance with the German-Soviet Commercial Agreement, "Germany received 1.5 million tones of grains, 101 thousand tones of cotton, 1 million tones of wood products, 238 thousand tones of gasoline, 14 thousand tones of copper, 140 thousand tones of manganese ore,

8 million tones of mineral oil, tens of thousand tons of strategic raw materials – nickel, aluminum, gold, even platinum (900 kg!) from the USSR”¹²⁴.

Accuracy of the Soviet Union in performing the Commercial Agreement was simply amazing. 2.5 months before the attack on the USSR Germany had stopped supplies under this agreement, but the Soviet side thoroughly carried out its obligations. J. Göbbels writes in his diary (notation dated July, 27, 1940): “Russians supply us with even more than we want to have. Stalin does all the best to make us like him”¹²⁵. Last echelon with the foodstuffs and raw materials had been accepted by the German railway men from Brest-Litovsk station some few minutes before the attack on the USSR began.

The Stalin’s government made gigantic deliveries of those scarce materials without which manufacture of tanks, planes and submarines was impossible. And stable supplies of bread and meat, butter and eggs gave Germany, where the rationing system was in force, a chance to create necessary food stocks in case of war. It is worth saying that Soviet supplies to Germany in 1939-1941 comprised over 40 per cent of all Soviet exports and considerably weakened the effect of British blockade.

The Soviet leaders tried to pay off from Hitler not only with it. “Recently, the information about contacts between People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) and special services of Nazi Germany appeared. 92 thousand Polish refugees with anti-fascist persuasions, i.e., 25 per sent of their total number were delivered to the Gestapo stations that operated in near-boundary areas”¹²⁶. "Cooperation" advanced so far that, on the Hitler’s government requirement, more than 400 German anti-fascist emigrants were delivered to Germany. There was a case when the German side offered the USSR the head of the German communists Ernst Thälmann, but the Soviet government refused it. Known territorial acquisitions were the only Stalin's benefits. Hitler who on August, 22, 1939 spoke: “I will shake Stalin’s hand and, together, we will start new division of the world”¹²⁷ wished and received the same.

¹²⁴ Koval M.V. Ukraine in the Second World War and in the Great Patriotic War (1939 – 1945) – K., Publishing Center „Alternatives”, 1999, p. 16.

¹²⁵ „New and Newest History”, 1994, no. 6, p. 198.

¹²⁶ Moscow News, 1995, 19 – 26 March

¹²⁷ Koval M.V. Ukraine in the Second World War and in the Great Patriotic War (1939 – 1945) – K., Publishing Center „Alternatives”, 1999, p. 18.

Military cooperation with Germany had unfavorable consequences for the USSR. Thus, the German side sold the USSR the unfinished heavy cruiser "Lutzow" renamed into "Petropavlovsk", and also 25 new planes. When the Kronstadt engineers and workers began finishing and arming this cruiser, it nearly turned over; for this reason it had to be laid up and stand idle as the floating anti-aircraft battery on the Neva. As to planes, Hitler again did not risk anything here, giving them to Soviet side. Because he knew that designers will not have time to make use of achievements of the German aircraft construction any more.

“On the basis of the available information, it is possible to assert confidently: at signing the Treaty, interests of the USSR security were implied only in last turn. The fact is that Stalin began secret negotiations with the third Reich government in March, 1936. An establishment of allied relations with Hitlerite Germany was the purpose of these negotiations. But Stalin could not trust People's Commissary for foreign affairs M. Litvinov who categorically opposed any relations of the USSR with a fascist Reich. Therefore he made this in other way: he sent to Berlin his personal emissary D. Kandelaki who was the responsible party functionary from Georgia, as the commercial representative. He had, bypassing usual diplomatic channels, “to agree with Hitler by all means”.

This statement belongs to V. Krivitski, one of chiefs of the Soviet military intelligence in the Western Europe. Being informed of subtleties of Stalin secret diplomacy in 1930s, V. Krivitski wrote that Kandelaki succeeded in his secret mission: he carried on negotiations with Nazi leaders and even received an audience of Führer. Krivitski goes on: „If there was a person in the Kremlin whose mood could be named pro-German, it was Stalin from the very beginning. He welcomed cooperation with Germany from the moment of Lenin's death and did not change when Hitler came to power. Moreover, the triumphal victory of Nazis strengthened him in his confidence that it is necessary to search friendship with Berlin”¹²⁸. In order not to prevent the consent, the leader even ordered to "freeze" the Soviet intelligence network in Germany.

So, if conclusion of the Non-Aggression pact with a potential aggressor still can be interpreted as an attempt of the USSR to avoid the war, we have to regard in absolutely different way the secret supplementary protocols to the Pact in which the

¹²⁸ Krivitski V. Ya. I Was an Agent of Stalin. — M., 1996, p. 16

territorial appetites of both states were satisfied. In compliance with these agreements, existence of which has been categorically denied by the Soviet Union during a half-century, Stalin had an opportunity to expand territorial boundaries of the USSR almost to those of 1913. There is an idea that Stalin with Molotov less of all pursued the purpose of the prevention of war — in the autumn of 1939 hitlerite Germany was not ready to attack the USSR, and even did not have any plans for this. The beginning of German aggression against Poland on September, 1, 1939, supported by its allies England and France was immediate result of "Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact". The Second World War began.

“Coordinated Wehrmacht and Red army operations that resulted in joint parades in Brest, Lviv and some other cities were seen all over the world as the dangerous growth of totalitarian powers, amplification of threat to peace in Europe”¹²⁹. These fears proved to be true after it was known to public that when Molotov and Ribbentrop met in Berlin in November, 1940 the latter made a proposal to Soviet Union to join “The Three-Power Pact” (Germany, Italy and Japan). The Soviet government agreed, proposing the certain conditions that did not satisfy Nazis.

As it was said, obtaining the freedom of action by signing of the Non-Aggression pact and the secret protocol, on September, 1, 1939 Germany attacked Poland. On September, 17, 1939 the Red Army of the USSR entered the lands of Western Ukraine and Western Belarus, as it was stipulated by clauses of the secret protocol.

On September, 28, 1939 the Soviet-German military-political alliance was confirmed with the new document – the German-Soviet Boundary and Friendship Treaty with the several supplementary protocols that, as well as the previous secret protocol, were not ratified. According to these documents spheres of influence of the USSR and Germany changed. Their boundaries in Poland were determined; the parties agreed about economic cooperation and tolerance of no agitation directed against the other party. Territory of the Lithuanian State fell to the sphere of influence of the USSR provided that the economic agreements which were in force between Germany and Lithuania should not be affected by the measures of the Soviet Union in this region, while, on the other hand, the province of Lublin and parts of the province of Warsaw fell to the sphere of influence of Germany. Corresponding amendments were made to

¹²⁹ Koval M.V. Ukraine in the Second World War and in the Great Patriotic War (1939 – 1945) – K., Publishing Center „Alternatives”, 1999, p. 21.

a dividing line. In one of protocols both parties agreed to tolerate in their territories no “Polish agitation” which affects the territories of the other party.

During a half-century in the Soviet historiography the fact of the conclusion of such Treaty between “the first-ever country of socialism which has won” – Soviet Union – and “the enemy of all peaceful mankind” – Nazi Germany has been ignored. There were all reasons for this. The fact is that, in opinion of the world progressive public, Soviet Union discredited itself because it made a turn in its anti-fascist foreign policy which guaranteed favor of all peaceful people of the world. Concerned about consequences of the Pact, writer and anti-fascist Heinrich Mann in despair wrote down in his diary: “Stalin is similar to Hitler. They found each other to act against the civilized world”¹³⁰.

“Banquet on the occasion of signing this Treaty on which Stalin said a toast for Hitler as “the authoritative leader of German people who deserves their love”, can serve as an evidence how far Soviet leaders advanced in this false foreign policy game. „Let all plans of the German people’s leader realize!” – Stalin finished his speech not thinking very much about what he said. The second toast was proclaimed for SS Reichsführer Himmler, the executioner of the German anti-fascists and communists who “guarantees stability of German nation, stability of the national order in Germany”¹³¹. The adviser to the German embassy in Moscow Hilger which saw Stalin at this time, wrote down in his diary: “Tone at which he spoke about Hitler and how he said a toast for him, made me think that he was grasped with some Hitler’s features and actions; but I could not get rid of sensation that these features and actions caused the greatest disgust among Germans who stayed in opposition to the Nazi regime”¹³².

More than doubtful reorientation of USSR was recognized expedient by the People’s Commissary for foreign affairs V. Molotov who proclaimed on the fifth session of a Supreme Soviet of the USSR that “it is not only useless, but also criminal to wage such war as war for destruction of Hitlerism, which is covered with a false flag of struggle for “democracy”¹³³. It is necessary to emphasize that “Molotov’s report on foreign policy of the USSR was

¹³⁰ LG-Dossier, 1990, no. 4, p. 3.

¹³¹ Borev. Yu. Staliniad. — Riga, 1990, p. 284.

¹³² Rancourt-Lafferiere D. Stalin’s mentality. — M., 1996, p. 128 – 129.

¹³³ Pravda, 1939, 1 November

accepted without discussion taking into account its “exhaustive clearness”, under “rough and long lasting applause that passes in ovation”¹³⁴.

International communist movement that was offered to change slogans of struggle against fascism on new ones in one night was completely disoriented with the actions and statements of the Soviet government. Many foreign communists were disappointed in J. Stalin, having understood that the one who serves him serves also A. Hitler. The people of Soviet Union who used to think that fascism is their most malicious enemy were misled.

Nevertheless, the new treaty between the Soviet Union and Germany specifying a delimitation line between these states in Poland formally confirmed inclusion of West Ukrainian and West Belarusian territories into the USSR. By the way, when Ribbentrop stated claims for oil fields of Galizia, Stalin sharply refused: it is a part of Ukraine and Ukrainians will be offended. The treaty made possible conditions for resolving the problem of Bessarabia and Bukovina, the territories populated mainly with Ukrainians.

According to provisions of Non-Aggression and boundaries treaties the Red Army entered the territory of the Western Ukraine and Belarus, Lithuania and Poland. After that, reprisals began there, command-administrative methods of ruling were introduced, and there was a liquidation of national movements in these areas.

Cooperation between the USSR and Germany proceeded after Poland was beaten, also. Thus, Russians regularly supplied the Luftwaffe (the German air force) with the Soviet weather reports which facilitated Germans in bombing England. “V. Molotov and A. Mikoyan found in 35 kilometers to the east of Murmansk a naval base for repair of the German ships that served Germans inclusively up to the termination of operations in Norway”¹³⁵. (This base, together with the bases at Norwegian coast, also gave Germans an opportunity to hold sea communications through which USA and England delivered strategic materials and military equipment in the USSR under their control. Sea escorts that made these deliveries were regularly attacked from these bases by German submarines, the surface fleet which structure included the most powerful battleship of Germany and world "Tierpitz", and also aircraft. The fate

¹³⁴ Koval M.V. Ukraine in the Second World War and in the Great Patriotic War (1939 – 1945) – K., Publishing Center „Alternatives”, 1999, p. 22.

¹³⁵ „From archives about cooperation between The USSR and Germany after signing Non-Aggression Pact on 23 August 1939 p”.

of one of such escorts – PO-17 (May, 1942) is the most tragic. Then 22 commercial vessels of 33 were sunk. Of 188 thousand tons of precious cargo 123 thousand were destroyed).

“During seventeen months after signing the Soviet-German pact Germany has received 865 thousand tons of oil, 140 thousand tons of manganese ore, 14 thousand tons of copper, 3 thousand tons of nickel, 101 thousand tons of raw clap, over 1 million tons of wood products, 11 thousand tons of flax, phosphates, platinum and almost one and a half million tons of grains from Soviet Union. Strategic raw materials and the foodstuffs from the countries of Pacific pool were conveyed as transit goods through the Soviet territory. The USSR actually was turning in non-combating ally of Hitler”¹³⁶.

The Soviet government tried to avoid misunderstandings with Germany and tried not to give Germany any occasion to infringe the Soviet-German treaties. Not only diplomatic, military, economic and other Soviet agencies responsible for relations with Germany were guided by such principles, but also radio and press.

From 1939 till 1941, almost up to the German attack on the Soviet Union, rapprochement of positions of the USSR and Germany proceeded. Up to the German attack in 1941 the USSR precisely followed the clauses of the existing German-Soviet treaties. So, Soviet Union did not accept participation in the events of 1940 – 1941 when Germany won all countries of Europe including France, and defeated the European contingent of English armies. The Soviet diplomacy did all the best to postpone the war and to avoid conducting it on two fronts in order to give the USSR an opportunity to better prepare for war. For example, in 1941 the note with Turkey on neutrality and the Non-Aggression pact with Japan were signed.

Nevertheless, these steps could not help reach the primary goal of foreign policy of the USSR – to prevent the war.

The Non-Aggression pact and the Boundary and Friendship Treaty lost their force at the moment of German attack on the USSR, and secret protocols, having been signed with the infringement of the existing Soviet legislation and rules of international law, did not come into force from the moment of their signing. For a political and legal estimation of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression pact of August, 23, 1939, Congress

¹³⁶ History of Ukraine: Documents. Materials. Handbook / Ed., Comment. V. Yu. Korol. – K.: Publishing Center „Academy”, 2001, p. 326 – 327.

of People's Deputies of the USSR even established the special commission in 1989. As a result of this commission's work the conclusion was made that the Pact of August, 23, 1939, the Boundary and Friendship Treaty and other acts and agreements of the USSR with Germany, in which aggressive foreign policy intentions of Stalin's government were reflected, contradicted "Lenin's principles of the international relations and norms of the law, did not display the will of Soviet people, and the people does not carry any responsibility for the secret criminal arrangements of its leaders, and all secret foreign policy contradicted principles of peace and the security proclaimed by the USSR on international scene". Moreover, the "small wars" policy pursued by the USSR should call condemnation from the international community. In spite of the fact that the USSR made numerous attempts to prevent the threat of war in pre-war years, Stalin's internal policy of genocide of people that was reflected in foreign policy course of the USSR reduced all peaceful intentions of the Soviet leaders to nothing.

The theories "balance of powers" and power politics are linked to the analysis of germane-soviet relations in the interwar period. Fight for power which was identical with the fight for existence, and the strengthening of own positions were the most important goals of internal and external policy of countries during the observed period. The interwar period was a period when all powerful countries were oriented on the power politics.

The final goal of both Soviet Russia and Germany was expansion and establishment of their domination beyond their territories, resumption of former power and prestige of native country on the international arena.

At the beginning of 1920s, the task of Germany and Soviet Russia was to form their external policy, and two countries began to normalize their relations; and as we know the stability of relations between two countries depends on the balance of powers.

During the whole period we observe how two countries, Germany and Soviet Union, tried to keep their relations in balance in order to rise in power. So we find the combination of both theories (balance of powers and power politics) while researching the germane-soviet relations in the interwar period.

In order to keep balance of powers between them, in the beginning of 1920s Germany and Soviet Russia had to normalize their trade relations. That would help Germany, who needed Russian market and resources during that time, and Russia – who needed

to reestablish itself politically and economic; that would also mean the balance in the world. The renewal of economic relations between two countries meant also the renewal of their diplomatic relations, and in 1922 the agreement in Rapallo was signed – which for some time guaranteed stable prosperity and balance in powers. The aim of Soviet Union in this agreement was to obtain the German equipment and technical experience, and Germany needed a base for testing new types of weapon; and power politics was the main point of foreign policy of both countries. Another important detail in their power politics was the interest of both countries in re-equipment.

Between two world wars, Germany was trying to cancel the Treaty of Versailles, and politics of balancing was the main means for that. For that reason it also needed political and diplomatic shelter from Soviet Union.

When in the beginning of 1930s Soviet-Germane relations became worse, both Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia continued to strive for power. And in the second half of 1930s two countries were again following the politics of balance, they improved their relationships, and in 1939 Nonaggression Pact was signed. According to power politics during interwar period, the one who is stronger wins and a country has to get power by any measures. And the division of Europe between Germany and Soviet Russia is a good example which shows that.

The Nonaggression Pact as well as the politics of balance between two examined countries lost their significant after German attack on the Soviet territory in 1942.

The history of the last war contains many incomprehensible and paradoxical situations. The secret of the Soviet-German relations is one of them. It is necessary to comprehend them, to uncover their consequences in order to eliminate the possibilities for similar dangerous plots in future.

CONCLUSION

While analyzing the tendencies of the development of soviet-germane relations during the interwar period some interesting parallels appear.

Exhausting World War I was beyond the strength of two nations. Renunciation of the Russian emperor (March, 1917) and the German chancellor (November, 1918) has marked the transition to the people power. The most consecutive opponents of the monarchy – social democrats of young republics, October and Weimar, - played the significant role in the establishment of new political regimes in Russia (USSR later) and Germany, and subsequently in the development of the soviet-germane cooperation.

The political situation in Soviet Union and Germany has drastically changed in interwar period. The 1930-1940 years in the USSR and Germany can be described as the years of fight for power. During the 1920 years the germane authority was preoccupied with the revision of Versailles treaty terms. That time the idea of the reclamation of powerful germane nation was widely spread. Simultaneously, the achievement of international diplomatic recognition was the priority of the soviet external policy.

The majority of countries broke the diplomatic relations with Russia after the October revolution. During 1920 – 1921 years Russia renewed diplomatic relations only with a few neighbor-countries. However, 1924 – 1925 years can be signified as the years of the diplomatic recognition of the USSR. Having analyzed the period of establishment of the diplomatic relations with another countries the following peculiarity are noticed. The process of the reestablishment of the diplomatic relations between the USSR and the biggest countries of the world was difficult and long-lasting. For example, the political recognition of the USSR by the USA authority was achieved only in 1934.

The international legal recognition of the USSR gave the soviet authority the opportunity to hold active external policy, to conclude the international treaties and agreements, to initiate the international conferences and discussions. Thus, the Soviet-French nonaggression treaty and the convention on the determination of the term “aggression” were concluded. One more important result of the international

recognition of the USSR was the entrance of Soviet Union to the League of Nations in 1934.

The second chapter of the master thesis is dedicated to the analysis of bilateral soviet-germane relations. The relations between these two countries can be characterized as strained, unstable and inimical after World War I. This fact has simple explanation. The USSR and Germany were on the different sides of front during the previous war. However, the war was over, the peace treaties were concluded, the battles became the history. The new world order required the formation of other external policy priorities of all countries. The postwar realities needed the cooperation and co-existence of the former enemies.

Thus, the authorities of Soviet Union and Germany had to form their external policy and to determine its priorities in a new fashion. The soviet-germane relations required drastic changes. The conclusion of Rapallo treaty between two states in 1922 was the crucial event in the bilateral relations. It was the impulse for further co-operation between the USSR and Germany also. This treaty set up the beginning of the active political, economic and military co-operation between the USSR and Germany. The intensive bilateral co-operation had taken place before the Nazis obtained the power in Germany in 1933. The changes in the internal political situation of the country lead to the changes in the germane external policy doctrine. The USSR was not included into the list of new allies of Germany. Soviet Union and Germany found themselves on the different sides of “new front” once more.

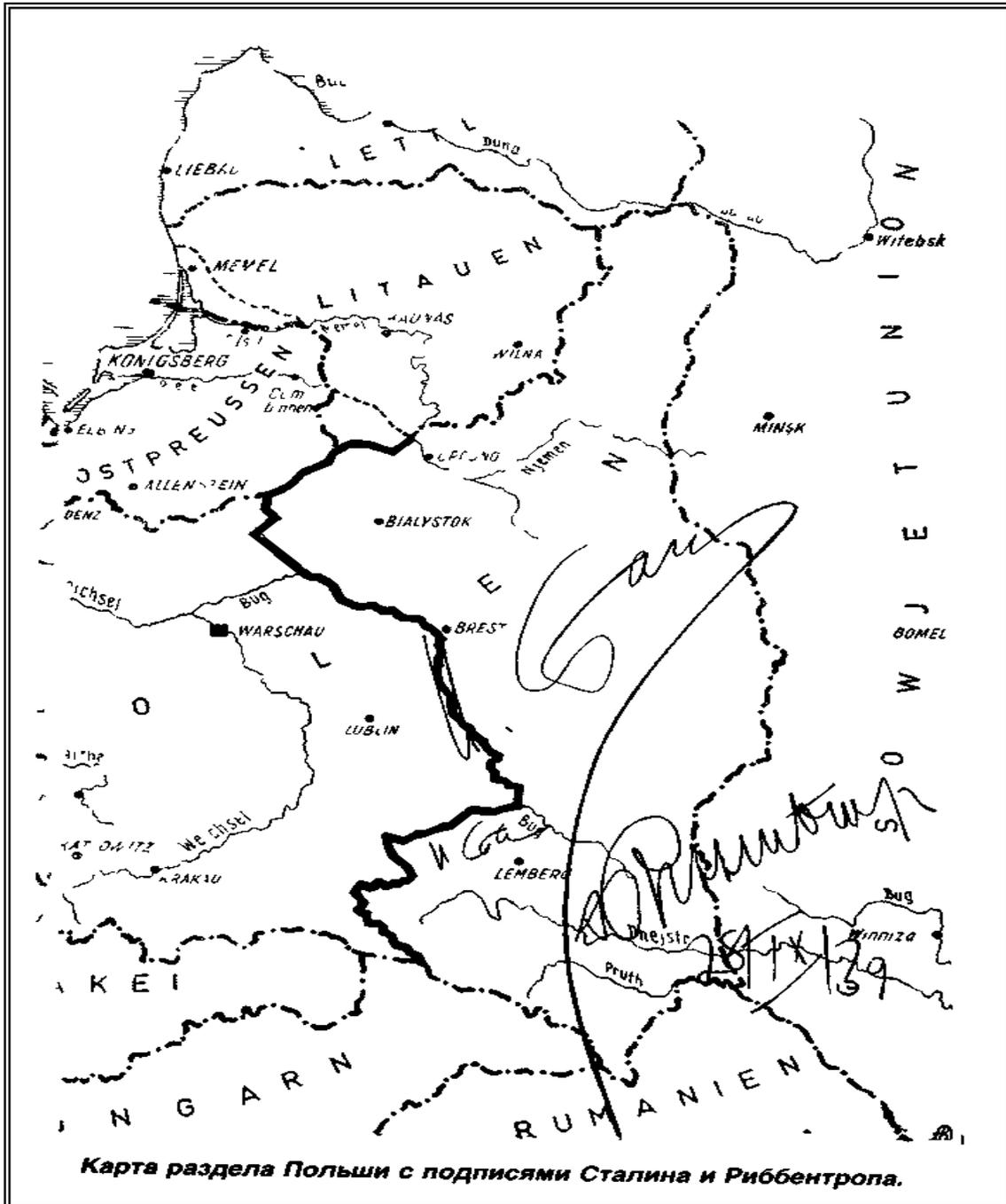
The tendencies in bilateral relations were drastically changed before World War II. That time the USSR and Germany concluded the series of the treaties and protocols. The problem of development of the soviet-germane relations in the prewar period, as well as the problem of concluding Nonaggression Pact are examined in the third chapter of the master paper.

Summarizing all above-mentioned we can make the following conclusion. However the authorities of Germany and Soviet Union passed through different time and political obstacles to the establishment of their power, two governments had similar tactics of realization of own internal policy and achievement of their goals. Such similarity of the external policy principles lead to the activation of soviet-germane relations. However, it also caused regularly the tension and coolness between two states.

Though, the ideological principles of two countries were different, the final goal of international policy of the USSR and Germany during all interwar period was expansion and establishment of their domination beyond their territories, resumption of former power and prestige of native country on the international arena.

APPENDIX 1

The map of Poland's division with signatures of Y. Stalin and I. Ribbentrop



APPENDIX 2

Text of the Nazi-Soviet Pact

The Government of the German Reich and The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Desirous of strengthening the cause of peace between Germany and the U.S.S.R., and proceeding from the fundamental provisions of the Neutrality Agreement concluded in April, 1926 between Germany and the U.S.S.R., have reached the following Agreement:

Article I. Both High Contracting Parties obligate themselves to desist from any act of violence, any aggressive action, and any attack on each other, either individually or jointly with other Powers.

Article II. Should one of the High Contracting Parties become the object of belligerent action by a third Power, the other High Contracting Party shall in no manner lend its support to this third Power.

Article III. The Governments of the two High Contracting Parties shall in the future maintain continual contact with one another for the purpose of consultation in order to exchange information on problems affecting their common interests.

Article IV. Neither of the two High Contracting Parties shall participate in any grouping of powers whatsoever that is directly or indirectly aimed at the other party.

Article V. Should disputes or conflicts arise between the High Contracting Parties over problems of one kind or another, both parties shall settle these disputes or conflicts exclusively through friendly exchange of opinion or, if necessary, through the establishment of arbitration commissions.

Article VI. The present Treaty is concluded for a period of ten years, with the proviso that, in so far as one of the High Contracting Parties does not advance it one year prior to the expiration of this period, the validity of this Treaty shall automatically be extended for another five years.

Article VII. The present Treaty shall be ratified within the shortest possible time. The ratifications shall be exchanged in Berlin. The Agreement shall enter into force as soon as it is signed.

APPENDIX 3

Secret Additional Protocol.

On the occasion of the signature of the Non-Aggression Pact between the German Reich and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics the undersigned plenipotentiaries of each of the two parties discussed in strictly confidential conversations the question of the boundary of their respective spheres of influence in Eastern Europe. These conversations led to the following conclusions:

Article I. In the event of a territorial and political rearrangement in the areas belonging to the Baltic States (Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania), the northern boundary of Lithuania shall represent the boundary of the spheres of influence of Germany and U.S.S.R. In this connection the interest of Lithuania in the Vilna area is recognized by each party.

Article II. In the event of a territorial and political rearrangement of the areas belonging to the Polish State, the spheres of influence of Germany and the U.S.S.R. shall be bounded approximately by the line of the rivers Narev, Vistula and San. The question of whether the interests of both parties make desirable the maintenance of an independent Polish State and how such a state should be bounded can only be definitely determined in the course of further political developments.

In any event both Governments will resolve this question by means of a friendly agreement.

Article III. With regard to Southeastern Europe attention is called by the Soviet side

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