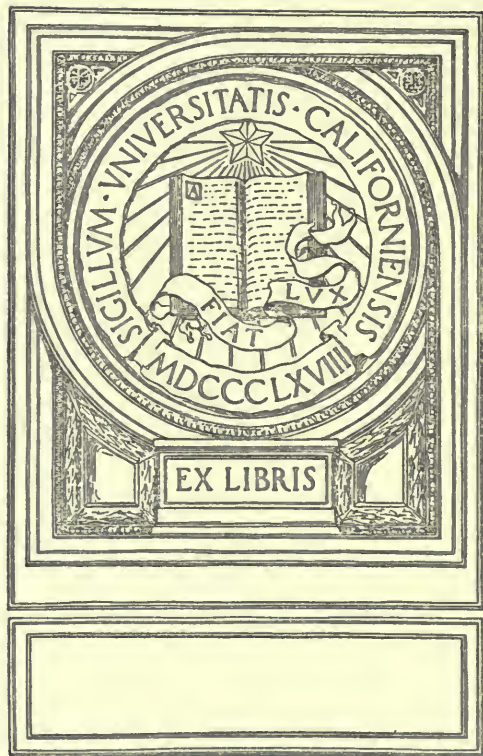


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Paris, France (City) Peace conference,
" 1919. Bessarabia.

**THE ROUMANIAN OCCUPATION
IN BESSARABIA**

DOCUMENTS

1920

PREFACE

The Bessarabian Delegation to the Peace Conference in Paris has from time to time published a series of pamphlets and memoirs for the purpose of throwing light on the real situation in Bessarabia since the Roumanian invasion. These have also depicted the grievous hardships to which the unfortunate population of Bessarabia have been compelled to submit throughout more than two years of foreign domination.

We publish herewith a series of documents in support of the cause we represent. These documents are eloquent in themselves, and we leave it to the impartial reader to draw his own conclusions from them.

The short statement printed as an introduction to the documents will enable the reader, thanks to the references at the feet of the pages, to gather the full significance of the various texts and to find without difficulty the detailed facts in support of the allegations.

We regret that we are unable to divulge in every case the names of the signatories of the documents. It must be remembered, however, that the signatories in question inhabit Bessarabia, and that it would be both dangerous and cruel to expose them to persecution by the Roumanian administration, and to maltreatment by the local gendarmery.

Nevertheless, if the League of Nations or the Great Powers, in the more or less near future, should express

willingness to institute an international inquiry, as we earnestly desire, under a guarantee for the protection of witnesses, nothing would prevent us from revealing the names of the whole of the signatories and giving the fullest information that may be asked of us.

A SHORT SUMMARY OF THE BESSARABIAN CASE.

Bessarabia is situated on the south-west frontier of the former Russian Empire, and borders on Roumania for a distances of over 180 miles¹. Its population of nearly 2. 700.000, belongs to various races, of which the Moldavians, who are the most numerous, form nearly 48 per cent of the total².

In 1812 the province of Bessarabia was annexed to Russia, under the Treaty of Bucarest, which followed the war between Russia and Turkey. After the Crimean War (1856) and in conformity with the clauses of the Treaty of Paris, which was imposed on Russia by France, England and Turkey, the former was compelled to hand over to the Allies the district of Ismail (one of the eight districts into which Bessarabia is divided), which was incorporated by them with the Principality of Moldavia.

In 1877, after the Russo-Turkish War, the Treaty of Berlin restored this same district of Ismail to Russia, by whom this restitution was regarded as a reparation for the injustice committed in 1856. Not wishing, however, to prejudice the interests of her Ally Roumania, Russia furnished the latter with ample compensation by giving her the whole province of the Dobroudja³,

It will be seen, therefore, that for a period of 106 years, except for the twenty-one years during which the district

1. See appendix No. 1. — 2. Appendix No. 2. — 3. Appendix No. 3.

of Ismail was detached from the province, Bessarabia formed an integral part of Russia and participated in the intellectual and economic development of that country.

After the Russian Revolution — in January, 1918 — the Roumanian troops invaded Bessarabia, under the pretext of introducing order there.

The Roumanian Government promised to withdraw as soon as order had been re-established. In the declaration made on this subject by the Roumanian military commander, the Bessarabian population were assured that the Roumanian army had no annexationist object in view¹.

By this declaration Roumania implicitly recognised that Bessarabia was a province belonging to Russia, an allied and friendly country.

Nevertheless the Bolshevist organization known as the “ Sfatul Tzerii ”, a kind of soviet which arrogated to itself dictatorial powers and fostered disorder and anarchy in this province, was not dissolved by the Roumanian Government.

If the object the Roumanian authorities had in view had really been the re-establishment of order in the country, the entry of their troops must infallibly have been followed by the dissolution of the Sfatul Tzerii. As a matter of fact the Roumanian Government had in view certain quite different objects, for the furtherance of which it was necessary they should have the so-called “ Bessarabian Parliament ” at their disposal.

This Sfatul Tzerii was composed almost entirely of revolted soldiers, of peasants anxious to appropriate other people's property and of a number of Bolchevist agitators².

After the vote of the Military Congress (October 25, 1917)³, in accordance with which Bessarabia should

1. See appendices Nos. 4, 5 and 11. — 2. Appendices Nos. 6 and 7. — 3. Appendix No. 8.

henceforward have formed part of the Russian Federation, the Sfatul Tzerii, under the influence of leaders who had sold themselves to Roumania¹, promulgated on December 2 following a decree by which Bessarabia was declared to be an independent Moldavian Republic².

The same Sfatul Tzerii, under the influence of the Roumanian Government, on March 27, 1918, voted the union of Bessarabia with Roumania³.

This union, however, was voted only under conditions that guaranteed to Bessarabia a large measure of self-government, the maintenance of all the existing Russian democratic and governmental institutions, and the maintenance of the courts, the judges and the laws that existed in Bessarabia before the union.

All these conditions were accepted by the Roumanian Government, and this conditional act of union was confirmed by the King of Roumania.

Nevertheless, the conditions stipulated were regarded by Roumania only as so many "scraps of paper", and no single one of them was respected. On the contrary, the whole of the judges were dismissed⁴, the Russian courts abolished⁵, the democratic institutions (such as the *zemstvos* and the municipal councils of the towns, which were elected by universal suffrage) suppressed⁶ the old administrative bodies replaced by Roumanian organizations, the elementary or primary schools roumanianised, and those of the teaching staffs who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the King of Roumania were driven out⁷. Finally, the Archbishop was removed from his post, and the two bishops expelled⁸.

At the end of another eight months this same Sfatul Tzerii met again, after the holidays, and on November 28,

1. See appendix No. 9. — 2. Appendices Nos. 10 and 11. — 3. Appendix No. 12. — 4. Appendix No. 13. — 5. Appendices Nos. 14 and 15. — 6. Appendices Nos. 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20. — 7. Appendix No. 21. — 8. Appendix 22.

1918, voted by acclamation the pure and simple union of Bessarabia with Roumania, and by the same act renounced all Bessarabia's rights to autonomy¹.

Is it possible to admit that a body like the Sfatul Tzerii, which began, in December 1917², by proclaiming its revolutionary and republican sentiments, would have been able, *proprio motu*, without the intervention of the Roumanian forces, to become monarchist³, within less than a year, to such an extent as to be ready to sacrifice all its rights in the way of liberty and self-government? Such an evolution would have been neither normal nor even possible without the threats and the underhand action of the Roumanian authorities⁴.

The new Act of unconditional annexation was voted by only thirty-eight members of the Sfatul Tzerii against eight to the contrary. No fewer than 114 of the 160 members, of which the Sfatul Tzerii was then composed, were absent⁵.

A few days before this deceitful vote, forty deputies held a meeting and drew up a very energetic protest on the illegal behaviour of the Roumanian Government in completely ignoring the conditions stipulated by the Act of Union that had been passed on March 27 of the same year.

This protest had the character of an ultimatum and was handed to the Roumanian Government on November 25.

It is evident that none of the forty signatories of this protest would have signed the Act of November 28. The majority of them, in fact, were absent from the sitting of November 28, and the two or three who were present (Tziganko and Boutchouchkane among them) voted against unconditional union⁶.

1. See appendix No. 25. — 2. Appendix No. 10. — 3. Appendix No. 24. — 4. Appendices Nos. 9, 25 and 26. — 5. Appendices Nos. 23 and 27. — 6. Appendix No. 28.

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The Roumanian Government bases its claims to Bessarabia on its alleged “historic rights”. To this argument it may be retorted that Roumania’s “historic rights” over Bessarabia have never existed. Turkey, perhaps, under other circumstances, might boast about historic rights in this connection, for Bessarabia, like Moldavia and Wallachia, was for several long centuries a Turkish province.

Nobody who knows the history of the Balkan Peninsula and of the international treaties affecting it — (those of Bucarest, 1812, and of Berlin, 1878)¹ — could for one moment seriously entertain Roumania’s claim to the possession of “historic rights” over Bessarabia.

Moreover the representatives of Roumania still base their claims on the acts of the Sfatul Tzerii, which they declare to have been a legally constituted body elected by universal suffrage and the representative of the real will of the Bessarabian people.

Such an affirmation is wilfully false. The Bessarabian delegates have proved, with the support of documents, that the Sfatul Tzerii was an organisation that was arbitrarily created and irresponsible². The Bessarabian delegates assert that the Bessarabian population categorically refuse to unite themselves with Roumania, and that they will never consent to such a union³.

And in this Bessarabia is assured of having in the future the support of the whole of Russia⁴.

Side by side with the votes of the Sfatul Tzerii, the representatives of Roumania claim that Bessarabia must be Roumanian on the principle of nationalities. In accordance with this principle, the Roumanians say, a province inhabited by a majority of Moldavians (that is to say, Rou-

1. See appendix No. 3. — 2. Appendices Nos 6, 7, 13, 19 and 30. — 3. Appendices Nos. 51, 52, 53 and 54. — 4. Appendices Nos. 35, 36, 37, 38, 39 and 40.

manians) should belong to Roumania, and it should be presumed that the population, or at least a majority of the people, desire to be united with Roumania.

We affirm not only that the votes of the Sfatul Tzerii were contrary to the wishes of the Moldavian people in Bessarabia, but that these people cannot possess any other than pro-Russian sentiments.

Roumanian nationalism was born towards 1850, in Wallachia and Moldavia, and was progressively developed in Roumania by the aid of the schools and other institutions of the country. Bessarabia was always outside this national movement, and its population, both Moldavian and otherwise, has been characterised by Russian civilisation and culture for more than a century past.

The people of Bessarabia, moreover, have benefited largely from all the advantages resulting from their incorporation in a great State whose degree of civilisation was appreciably superior to that of Roumania.

The rural population of Bessarabia, endowed as it was with a very important proportion of the land in the province¹, enjoyed conditions of veritable comfort; whereas the Roumanian peasant, deprived as he has been of access to the land, has had to fight against a brutalising poverty. The Bessarabian peasant, as everybody who knows the two countries will agree, has evidently had no reason to be envious of his Roumanian neighbour.

Similar comparisons might be made with regard to the persons and the institutions entrusted with the interests of the working classes.

The existence of such democratic institutions as the elective *zemstvos* of Bessarabia created very favourable conditions for the Bessarabian peasants, whereas in Roumania the population is entirely at the mercy of the arbitrary will of nominated officials and of the gendarmes.

1. See appendix No. 41.

It must not be overlooked, moreover, that the people of Moldavian blood in Bessarabia represent less than fifty per cent of the entire population¹.

Even if we admit, as the Roumanians assert, that the Moldavians amount to seventy per cent of the total, it would still be necessary for this seventy per cent to be willing to accept Roumanian domination; for, as it has been so justly said : « Peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty, as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game but every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the population concerned. »

We affirm, therefore, that the Moldavian population of Bessarabia refuses to consider itself as Roumanian, and that the most certain method of proving this would be to organize a plebiscite under conditions that would guarantee to the people the free and real expression of their sentiments. As a matter of fact the various would-be plebiscites that have been organized in Bessarabia under Roumanian domination have had no convincing value, as they have been conducted by means of coercion exercised by the Roumanian Government on the Bessarabian voters².

We assert that the votes successively recorded by the Sfatul Tzerii can in no way be regarded as worthy of consideration; in the first place because the Sfatul Tzerii was a body that had no right whatever to speak in the name of the Bessarabian people, and in the second place because the decisions that were given by that body were voted under the menace of Roumanian bayonets and machine guns³.

We affirm, lastly, that the historic, economic and

1. See appendix No. 2. — 2. Appendices Nos. 42, 43, 44 and 45. — 3. Appendices Nos. 20 and 26.

political rights of Russia will never allow her to accept an arbitrary annexation of Bessarabia by Roumania.

Nevertheless Roumania, contrary to the instructions and in spite of the injunctions of various representatives of the Allied Powers, persists in treating Bessarabia more and more as a conquered country.

Without referring again to the suppression of democratic institutions, such as the *zemstvo* and the municipalities, or to the dismissal of the whole of the judges, we may cite the following measures as having been taken by the Roumanian Government :

1. — The whole of the inhabitants of Bessarabia who were living in the country before 1914 have been declared Roumanian subjects, without being required to take the oath of allegiance and without any right of option being given them, in order to leave them at liberty to remain Russian citizens if they desire¹ ;

2. — All Bessarabian landowners who, after a delay of ten days, refused to declare themselves willing to become Roumanian subjects, were informed that their estates would be confiscated² ;

3. — In spite of their protests, almost the entire population was compelled, under military pressure, to take part in the Roumanian Parliamentary elections — elections that were entirely foreign to them — and this while Bessarabia was under a state of siege, and while all public meetings were prohibited³ ;

4. — Conscription has been introduced into Bessarabia, and the Russian citizens are compelled to do military service in the Roumanian army⁴.

All who have the courage to manifest their fidelity to Russia are considered by the Roumanian administration as Bolsheviks and treated with extreme cruelty.

1. See appendix No. 46. — 2. Appendices Nos. 47, 48, 49 and 50. — 3. Appendices Nos. 51, 52 and 53. — 4. Appendices Nos. 50, 54 and 55.

In the police commissariats and gendarmery stations, as well as in the prisons, methods of mediaeval torture have been introduced. Several thousands of unfortunate people have been shot or have been flogged until death has put an end to their sufferings.

Many villages which did not wish to submit to the Roumanian yoke have been set on fire and entirely destroyed¹.

The Roumanian administration has shrunk from no measure in its persecution of everything that could in any way be interpreted as pro-Russian sentiment².

The courts may be said to have ceased to exist and to have been replaced by the arbitrary will of the Roumanian police and gendarmes, who swarm throughout the country.

Even Red Cross organisations, in spite of being under the guarantee of the Geneva Convention, are not safe from the covetousness of the Roumanian Government and administration³. There can be no doubt but that the Governments of the Great Powers have been kept informed by their respective representatives of the real state of things in Bessarabia, as well as of the feelings of the population in regard to Roumania.

The savage methods employed by the Roumanian Government for the purpose of forcing the population to take part in the Parliamentary elections could not have been a secret for any of the Great Powers.

No obstacle has so far been allowed to stand in the way of the imperialistic tendencies of the Roumanian Government, no matter how harmful they may have been to the interests of the population. Violence, forgery of documents, bribery, corruption, physical tortures and assassination : such are the weapons that have been

1. See appendices Nos. 56-60. — 2. Appendices Nos. 61-65. — 3. Appendix No. 66.

made use of by the Roumanian Government and all the Roumanian governing class in Bessarabia.

The whole of these crimes, however, have been carefully camouflaged and concealed behind the mask of a spurious defence of the rights of the Moldavian people, of their alleged Roumanian loyalism, and of a would-be fight against Bolshevism : as a matter of fact, every Russian was to be presumed a Bolshevik, even if he had actually fled from Bolshevik Russia and its horrors ¹.

If, by chance, a daring voice ventured to make itself heard in the Roumanian Parliament on behalf of the persecuted and laid bare the savage methods of the governing authority, the President of the Chamber himself, supported by the majority of the Roumanians — who on this question all hold exactly the same views as their Government — abused the position he occupied and deprived such a rare and courageous deputy of the right to speak ².

In view of the existence of this regime of oppression and arbitrary injustice, it is impossible to realise exactly what Bessarabian opinion is. It was for this reason that the Bessarabian Delegation in Paris asked for Bessarabia the right to determine its own future by means of a plebiscite, taken under all the guarantees that would be necessary to ensure that it should really reflect the free will of the people. If it is no longer practically possible to carry out this plebiscite at present, it is nevertheless important to leave this question open in principle, and to reserve such a solution for a more favourable future period.

It would, however, be imperative that an Inter-Allied Commission should be sent to Bessarabia, for the purpose of controlling the actions of the Roumanian authorities, receiving complaints from the inhabitants and proceeding, if it were necessary, to make an investigation

1. See appendix No. 69. — 2. Appendices Nos. 67 and 68.

into the acts of which the Roumanian administration has been guilty during their occupation of the country.

National consultations of this kind have already been agreed upon and carried out in various parts of the territories belonging to our former enemies. Inter-Allied Commissions have been sent into Hungary and to Budapest, for the purpose of protecting some of these former enemies against the arbitrary conduct of the Roumanians. Why should the same advantages be refused to a province belonging to a friendly country, to a faithful Ally, who, overwhelmed by an unprecedented revolution, is for the time being in a state of eclipse, and unable to carry out her engagements to the end?

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* *

At the very moment when this memoir was about to be sent to the press, we received from England the news that the Supreme Council had decided to attribute Bessarabia to Roumania.

We have found it useful to submit to our readers the very text of this decision as well as our discussion of the arguments put forward by the Supreme Council in order to support this decision¹.

We refuse to submit to this decision of the Supreme Council and to endorse the arguments by which it is prompted.

For those who have read with attention this memoir, the decision of the Supreme Council can have no value whatever : they will, in fact, acknowledge that neither the Bessarabians nor the Russians can accept that the lot of Bessarabia should be settled without their being consulted.

Both the former and the latter have the full right of considering this decision as unlawful, unjust and arbitrary.

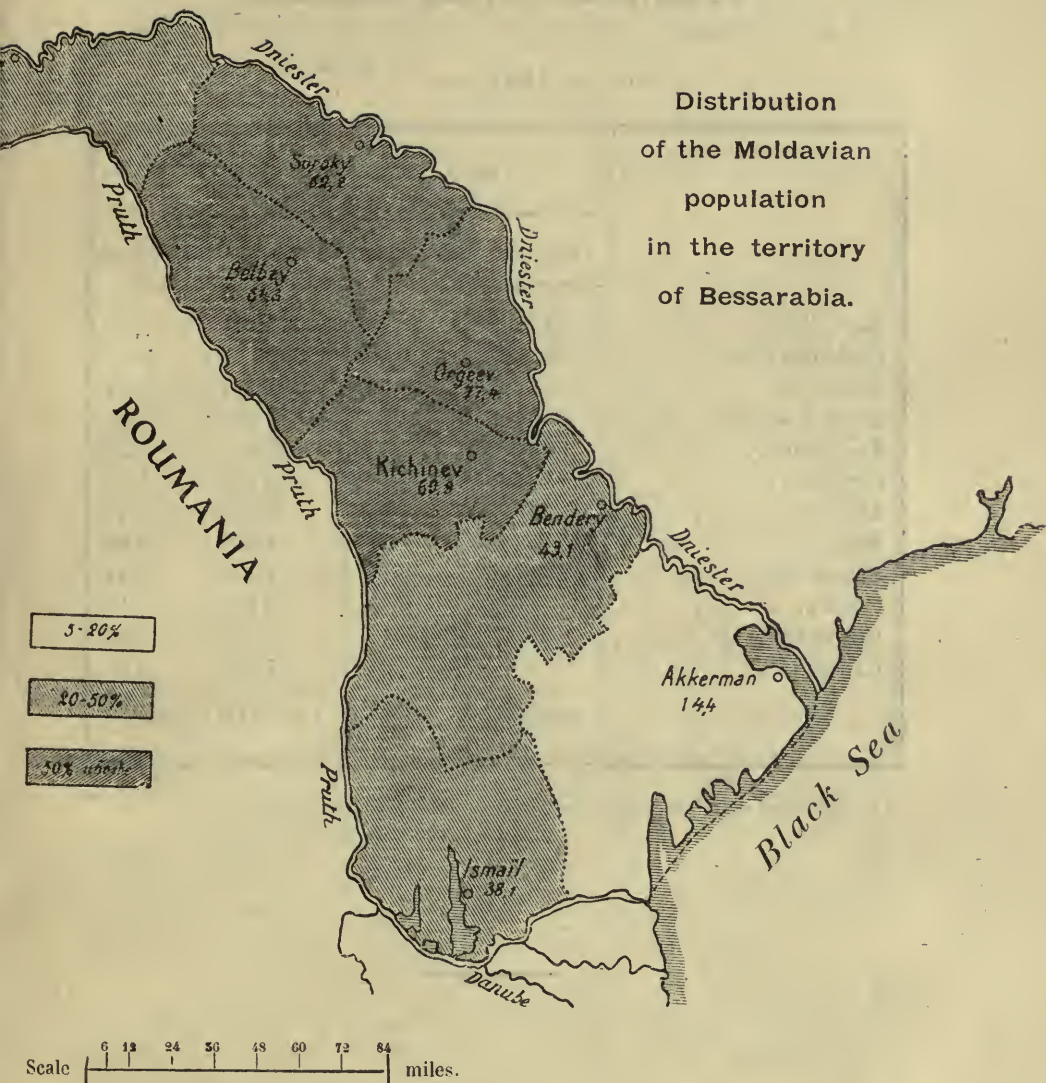
A. N. KROUPENSKY.

President of the Bessarabian Delegation
to the Peace Conference.

1. See appendix No. 70.

APPENDIX N° 1

Distribution
of the Moldavian
population
in the territory
of Bessarabia.



Bessarabian official Statistics¹.

CENSUS OF 1862 AND OF 1897.

	1862		1897	
	Population	Percentage	Population	Percentage
Moldavians.	515 927	51,44	920 919	47,58
Little Russians.	215 625	21,50	382 169	19,75
Jews.	95 923	9,56	228 168	11,79
Great Russians.	68 168	6,80	155 774	8,05
Bulgarians.	56 666	5,60	103 225	5,33
Germans.	30 020	2,99	60 206	3,11
Gipsies.	12 995	1,29	8 656	0,45
Poles.	5 914	0,39	11 696	0,60
Armenians.	2 298	0,23	2 080	0,11
Greeks.	1 956	0,20	2 737	0,14
Other Nationalities. . . .	45	»	2 737	0,14
Gagaouses.	»	»	57 045	2,95
Total.	1 003 035	100	1 935 412	100

1. Compiled from the Statistical Annual of the Russian Empire.

Bessarabian history as revealed by Extracts from the Treaties which have been entered into from 1774 down to 1878 in which Bessarabia has been concerned¹.

EXTRACT FROM THE TREATY OF KUTCHOUK-KAINARDJI

JULY 10/21, 1774

ART. 16. — The Russian Empire restores to the Sublime Porte the whole of Bessarabia, with the towns of Akerman, Kilia, Ismail and other boroughs and all their appurtenances and dependencies, together with the fortress of Bender; it restores to the Sublime Porte the two principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, with all the fortresses, towns, boroughs, villages and generally all that is comprised in them; and the Sublime Porte receives them on the following conditions, which it is obliged and solemnly promises religiously to observe :

1. — To observe towards the inhabitants of the said principalities, of whatever state, quality, condition, name and race they may be, the entire and perfect amnesty and eternal forgetfulness stipulated in the first article of this Treaty, in favour of all those who may have committed any crime, or who may be suspected of having acted against the interest of the Sublime Porte, by restoring to them their previous rank, employment and possessions and by handing back to them the property which they enjoyed before the present war.

2. — To prevent in no shape or form the free practice of the Christian religion, and also in no way to oppose the construction of new churches and the re-establishment of those which formerly existed in the past.

1. "Recueil des actes internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman", by *Gabriel Effendi Noradounghian*, legal adviser to the Ottoman Porte.

3. — To restore to the monasteries and to all other private persons the whole of the lands and possession which formerly belonged to them, and which have since been taken away from them contrary to all justice, in the neighbourhood of Brahilow, Choczin, Bender, etc., and which are now known as « Rai ».

4. — To recognise and to respect the Clergy in a manner suitable to their status.

5. — To grant to those families who desire to abandon their country and transport themselves into another country the facility to do so freely and to carry their possessions with them; and in order that such families may have the time necessary to arrange their affairs, they shall be granted a period of one year in which to emigrate freely from their country, which period shall date from the date of the ratification of the present Treaty.

6. — To demand nothing from the inhabitants of the districts in question, either in money or otherwise, in respect of old accounts of no matter what kind they may be.

7. — To demand further no contribution or other payment for the whole period of the war, in view of the great amount of loss and of calamity suffered by them during its continuance nor even for the period of two years dating from the date of the ratification of this Treaty.

8. — After the expiration of such period the Porte promises to exercise all the humanity and all the generosity possible in connection with the imposition of taxes payable in money, and to receive such taxes through the medium of commissioners who shall be sent every five years : and after the payment of the taxes thus imposed on them no Pasha or Governor or other person whatever shall in any case molest them, nor demand from them any other payment or imposition whatever, under whatever name or pretext it may be; but they shall be allowed to enjoy the same advantages as they have enjoyed since the time of the reign of Mahomet IV, of happy memory, the father of his Majesty.

9. — To still permit the Sovereigns of the two Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia each to retain, at his own expense,

at the Sublime Porte, Christian *chargés d'affaires* of the Greek religion, to watch over their interests, and these *chargés d'affaires* will look after the affairs of the said Principalities, and they shall be favourably treated by the Sublime Porte, who shall regard them, in spite of their slight importance, as men under the protection of the law of nations (“*jus gentium*”) and consequently exempt from vexation.

10. — The Sublime Porte agrees further that, in accordance with the circumstances in which the said Principalities may be found, the Ministers of the Russian Imperial Court may speak on their behalf, and the Sublime Porte promises to have regard for these representations, in conformity with the friendly consideration and the relations that the Powers have the one with the other.

(*Noradounghian*, vol. I, p. 326-327.)

EXTRACT FROM THE TREATY OF JASSY

(JANUARY 9, 1792).

Article 4. — In consequence of the said clause relative to the limits of the two Empires and in view of Article IV of the Preliminaries, which enact that all the other frontiers of the two Empires shall remain such as they were at the beginning of the present war and that all the territories which, during the hostilities, have been taken by the Russian troops, with all the fortifications found therein and in their present actual conditions, shall be restored to the Sublime Porte.

Her Imperial Majesty restores to it Bessarabia, as well as the towns of Bender, Akerman, Kilia and Ismail and all towns and villages included in this province.

Further, Her Imperial Majesty gives to the Sublime Porte the Province of Moldavia, with its towns and villages and all that it includes, on the following conditions, which the Sublime Porte promises faithfully to fulfil :

1. — To observe and execute religiously all that which has been stipulated in favour of the two provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia in the Treaty of peace concluded on July 10/21, 1774 (14 Djemazi-ul-Evvel 1188); in the Explanatory Convention

concluded on March 10/21, 1779 (2 Djemazi-ul-Akhir 1195); as well as in the Act of the 28 December 1783/8 January 1784 (15 Sefer 1198), which the Grand Vizier has signed in the name of the Porte.

2. — Not to demand from these provinces any reimbursement of debts in arrears, of no matter what kind they may be.

5. — Not to demand from these countries, for the whole period covered by the duration of the war, any contributions or payments, but on the contrary and in consideration of the loss and devastations from which they have suffered during the war, to exempt them for a period of two years from the date of the ratification of the present treaty from all charges and taxes whatsoever.

4. — To permit such families as may wish to leave the country and establish themselves elsewhere to leave freely and carry their goods with them; and in order that they may have the time to inform their relatives, subjects of the Ottoman Empire, to sell their goods, furniture or real estate, according to the laws of the country, to other subjects of the Ottoman Empire and to wind up their affairs, they shall be accorded a period of fourteen months, dating from the date of the ratification of the present Treaty.

(*Noradounghian*, vol. II, p. 18.)

EXTRACT FROM THE TREATY OF TILSIT

(25 JUNE-7 JULY 1807.)

« Article 22. — The Russian troops shall withdraw from the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, but the said provinces shall not be occupied by the troops of His Highness until the exchange of the ratifications of the future treaty of peace between Russia and the Porte.

« Article 23. — His Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias has accepted the mediation of His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, for the purpose of negotiating and concluding a peace that shall be advantageous and honourable to the two empires ».

But Article 8 of the secret treaty which was concluded on the same date, provided, in the event of the failure of the negotiations, for a veritable dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire.

ARTICLE VIII OF THE SECRET TREATY

Likewise, if, in consequence of the changes that are taking place at Constantinople, the Porte should not accept the mediation of France, or if after it has accepted such mediation, it should happen that, within a period of three months after the opening of negotiations, no satisfactory result has been arrived at, France will make common cause with Russia against the Sublime Porte, and the two High Contracting Parties agree to take away the whole of the provinces of the Turkish Empire in Europe — the city of Constantinople and the province of Roumelia excepted — from the yoke and the vexations of the Turks.

(*Martens*, Recueil des Traités, vol. XIII.)

EXTRACT FROM THE TREATY OF BUCAREST

(MAY 16/28, 1812).

Article 4. — By Article I of the Preliminaries it is stipulated that the Pruth, from the point where it enters Moldavia down to its mouth in the Danube, and from there the left bank of the Danube as far as Kilia and its mouth in the Black Sea, shall form the frontier of the two empires. Navigation, however, shall continue to be common to both peoples. The small islands in the Danube, uninhabited down to the beginning of the present war, and lying between Ismail and Kilia, shall be — being nearer to the left bank of the river — under the domination of Russia; but the High Contracting Parties agree that they shall remain uninhabited and that henceforward no fortification of any kind shall be constructed thereon; the subjects of both Powers shall be at liberty to fish there and to cut wood. The larger islands, situated opposite Ismail and Kilia, shall also remain deserted, but only for a distance of one league from the left bank of the Danube. This distance shall be

precisely laid down later. Establishments that existed before the war, such as Old Kilia, are not comprised in this line of demarcation. In virtue of the other dispositions comprised in this Article, the Ottoman Sublime Porte relinquishes in favour of Russia the countries situated on the left bank of the Pruth, together with all the fortresses, towns and villages found there, as well as one-half of the River Pruth, which shall form the limit of the two empires. Merchant shipping of both Powers may enter and leave the mouth of the Danube and navigate the whole length of the river, but Russian warships shall never ascend the Danube beyond its confluence with the Pruth.

Article 5. — His Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias abandons and hands over to the Sublime Porte that part of Moldavia situated on the right bank of the Pruth, as well as Great and Little Wallachia, with its fortresses in their present condition, and all the towns, boroughs, villages and other establishments and everything that is comprised in this province, together with the islands in the Danube, with the exception of those mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

The treaties and conventions relative to the privileges of Moldavia and Wallachia are confirmed, according to the principles of the fifth article in the Preliminaries. The special Conventions and dispositions of Article 4 of the Treaty of Jassy shall remain equally in vigour; that is to say, that the Porte will exact no compensation for the revenues which it has lost, that it will levy no taxation in respect of the duration of the war, and that the inhabitants of these two provinces shall be, for the period of two years following the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, exempt from all taxation; finally, that those who wish to emigrate shall be given a delay of four months, and that the Sublime Porte shall act in such a manner that the future taxes imposed on Moldavia shall be proportionate to the present extent of its territory.

[The Treaty of Bucarest was signed, on behalf of Russia, by Italinsky, Sabaneyeff and Fonton, and on behalf of Turkey by Esscid Mehemed Shalib, Muffi Zadé Ibrahim Selim and Abdul Hamrid.]

(*Noradounghian*, vol. II, p. 87).

EXTRACT FROM THE PROTOCOL OF VIENNA

(FEBRUARY 1, 1856.)

The project of the Preliminaries of Peace annexed to the Protocol of Vienna of February 1, 1856, signed by the representatives of France, Austria, Great Britain, Russia and Turkey, stipulated, among other things, in its first paragraph :

« In exchange for the fortresses and territories occupied by the Allied Armies, Russia consents to a rectification of her frontier with Turkey in Europe. The frontier thus rectified, in a manner conformable with general interests, shall start from the surroundings of Chotyn, follow the line of the mountains which extend in a southeasterly direction, and end at Lake Salzyk. The line shall be definitely settled by the treaty of peace, and the territory thus conceded shall return to the Principalities and to Turkish sovereignty ».

(*Noradounghian*, Vol. III, p. 4)

PROTOCOL No. IV OF THE CONGRESS OF PARIS

Sitting of March 8, 1856

On the proposition of Count Walewski, the Congress passed to the development of the opening point, and decided that before proceeding to consider the questions connected with the organization of the Principalities it would deal with the question of the rectification of the frontiers between the Danubian provinces and Russian territory.

Baron Brunnow read a memoir tending to demonstrate that the situation of the places and the direction of the means of communication would not permit of the determination of a direct line between the two extreme points indicated in the Preliminaries of Peace. He reminded the Congress that the Allied Powers had in view the assurance of the free navigation of the Danube, and he suggested that this object would be attained by the adoption of another line, which he was charged

to propose to the Congress. This line, which would have the advantage of in no way disturbing the economy of the province, would start from Wadul-lui-Isaki, on the Pruth, follow the Vale of Trajan and end to the north of Lake Yalpuch. Russia would abandon the islands in the delta of the Danube, and would destroy the forts of Ismail and Kilia-Nova.

Count Walewski replied that this proposal was too appreciably removed from the bases of the negotiations for the plenipotentiaries of the Allied Powers to be able to take it into serious consideration.

Baron Brunnow, returning to the same proposal, argued that it would be difficult to arrive at a satisfactory limitation outside the limits he had indicated. He added that it might be possible, at the same time, by utilising the line which he proposed, to join to the territory which Russia had ceded those territories which were comprised between Lake Katlabug, the Vale of Trajan and Lake Salsyk.

The Chief Plenipotentiary for Great Britain pointed out that the acceptance of the line indicated by Baron Brunnow would be equivalent to an abandonment of the propositions formulated by Austria, with the assent of the Allied Powers; that these propositions had been accepted at St. Petersburg, confirmed at Vienna and Paris, and that the plenipotentiaries of these Powers, whatever might be the spirit of conciliation that animated them, could not reject conditions of peace in such a manner and entirely give up concessions that had been agreed to in principle by all the governments represented at the Congress.

Count Walewski made observations of a similar character.

Count Buol also remarked that the line suggested by Baron Brunnow included only a small portion of the territory whose cession had been agreed to by Russia when she had accepted the conditions of peace that had been taken to St. Petersburg by Austria, and said he hoped the Russian representatives would lay before the Congress a proposition which more nearly approached the circumstances that had preceded the opening of the negotiations.

Baron Hubner pointed out that the line suggested in the

Austrian propositions, so far as its two extreme points were concerned, was founded on the configuration of the country as reproduced by all the maps.

The Russian Plenipotentiaries replied that they had already given evidence, at the preceding sittings of the Congress, of their wish to be conciliating; that they had laid before the Congress reasons which in their opinion, were worthy of consideration; that they had no other object than to bring about an agreement in conformity with the topography of the country and the interests of the peoples who inhabited it, and that they were consequently ready to discuss any other proposition that might be submitted.

The Chief Plenipotentiary for France repeated that the Allied Powers could not support any frontier line that would not be in harmony with the concessions arrived at during the preliminary negotiations, but that it would, however, be possible to proceed by way of compensation, and that it might perhaps be possible to come to an agreement by prolonging the limit to the south-east and beyond Lake Salsyk if, as the Russian plenipotentiaries thought, it would suffer from topographical difficulties to the northward.

After a discussion on this amendment, in which all the plenipotentiaries took part, an offer was made to the Russian Plenipotentiaries for the establishment of a frontier by means of a line which, starting from the Pruth, between Leova and Hush, would pass to the north of Lake Salsyk and finish above Lake Albedies.

The Russian Plenipotentiaries stated that they would be obliged to assure themselves as to what effects this proposal would have on the Russian and Bulgarian colonies which had been established in that part of Bessarabia, and asked that the continuation of the discussion should be adjourned till the next sitting of the Congress.

This was agreed to. The French and the British Plenipotentiaries, however, expressed the opinion that the proposition which they supported, in a spirit of concord, constituted from every point of view a concession of which the importance was attested by the extent of the territory comprised between

Chotyn and Hush, and they expressed the conviction that this concession would be fully appreciated by the Russian delegates.

Count Orloff bore witness to the good feeling displayed towards the Russian Plenipotentiaries by the other members of the Congress, and he added that, in asking to be allowed to make a special study of the proposition that had been put before them, they had no other object in view than that of trying to conciliate it with local exigencies.

(*Noradounghian*, Vol. III, p. 16-18).

PROTOCOL No. VII OF THE CONGRESS OF PARIS

Sitting of March 10, 1856.

The Congress resumed the discussion on the delimitation of the Bessarabian frontiers.

Baron Brunnow stated that the Russian plenipotentiaries had considered, with the same spirit of concord which had suggested the terms to the plenipotentiaries of the Allied Powers, the line that had been proposed at the previous sitting; that they recognised how this line justified the confidence they had placed in the conciliating disposition of the Congress, but that, after having consulted their instructions and basing themselves on the topographical and administrative considerations which they had already set forth, they found themselves compelled, in the interest of a good delimitation itself, to ask for an amendment of the line that had been offered to them, in such a way that the new frontier, starting from the confluence of the Pruth and the Saratsika, should ascend the latter river as far as the village of the same name, thence pass in the direction of the River Yalpuk, which it should descend until it reached the point where it rejoined the Vale of Trajan, which it would follow as far as Lake Salsyk and come to an end finally at the northern extremity of Lake Albedies.

This proposal formed the subject of a discussion in which all the plenipotentiaries took part. Eventually, coming to an agreement, they decided that the new frontier should start from the Black Sea at a kilometre to the east of Lake Bourn-

Sola, connect up perpendicularly with the road from Akerman, follow this road as far as the Vale of Trajan, pass to the south of Bolgrad, run up the length of the River Yalpuk as far as Saratsika, and end at Katamori, on the Pruth.

The Russian plenipotentiaries stated that, while adhering to this solution, they were compelled to reserve their final acceptance until they had obtained the approval of the Czar, owing to the fact that, by accepting it, they would be going outside their instructions.

(*Noradounghian*, Vol. III, p. 20).

PROTOCOL No. IX OF THE CONGRESS OF PARIS

Sitting of March 14, 1856.

Count Orloff announced that the treaty of delimitation between Russia and [the Turkish Empire in Europe; as fixed by the Congress at its sitting of March 10, had been approved by the Russian Court.

(*Noradounghian*, Vol. III, p. 25).

The articles of the Treaty of Paris of March 30, 1856, concerning Bessarabia, were drawn up as follows :

Arr. 4. — Their Majesties the Emperor of the French, the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the King of Sardinia and the Sultan undertake to restore to His Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias the towns and ports of Sebastopol, Belaklava, Kamiesch, Eupatoria, Kertch, Jeni-Kaleh, Kinburn, as well as all the other territories occupied by the Allies.

Art. 20. — In exchange for the towns, ports and territories enumerated in Article 4 of the present treaty, and *in order better to assure the freedom of navigation of the Danube*, His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias agrees to the rectification of his frontier in Bessarabia.

The new frontier will start from the Black Sea one kilometre east of Lake Bournasola, connect up perpendicularly with the

Akermann road, follow this road as far as the Vale of Trajan, pass thence to the Bolgrad Neck, run along the River Yalpuck as far Saratsika and end at Katamori, on the Pruth. Above this point the old frontier between the two empires will undergo no modification.

The delegates of the contracting Powers will fix the details of the new frontier.

ART. 21. — The territory ceded by Russia will be annexed to the principality of Moldavia, under the sovereignty of the Sublime Porte. The inhabitants of these territories will enjoy the rights and privileges assured to the Principalities and, during a period of three years, they will be allowed to transfer their domicile elsewhere, by disposing of their properties.

(*Narodounghian*, Vol. III, p. 73-77).

The Treaty of Paris of 1856 not only deprived Russia of a part of Bessarabia, but the Great Powers, at the same time, put an end to the exclusive protection exercised by Russia on the Principalities, by substituting therefore a collective guarantee of their privileges and immunities.

As has already been shown, the special situation of Russia had its origin in the treaties of Kutchuk-Kainardji and Jassy. While handing over Moldavia and Wallachia to Turkey in 1812, Russia took care that the privileges stipulated in favour of the Principalities by the previous treaties were confirmed (Article 5, paragraph 2 of the Treaty of Bucarest). From 1812 to 1856, moreover, Russian protection was expressed in the form of stipulations inserted in general treaties or by special conventions relative to the domestic régime of the Principalities and to the nomination of their hospodars. Of this nature were the Akerman Convention of September 26/ October 7, 1826 and the separate Act annexed thereto, which provided that the dismissal or abdication of a hospodar could only take place after the consent of the two courts of Russia and Turkey; of this nature was the Treaty of Adrianople of September 2/14, 1829, and the separate Act thereto, fixing the election of hospodars as for the duration of their lives, whereas up to then it had

been for a term of seven years only; the Russo-Turkish Treaty of St. Petersburg of January 29, 1834, which obliged the Porte to recognise the Constitution elaborated by the Assembly of Notables during the Russian occupation (Article 2); such was the Convention of Balta-Liman of April 19/May 1, 1849, which introduced changes in the organic settlement of the Principalities, determined the nomination of the hospodars « by His Majesty the Sultan, according to the method specially agreed to in this regard between the two Courts, » and stipulated, in view of the disturbed situation in the Principalities, for their simultaneous occupation by Russian and Turkish troops.

All these acts establish in peremptory fashion the right of protection that Russia exercised over the Danube Principalities. Point 1 of the Preliminaries of Vienna, of February 1, 1856, concluded after the Crimean war, put an end to this situation. In that we read: « Entire abolition of the Russian protectorate. Russia will exercise no special or exclusive right of protection or interference in the internal affairs of the Danube Principalities. » Articles 22 to 27 of the Treaty of Paris set forth precisely the new situation of the Principalities. Article 22 lays down: « The Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia shall continue to enjoy, under the suzerainty of the Porte and under the guarantee of the Contracting Powers, the privileges and immunities of which they are in possession. No exclusive protection shall be exercised over them by either of the guaranteeing Powers. Neither shall have any especial right to interfere in their internal affairs. »

Articles 23 to 27 concern the administration of the Principalities, the revision of their statutes by a commission composed of delegates of the Powers and of the Porte, the convocation of the Divans to be summoned to express the wishes of the people in regard to the definite organisation of the Principalities and the national army.

Article 25 enacts: « The final agreement with the suzerain power shall be consecrated by a convention concluded at Paris between the High Contracting parties; and a Hatti-Cherif, in conformity with the stipulations of the convention, shall constitute definitely the organization of these provinces, which

shall henceforth be placed under the collective guarantee of the whole of the signatory Powers. »

This convention for the organisation of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, which was signed at Paris on August 19, 1858, in its second article confirmed that « the Principalities shall continue to enjoy, under the collective guarantee of the Contracting Powers, the privileges and immunities of which they are in possession. »

EXTRACT FROM THE RUSSO-TURKISH TREATY
OF SAN STEFANO (MARCH 5, 1878)

Article 19. — The war indemnities and the damages for the losses inflicted on Russia, which the Emperor of Russia claims and the Sublime Porte undertakes to reimburse, are made up as follows :

a) Nine hundred million roubles as cost of the war (maintenance of the army, replacement of material, orders for war material);

b) Four hundred million roubles of damage done on the southern coast of the country to export trade, industries and railways;

c) One hundred million roubles of loss inflicted on the Caucasus through invasion;

d) Ten million roubles for losses inflicted on and damages due to Russian subjects and institutions in Turkey.

Total : one thousand four hundred and ten million roubles.

Taking into consideration the financial embarrassment of Turkey and in accordance with the desires of H. M. the Sultan, the Emperor of Russia agrees to substitute for the payment of the greater part of the sums mentioned in the preceding paragraph the following cessions of territory :

a) The sandjak of Toultscha, that is to say the districts (cazas) of Kilia, Soulina, Mahmoudieh, Isaktcha, Toultscha, Matchin, Babadagh, Hirsovo, Kustendjeh, and Medjidieh, as well as the islands in the Delta and Serpent Island.

Having no desire to annex this territory and the islands in

the Delta, Russia reserves the right to exchange them against that portion of Bessarabia that was detached from her by the Treaty of 1856 and which is limited on the south by the thalweg of the Kilia arm of the river and the mouth of the Stary-Stamboul. The question of the sharing of the waters and the fisheries shall be settled by a Russo-Roumanian commission within a period of one year after the ratification of the treaty of peace.

b) Ardahan, Kars, Batoum, Bayazid and the territory extending as far as Soganlough. In general detail the frontier line, after leaving the coast of the Black Sea, will follow the crest of the mountains that divide the tributaries of the River Hopa from those of the River Tcharokh and the mountain chain to the south of the town of Artvin as far as the River Tcharokh, near the villages of Alat and Bechaget; from there the frontier will follow the summits of the hills Dervenikgeki, Hortchezor and Bedjiguin-Dagh, along the crest that separates the tributaries of the Rivers Tortoum-Tchai and Tcharokh and along the heights near Yaili-Vihine, ending at the village of Vihine-Kilissa, on the River Tortoum-Tchai; from this point it will follow the Sivridagh chain as far as the neck of that name, passing to the south of the village of Narimann; it will then turn towards the south-east to Zivine, whence the frontier, passing to the west of the road which runs from the road from Zivine to the villages of Ardost and Norassan, will continue southwards by the Soganlough chain as far as the village of Gilitchman; thence, by the crest of the Charian Dagh, it will reach, at ten versts south of Hamour, the pass of Mourad-Tchai; the frontier will afterwards run along the crest of Alla-Daghet and, passing to the south of the valley of Bayazid, will connect up with the old Turco-Persian frontier south of Lake Kazli-Gueul.

The definite limits of the territory annexed to Russia, as indicated on the annexed map, shall be fixed by a commission composed of Russian and Turkish delegates. This commission shall take into consideration, in carrying out its work, both the topography of the localities concerned and the conditions necessary for the good administration and to assure the tranquility of the country.

c) The territories mentioned in Paragraphs *a* and *b* are ceded to Russia as the equivalent of one thousand one hundred million roubles. As to the balance of the indemnity claimed, except for the ten million roubles due in respect of damage to Russian interests and institutions in Turkey, that is to say, three hundred million roubles, the mode of payment of this amount and the guarantees to be given in regard thereto shall be settled by an agreement between the Imperial Russian Government and that of H. M. the Sultan.

d) The ten million roubles claimed as indemnity in respect of Russian subjects and institutions in Turkey shall be paid as and when the claims of the interested parties shall be examined by the Russian Embassy at Constantinople and transmitted to the Sublime Porte.

(*Noradounghian*, vol. III, p. 517.)

PROTOCOL No. IX OF THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN

Sitting of June 29, 1878.

The Congress began the discussion of the Articles of the Treaty of San Stefano relating to Roumania. The President read the first paragraph of Article 5, which runs as follows :

« The Sublime Porte recognises the independence of Roumania, who will maintain her right to an indemnity, to be settled between the two parties ».

The President asked if the Congress was disposed to maintain without conditions the principle set forth in this paragraph, or whether it should be subordinated to the acceptance by Roumania of territorial modification which she appeared to reject. He had no personal opinion upon the point, but he desired to know if the representatives of other Powers considered that the independence of Roumania was bound up in the recognition by that Principality of the whole of the Treaty of San Stefano, and if they did not consequently regard the two questions of independence and territorial changes as connected.

Count Corti remarked that the Preliminaries of San Stefano

had been concluded between Russia and Turkey, and that Roumania had not been able to take any part therein, as she had been placed under the suzerainty of the Porte. He did not think it would be equitable to regard the Principality as bound to the same extent as the Ottoman Government. He did not think it would be opportune to make the independence of Roumania depend on her adhesion to the stipulations that concerned her.

Count Schouvalow did not share this opinion. Roumania, it was true, had herself proclaimed her independence, but that independence could not be effective without the assent of Europe, and the Congress had the right to pronounce upon the question, without seeking to settle whether Roumania was or was not bound by the other articles of the Treaty of San Stefano.... Lord Beaconsfield said he had observed with the deepest regret the stipulations of Article XIX of the Treaty of San Stefano relative to Bessarabia. In the first place this arrangement constituted an interference with the Treaty of 1856, and only extreme necessity could authorise any change in such a solemn act, and there was no allegation as to any such necessity. Secondly, in his opinion it would be a serious mistake to consider this stipulation as a mere exchange of territory between two States. The Articles 4 to 20 of the Treaty of Paris constituted an undertaking entered into between the European Powers and Russia with the object of assuring the navigation of the Danube, and he found no guarantee of this liberty in the Treaty of San Stefano. In Article 4 of the 1856 Treaty the Allied Powers undertook to restore to the Emperor of Russia the whole of the territory occupied by their troops, but under the condition indicated in Article 20 — that a rectification of the Russian frontier should take place in Bessarabia « in order to better assure the navigation of the Danube. » That was an engagement entered into with Europe. To-day, however, the Russian Government proposed to retain the restituted territories without fulfilling the conditions under which they were restituted. The principal British Plenipotentiary urged that such a serious situation should receive the deepest attention of the Congress. Lord Beacons-

field deplored this interference with the Treaty of Paris and protested against it, remarking that it was unnecessary even to go into the question of whether the exchange was or was not sanctioned by the actual present possessor. The other signatories of the Treaty of Paris having declined all intervention in the matter, the British Plenipotentiaries could not advise the Government of the Queen to employ force for the purpose of maintaining the stipulations laid down in that treaty, but he protested against the change and awaited the explanations which his Russian colleagues would be in a position to give as to the pledges their Sovereign intended to give in order that the freedom of the Danube should be safeguarded.... Prince Gortchakow said he believed, like Lord Beaconsfield, that the free navigation of the Danube was of European interest, but he was unable to see what influence the cession of Bessarabia¹ could exercise on the free navigation of the Danube. Roumania, as a matter of fact, had contributed nothing whatever towards the improvements which had been made in connection with that river. The Treaty of Paris undoubtedly had given Moldavia a part of Bessarabia and the Delta of the Danube; but in 1857 the same Powers had restored the Delta to the Turks and had thus rendered a service to Moldavia, which was not in a position to carry out the necessary works to render the mouth of Sulina free of access. Since then the European Danube Commission had carried out important works, from which important advantages for the trade of the world had been derived.

The Prince then dealt with the question from another point of view, and reminded the Congress that in 1856 Bessarabia had been joined to Moldavia alone, at a period when the two principalities had to remain separate. Subsequently Moldavia and Wallachia were reunited, in spite of the Treaty of Paris and, notwithstanding the opposition of the European Cabinets, the united principalities elected a foreign prince — for whom, nevertheless, the speaker professed the greatest respect. The situation, therefore, was not the same as it had been formerly.

1. The word « Bessarabia » is used here in its primitive sense, meaning the southern part of that province, *i. e.* the district of Ismail.

Prince Gortchakow declared, moreover, that it would be impossible for his Government to withdraw from the position they had taken up and expressed the hope that Lord Beaconsfield would not insist on his objections, seeing that he had recognised that the freedom of the Danube would in no way suffer from the retrocession of Bessarabia.

Count Schouvalow said that, if he had well understood the observations that had fallen from Lord Beaconsfield, the noble lord regretted that the Treaty of San Stefano constituted an interference with the Treaty of 1856, under which Russia had given certain pledges to Europe. He reminded the Congress, however, that the Treaty of San Stefano was merely a preliminary convention, having no obligatory force except as between the two contracting parties, and that it was the medium through which Russia had made known in advance to the Turkish Government the demands she would later on formulate before Europe. It was with this intention in view that Russia had come to the Congress at the end of a long and victorious war. The noble lord had added that he did not regard the retrocession of Bessarabia as necessary. Count Schouvalow believed Lord Beaconsfield could not help recognising that, when a nation entered into possession of a part of the territory that it had lost during a previous war, it was difficult to induce such a nation to abandon the territory which it had reconquered. So far as the free navigation of the Danube was concerned, Count Schouvalow offered explanations which he thought would satisfy Lord Beaconsfield. The Bessarabian question might be regarded by Russia as a question of ambition and interest, or as a question of honour. Russia wished to reduce it to a question of honour, and it was for this reason that she had not again asked for those parts of the territory the possession of which by her might have been able to constitute a menace to or at least an interference with the free navigation of the Danube. In return she offered to Roumania a larger extent of territory, which had been conquered at the cost of her blood and which must be considered as a lawful prize. Count Schouvalow was convinced that Roumania would not lose by the exchange.

As to the principle of the independence and integrity of Roumania, he agreed with Lord Beaconsfield that such principles ought not only to be expressed by words but should be a reality. Now Roumania would not be able really to safeguard her independence so long as she persisted in living on the remains of a great empire which believed that it had a right to reclaim a fragment of its former territory. Count Schouvalow was firmly persuaded that Roumania herself, as well as the whole of Europe, was interested in having this question settled in the sense of the legitimate aspirations of Russia.

Prince Gortchakow desired to add an observation relative to the value of the exchange. Roumania would not only obtain, as the result of the war in which she had taken part, the recognition of her independence and the destruction of the fortresses which threatened her security. Stipulations had been made in her favour for eventual annexations that would increase her territory by 5,500 square kilometres and add 80,000 to her population in comparison with what she would have to surrender, and which would assure to her, in addition to the delta of the Danube, which Europe had taken away from her in 1857, certain fertile districts, such as that of Babadagh, and a good commercial port on the Black Sea.

The Imperial Russian Government, therefore, was convinced that it was not only maintaining a right, but was placing itself on a basis of equity in settling with the Roumanian Government, on mutually advantageous terms, a question which, if left unsolved, would render it impossible for the good relations necessary to the consolidation of peace in the East to be established between Russia and Roumania.

He considered that these indications sufficiently demonstrated that Russia did not ask more than she was giving. He reminded the Congress, moreover, that all the rights and privileges of Roumania had been assured at the cost of Russian blood. No treaty had been concluded between Russia and Turkey for a century past that did not contain stipulations favourable to the Roumanians. He wished to add one observation of a psychological character, and regretted to have to state that if it often happened in private life that by rendering a service to a friend

one transformed him into an adversary, the same truth had also to be applied to politics. Prince Gortchakow confined himself to citing the Roumanians as an example, and said his observation in this regard appeared to him to be of a kind fully to reassure those who doubted whether Russia would not win the absolute devotion of the peoples for whom she had made the greatest sacrifices.

(*Noradounghian*, vol. IV, p. 80-83.)

PROTOCOL No. X OF THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN

Sitting of July 1, 1878.

At the sitting of July 1, 1878, the Congress received the Roumanian Delegates, MM. Bratiano and Cogalniceano. M. Cogalniceano read a Memorandum, of which we reproduce the first part, concerning Bessarabia :

« We believe that, in strict justice, no part of her present territory ought to be detached from Roumania.

« The restitution by the Treaty of 1856 of a part of Bessarabia to the Principality of Moldavia was an act of equity on the part of Europe. The partition of 1812 could not be justified by the fact or the right of conquest.

« In 1812 Bessarabia went back to a Principality whose autonomy had been solemnly attested by all the treaties previously concluded between the Russian and Ottoman Empires. The Treaty of Kutchuck-Kainardji in particular recognised the Princes of Moldavia and Wallachia in the quality of sovereigns, and established the claim that Bessarabia formed part of Moldavia¹.

« It was therefore a Roumanian country, with Roumanian laws and institutions, which were explicitly maintained by the Emperor Alexander I. This respect for the ancient nationality of the country was set forth in the Imperial rescript promulgating the administrative and judicial organization of this

1. This assertion does not appear to be consistent with the text of the Treaty (See above).

province after its incorporation with Russia, without the least difference being made between Lower and Upper Bessarabia.

« There seems to be a desire to conclude that Bessarabia was a Turkish or Tartar region from the simple fact that the Ottomans there occupied three fortresses.

« But the history of Wallachia presents a similar anomaly; Turkish fortresses have for long existed there, but it does not follow from this that Wallachia has ever been a Turkish country.

« Neither in 1878, any more than in 1812, can Bessarabia be claimed from Roumania by right of conquest. It belongs to a Principality which Russia herself, during the whole course of her recent war with Turkey, considered and treated as an allied and independent State.

« Moreover, as soon as she entered into the war, Russia signed with Roumania a convention under which she expressly guaranteed the existing integrity of Roumanian territory.

« This guarantee was asked for and granted when it was still a question of the passage of the Imperial armies through Roumania. It would seem that it ought to have had double force from the day when, at the call of Russia herself, the help given by the Roumanian nation became more positive and was transformed into effective military co-operation, into a complete alliance. Our troops, in fact, fought side by side with the Russian armies. If that does not give us a claim to increase our territory, it certainly affords no reason for diminishing it.

« In default of other claims, the Convention of April 4/16, 1877, which bears the signatures and the ratifications of the Imperial Cabinet, would alone be sufficient to preserve to us an important region of the Danube, on which the commercial prosperity of Roumania so closely depends.

« Considerations of gratitude and memories of military glory and valour have been invoked, in support of the retrocession of Bessarabia. Russian arms, however, have rendered themselves famous on many fields of battle, during a long series of wars, and have achieved glory even as far as the walls of Adrianople. That, nevertheless, gives them no claim to the ownership of the Balkan regions.

« Considerations of gratitude have also been invoked. Roumania has not forgotten her history, nor the names of her benefactors. She venerates in Catherine the Great and in Nicholas I the generous authors of the treaties of Kainardji and of Adrianople. But she preserves also the memory of the sacrifices which she has imposed upon herself for the aggrandisement, the fortune and the glory of Russia. She recalls that, from the days of Peter the Great down to our own, she has been, in turn or simultaneously, the base of Russia's military operations, the granary from which Russia has drawn supplies for her armies, even when the questions at issue concerned the other side of the Danube, and the theatre only too frequently preferred of the most terrible conflicts.

« She remembers also that in 1812 she lost, to the benefit of Russia, one half of Moldavia — that is to say, Bessarabia, from the Pruth to the Dniester. »

(*Noradounghian*, vol. IV, p. 85-86.)

In the course of the deliberations which took place as a consequence of the observations presented by the Roumanian Delegates, the Russian Delegates declared that Russia would support the independence of Roumania only in the event of Roumania's consenting to the retrocession of Bessarabia in exchange for the Dobroudja.

M. Waddington, the Premier French Plenipotentiary, with the support of his colleagues, appealed to the equitable sentiments of Russia and proposed that, in order to give satisfaction to Roumania, she should be accorded an extension of territory south of the Dobroudja.

The Russian plenipotentiaries then agreed to consent to the prolongation of the Roumanian frontier along the Danube, starting from Kossova, in the direction of Silistria, and also to give her Serpents' Island.

The President, in summing up the results of the discussion, declared that the Congress « unanimously recognises the independence of Roumania under conditions analogous to those in the case of Serbia and in addition on condition that Roumania accepts, in exchange for Bessarabia, the Dobroudja, with the

addition of the territory marked by the line which has just been determined. »

The passages from the Protocol No. X, of the sitting of July 1, 1878, which relate to this *conditional recognition* of the independence of Roumania, are as follows :

The Roumanian representatives having withdrawn, the agenda called for the continuation of the consideration of the opening clauses of Article V of the Treaty of San Stefano.

Prince Bismarck observed that question arose as to whether the Powers meant to recognise the independence of Roumania. He recalled that in 1856 the union of the Principalities had not been admitted, that since then the situation had been modified by the fact that Wallachia and Moldavia had been united as one State. Several of the Powers had recognised this state of things by concluding commercial conventions with Roumania. Nevertheless Europe alone had the right to sanction the independence of Roumania. It must therefore ask under what conditions it could take this important decision, and if it was to be agreed that the conditions should be the same as those already laid down by the Congress in respect of Serbia.

M. Waddington declared that, faithful to the principles that had hitherto inspired them, the French plenipotentiaries ask the Congress to lay down the same conditions for the independence of Roumania as they had done for that of Serbia. He did not overlook the local difficulties that existed in Roumania, but after having carefully pondered the arguments on both sides, the French plenipotentiaries were of opinion that it would be preferable not to depart from the great rule of equality of rights and liberty of religions. It would be difficult for the Roumanian Government to reject in its own territories the principle accepted by Turkey in regard to her own subjects. He had no hesitation in saying that Roumania, in asking to enter the great European family, must accept the charges and even the anxieties of the situation of which she claimed the benefit, and that it would be long before so solemn and decisive an occasion would be found for the purpose of once more affirming the principles which were the honour and security of civilised nations. As to the local difficulties, he estimated that

these would be more easily surmounted when these principles should have been recognised in Roumania, and that the Jewish race would know it had nothing to expect except as the result of its own efforts and from the solidarity of its interests with those of the native population. M. Waddington concluded by insisting that the same political and religious conditions should be imposed in the case of Roumania as had already been indicated for Serbia.

Prince Bismarck, alluding to the principles of public law in force under the Constitution of the German Empire and to the demand on the part of German public opinion that the same principles followed in domestic politics should be applied to foreign policy, declared his agreement, in the name of Germany, with the French proposal.

Count Andrassy also adhered to the French proposal.

Lord Beaconsfield, in the name of the British Government, gave entire adhesion to the French proposition, and said he could not for an instant suppose that the Congress would recognise the independence of Roumania except under such conditions.

The Italian Plenipotentiaries made a similar declaration.

Prince Gortchakow, referring to the expressions used in moving the French proposition, which gave the greatest extension to religious liberty, entirely supported the proposal.

Count Schouvalow added, however, that Russia's support of the independence of Roumania was conditional on the acceptance by the latter of the retrocession of territory claimed by Russia.

The Ottoman plenipotentiaries raised no objection against the principles presented by the French plenipotentiaries, and the President stated that the Congress was unanimous in according independence to Roumania on the same conditions laid down in the case of Serbia.

Prince Gortchakow called the attention of his colleagues to the reserve that the recognition of Roumanian independence would be agreed to unanimously only under the condition that Roumania consented to the exchange of territory stipulated in Article XIX.

M. Waddington without making any formal proposition,

appealed to the Russian Government's sense of equity and good feeling and asked if it would not be possible for it to give satisfaction to Roumania. In so doing the Russian plenipotentiaries would greatly relieve the consciences of several of their colleagues. The words that had fallen from Prince Bismarck the previous day had undoubtedly indicated the interest which was attached, from the point of view of the success of the work of the Congress, to the prompt and definite carrying out of the exchange in question. It would be opportune, in fact, not to prolong a state of things which involved the *amour propre* of a great Empire. If such was the sentiment of the French plenipotentiaries, however, they felt at the same time that the Roumanians had been treated a little harshly and that the compensation that was offered to them was insufficient. Since the opening of the Congress France had always advised the Roumanians to agree to the retrocession of Bessarabia, but he believed he ought, in the name of his Government, to make an appeal to Russia's sense of equity, and to express the desire that it should grant to the Principality an extension of territory south of the Dobroudja that should include Silistria and Mangalia.

Count Andrassy said he had often reminded the Congress that the principle which the Austro-Hungarian Government had in view was to try and find definite solutions that would prevent future complications. It was from this point of view that he had urged that the Congress should call the Roumanian delegates before them. It was for the same reasons — while reserving his right to insist, so far as the freedom of navigation of the Danube was concerned, on the principle of the fullest liberty being adopted — that he wished the Congress to pronounce in favour of the annexation of the Dobroudja to Roumania and, at the same time, in conformity with the opinion that had been expressed by M. Waddington, that it would agree to an extension of the Roumanian frontier of the Dobroudja between Silistria and the Black Sea. This would facilitate a solution of the present question.

Count Corti said he wished to add an appeal from Italy to that which had been made by the French plenipotentiaries.

In the hope that Roumania would resign herself to the retrocession of Bessarabia, he thought it would be desirable to give her the greatest possible extension of her southern frontier in the Dobroudja.

Prince Gortchakow remarked that he had already, at the previous sitting, expressed the opinion that the compensation offered to Roumania was sufficient, that the gift of the Dobroudja would amply compensate for the cession of Bessarabia, and that, moreover, Roumania kept the delta of the Danube. He had a difficulty in seeing in what direction Russia could be more generous, in view of the fact that, if the proposal that had just been put forward were accepted by her, an extension of the southern boundary of the Dobroudja could only be at the expense of Bulgaria, which Principality had already been enormously reduced. He asked what territory the Congress had in view.

The President asked if the Congress was of opinion that the proposed new frontier line should be discussed in a plenary sitting.

Prince Gortchakow urged that the question should be decided at the present sitting. A detailed discussion before a Commission would be very slow. It would be preferable, he thought, that the matter should be decided forthwith, even if it had to be at the expense of some act of generosity on the part of Russia.

Count Schouvalow, in reply to the request that larger concessions should be made, which had been addressed to them by the French plenipotentiaries, with the support of their Austro-Hungarian and Italian colleagues and of the rest of Europe, insisted that Russia had already behaved generously in offering Roumania a province that was 3,500 square kilometres larger than Bessarabia, and which, moreover, extended for 150 kilometres along the banks of the Danube and included an important frontage on the Black Sea. If, however, Roumania wished to obtain still other territories in which the Roumanian element was, if not in the majority, at least somewhat compact, the Russian plenipotentiaries had some latitude in which to find a possible solution. From Kassova to Silistria

there was a band of territory in which the Roumanian population was somewhat numerous, and he thought that in a triangle starting from the east of Silistria and rejoining the present frontier a certain aggrandisement of territory might be agreed to by Russia.

Prince Bismarck said that, like Prince Gortchakow, he wished this question to be settled at the present sitting. He hoped that the increase of territory that had just been proposed, the acceptance of which would ensure that the independence of Roumania would be unanimously guaranteed by the Congress, would satisfy Roumania. On the other hand it must not be forgotten that, in his opinion, the work of the Congress would not be durable, as he had already remarked, if it left behind any feeling of wounded dignity on the part of Russia. Whatever his own sympathy might be for Roumania, whose sovereign belonged to the German Imperial family, he could only act on the inspiration of the general interest, which advised him to give whenever possible a new guarantee to the peace of Europe.

M. Waddington repeated his desire that Mangalia, on the Black Sea, should be included in the new frontier.

A discussion followed between the plenipotentiaries as to the exact line the new frontier should follow, in the course of which Count Corti expressed a wish that Silistria should be included, as well as terms which would determine the exact extent of the concession.

Count Schouvalow, in order to put the wish expressed by the French Plenipotentiary into practical form, read the following draft :

« In view of the presence of Roumanian elements, the Russian Plenipotentiaries agree to prolong the frontier of Roumania along the Danube starting from Kassova in the direction of Silistria. The frontier point on the Black Sea shall not surpass Mangalia. »

This text, which implies that Mangalia was placed inside the Roumanian frontier, was accepted by the Congress.

M. Waddington thanked the Russian plenipotentiaries for having accepted the solution he had indicated.

Lord Salisbury asked that Serpents' Island should be added to the increase of territory agreed to by Russia, and the Russian Plenipotentiaries accepted the suggestion.

The President, summing up the results of the discussion, stated that the Congress had unanimously agreed to recognise the independence of Roumania in conditions analogous to those imposed on Serbia and under the further condition that Roumania accepted, in exchange for Bessarabia, the Dobroudja, increased to the extent of the new frontier line that had just been agreed to.

(*Noradounghian*, vol. IV, p. 87-91.)

As the outcome of this decision the independence of Roumania was formally recognised by Article 43 of the Treaty of Berlin, under the conditions set forth in Articles 44 and 45. The territorial gains of Roumania were set forth in Article 46. These articles are as follow :

Arr. 43. — The High Contracting Powers recognise the independence of Roumania, under the conditions set forth in the two following Articles.

Arr. 44. — In Roumania no distinction of religious belief and confession shall be used against any person as a reason for exclusion or incapacity in regard to anything concerning the enjoyment of civil or political rights, admission to the public employ, functions or honours or the exercise of the various professions and industries, in no matter what locality it may be. The freedom and the practice of all kinds of religion shall be assured to all subjects of the Roumanian State, as well as to foreigners, and no hindrances shall be placed in the way either of the hierarchical organization of the various communions or of their relations with their spiritual leaders. The nationals of all the Powers, whether traders or otherwise, shall be treated in Roumania without distinction of religion, on a footing of perfect equality.

Arr. 45. — The Principality of Roumania shall retrocede to his Majesty the Emperor of Russia that portion of the territory of Bessarabia which was detached from Russia as a consequence

of the Treaty of Paris in 1856, limited to the west by the thalweg of the Pruth, to the south by the thalweg of the Kilia arm and the mouth of the Stary-Stamboul.

ART. 46. — The islands forming the delta of the Danube, as well as the Serpent's Island, the Sandjak of Toultscha, comprising the districts (cazas) of Kilia, Sulina, Mahmoudieh, Isaktcha, Toultscha, Matchine, Babadagh, Hirsovo, Kustendjeh, Medjidieh, are united to Roumania. The Principality shall receive in addition the territory situated to the south of the Dobroudja as far as a line having its starting point to the east of Silistria and ending on the Black Sea, to the south of Mangalia. The frontier line shall be fixed on the spot by the European Commission instituted for the delimitation of Bulgaria.

(*Noradounghian*, vol. IV, p. 189),

CONCLUSION.

In summing up the historic facts embodied in the foregoing extracts from treaties and other Acts, we arrive at the following conclusions :

1. — The Russo-Turkish Treaties of Kutchuk-Kainardji, of 1774, and of Jassy, in 1792, stipulated for the restitution of Bessarabia to Turkey and distinguished it from Wallachia and Moldavia. From this we must conclude that at the end of the 18th century Bessarabia, from the Turkish point of view, was distinct from these two Principalities. This distinction may be explained by the fact that, at that period, the name of Bessarabia was used to designate only the southern part of the Russian province as it is known to-day, which was then inhabited above all by Tartars.

2. — During the Russo-Turkish negotiations which preceded the Treaty of Bucarest (1812) the name of Bessarabia had already extended to the whole of the province which was detached from Turkey by that treaty. Article 5 of this treaty stipulated for the surrender to Turkey of « that part of Moldavia situated on the right bank of the Pruth. »

3. — Bessarabia was ceded to Russia by Turkey in 1812

without the slightest intervention on the part of the Principalities.

4. — By Article 20 of the Treaty of Paris of 1856 Russia ceded a part of Bessarabia, not to Moldavia but to the Powers, « in exchange for the Russian towns, ports and territories restored by the Allies. » Article 21 decided that « the territory ceded by Russia will be annexed to the Principality of Moldavia, under the suzerainty of the Sublime Porte. » This article is a stipulation in favour of the Moldavians, but pledges Russia only as in regard to the Powers.

5. — The Congress of Paris of 1856 imposed on Russia the cession of a part of Bessarabia with the principal object of ensuring the freedom of navigation on the Danube. In reality, the Congress consented to reduce enormously the proportion of Bessarabia which should have been ceded by Russia in consequence of the latter being able to demonstrate that the same result might be attained by establishing another frontier line. Moreover, Article 20 of the Treaty of March 30, 1856 laid down expressly : « In exchange for the towns, ports and territories enumerated in Article 4 of the present Treaty *and in order better to assure the freedom of navigation of the Danube*, his Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias agrees to consent to the rectification of his frontier in Bessarabia. »

6. — The Powers, in 1857, a year after the conclusion of the Treaty of Paris, transferred to Turkey the possession of the Delta of the Danube, wherewith the principal reason for the cession of Bessarabia to Moldavia disappeared.

7. — The Berlin Congress of 1878, after having heard the representatives of Roumania, decided to restore to Russia that part of Bessarabia that had been detached from her by the Treaty of Paris. It may be gathered from the spirit of the deliberations on this subject that, in so doing, the Congress was guided by the sentiment of desiring to efface the injury inflicted on the dignity of Russia in 1856; by the absence in 1876 of all connection between freedom of the Danube and the retrocession of Bessarabia, the Delta having been detached in 1857; and lastly, from the fact that Roumania received in compensation for Bessarabia the Dobroudja which exceeded

the area of Bessarabia by 3,500 square kilometres. On the initiative of the principal French plenipotentiary, indeed, Russia agreed to prolong the Roumanian frontier along the Danube.

8. — The Berlin Congress unanimously recognised the independence of Roumania on two conditions :

a) The equality in civil and political rights of all the citizens, without distinction of religious belief or sect;

b) The retrocession to Russia of that portion of Bessarabia that was ceded to Moldavia in 1856.

9. — The general conclusion which stands forth from this analysis of the diplomatic negotiations and the Treaties which resulted therefrom is therefore the following :

Russia acquired the province of Bessarabia under the Treaty of Bucarest of 1812, concluded with Turkey. She was compelled, by the Treaty of Paris of 1856, to cede one portion of this province to the Powers, who annexed it to Moldavia, under the suzerainty of the Porte. And the same Powers, by the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, decided to return this portion of Bessarabia to Russia, by making their recognition of the independence of Roumania depend on the retrocession by her to Russia of the territory that had been annexed to Moldavia in 1856. Roumania was, in addition, compensated for this retrocession by being allowed to annex the Dobroudja and the territory situated to the south of that province — territory of much greater area, which was placed at her disposition by Russia in exchange for the retroceded portion of Bessarabia.

APPENDIX No. 4

**Entry of the Roumanian troops into Kichinef.
The Roumanian Commander's Proclamation.**

On the entry of the Roumanian troupes into Kichinef, General Presanu, the Roumanian Commander-in-Chief, on January 27, 1918, addressed the following proclamation to the Bessarabian population :

Citizens of the Moldavian Republic !

You and your country, like ourselves and our country, are passing through a critical and decisive period.

On every hand large number of mischievous people are telling you all kinds of falsehoods, which disturb the mind, obscure your ideas and prevent you from distinguishing between the good and the evil.

In these days of severe trial and of transition, the Sfatul Tzerii of Bessarabia has appealed to us and asked us, through the medium of the Russian military authorities, to cross the Pruth :

1. — To re-establish order and tranquility in your towns and villages, and to protect lives and property against evil-doers ;

2. — To guarantee the transport of the supplies necessary to the Russian and Roumanian armies which are guarding our frontiers and at the same time defending the frontiers of your country.

The arrival of Roumanian soldiers in Bessarabia has greatly displeased the evildoers and agitators who are in the pay of our enemies (which enemies are also yours), and who have found such a safe refuge on your soil, because they know that henceforth they will be unable to pillage your territory like highwaymen.

These enemies have taken advantage of your kind, good and trustful hearts, and have sought to sow discord between you and ourselves by telling you that the Roumanians have come to occupy your country for the purpose of taking away your land and with the sole intention of replacing you under the domination of your former masters and of taking away from you the national and political rights which you have won through the Revolution.

Such ideas are far from our intentions !

Moldavian citizens, do not believe a word of these lies !

How can you imagine that the Roumanian soldier who, thanks to his King and his Government, has acquired the land

which nourishes him, would dream of coming into the land of his brethren for the purpose of preventing them from also enjoying their rights?

I declare to you solemnly that the Roumanian Army has no other wish than to enable you, through the peace and tranquility which it brings to you, to achieve and to perfect your autonomy and your liberties, according to your own desires.

The Roumanian Army will cause no disturbance to any inhabitant of the Republic, whatever be his nationality or his religion.

The Roumanian soldiers will return to their homes as soon as order and tranquility shall have been re-established and as soon as they have assured themselves that pillaging, robbery and murder will not recommence.

You may have every confidence in them, and welcome them with all the brotherly affection which they bring to you.

In the event of any one of our soldiers behaving in an objectionable and unworthy manner and conducting himself in contradiction with the orders that we have issued, the inhabitants are requested to lay their complaints before the nearest Roumanian commander, and it may be regarded as certain that such offenders will be immediately punished as they deserve.

(Signed) : General PRESANU.

Commander-in-Chief of the Roumanian
Army in Bessarabia.

APPENDIX No. 5

Extract from the newspaper "Sfatul Tzerii"
(No. 18. January 24, 1918)

**By the Council of Directors General of the Moldavian
People's Republic :**

The Council of Directors General, at a meeting on January 22, 1918, resolved, in order to reassure the public, which has been rendered anxious by the reports in circulation in regard

to the arrival of the Roumanian troops, to publish the following diplomatic document, which has been received by the Government of the Moldavian Republic from the French and other Allied Governments :

« French Legation in Roumania, Jassy, January 15, 1918.
From the French Minister in Roumania, to Monsieur SARRET,
French Consul at Kichinef.

« Colonel d'Albia has handed to me the request of the Council of Directors General for a guarantee in writing, both on our part and on that of our Allies. setting forth the object of the arrival of the Roumanian troops in Bessarabia.

« Both my colleagues, the whole of the Ministers of the other Allied Powers, and myself are authorised to declare to you officially that the entry of the Roumanian troops into Bessarabia is a purely military measure, which has for its object the assurance of the normal functioning of the rear of the Russo-Roumanian front, in conformity with the rules laid down in respect of all the belligerent states.

« For this reason the entry of the Roumanian troops into Bessarabia can have no influence, either on the existing political situation in Bessarabia or on the future lot of that country.

« I hereby authorise you to inform the Council of Directors General of the contents of this letter, and, should they express a desire to this effect, to hand them a certified copy thereof.

(Signed) : DE SAINT-AULAIRE.

French Minister in Roumania.»

January 5/18, 1918,

P. SARRET.

French Consulate at Kichinef, French Republic.

Certified Translation into Russian counter-signed by
TCHEGOUREANE, President of the Council of Directors General.
PELIVANE, Minister of Foreign Affairs.
KRISTI, Minister of the Interior.

It follows, therefore, that the Roumanian Armies have entered Moldavia not as conquerors but as friends of the Moldavian people, for the purpose of helping us to overcome the elements of trouble and of anarchy which are endeavouring to attack our young Republic and our liberty.

(Signed) : TCHEGOUREANE,

President of the Council of Directors General.

APPENDIX No. 6

Extract from the minutes of the sitting of the Moldavian Military Congress on October 24, 1917.

President : Cavalry Captain CHJEVSKY,

The Assembly accept the proposal for the nomination of candidates for the Sfatul Tzerii. The elections will take place according to districts. Each district will elect not more than ten deputies. Of these ten deputies the Military Congress will elect four, or a total of thirty-two deputies for the eight districts. In addition twelve deputies will be elected by the Moldavian military organizations.

APPENDIX No. 7

Extract from the Minutes of the sitting of November 8, 1917 of the organizing Committee of the Sfatul Tzerii.

Table showing the distribution of seats in the Sfatul Tzerii, according to nationalities, parties and groups.

PARTIES, ORGANIZATIONS AND GROUPS	NATIONALITIES										
	Totals	Moldavians.	Ukrainians.	Jews	Russians.	Bulgarians.	Germans	Poles	Armenians	Greeks	Gagauses
1. Moldavian Military Congress.	44	44	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
2. Peasants' Deputies' Soviet..	50	50	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
3. Provincial Zemstvo.	1	1	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
4. District Zemstvos	9	7	2	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
5. City of Kichinef.	3	1	»	1	1	»	»	»	»	»	»
6. District towns.	8	5	1	1	1	»	»	»	»	»	»
7. Workmens', Peasants' and Soldiers' Soviet.	3	1	»	1	1	»	»	»	»	»	»
8. Revolutionary Socialist Party	1	»	»	»	1	»	»	»	»	»	»
9. Socialist Democratic Party *	1	»	»	1	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
10. Popular Socialist Party* . .	1	»	»	»	1	»	»	»	»	»	»
11. Moldavian Party.	4	4	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
12. Co-operatives.	5	4	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	1
13. Railway Workers Organiza- tion	2	1	1	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
14. Jurists (lawyers, etc.)	2	1	»	»	1	»	»	»	»	»	»
15. Postal, Telegraph and Tele- phone Workers	2	1	1	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
16. Congress of the Congresses.	1	1	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
17. Society of intellectuals. . . .	1	1	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
18. Bessarabian Schoolteachers' Association	1	»	»	»	1	»	»	»	»	»	»
19. Moldavian Schoolteachers' Association.	1	1	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
20. Clergy	1	1	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
21. Ukrainians	10	»	10	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
22. Jews.	10	»	»	10	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
23. Bulgarians	2	»	»	»	»	2	»	»	»	»	»
24. Germans.	2	»	»	»	»	»	2	»	»	»	»
25. Gagauses	1	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	1
26. Poles	1	»	»	»	»	»	»	1	»	»	»
27. Armenians	1	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	1	»	»
28. Greeks.	1	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	1	»
29. League of Moldavian Wo- men **	1	1	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Totals.	150	105	15	14	7	2	2	1	1	1	2

* It should be pointed out that shortly after the constitution of the Sfatul Tzerii there took place in Bessarabia the election of members of the Russian Constituent Assembly, which was conducted under universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage. The Revolutionary Socialist and Democratic Socialist Parties, who were represented in the Sfatul Tzerii by two deputies only, at those elections secured a total of 222 901 votes, while the Moldavian Party and the Cooperatives, who

received only 14,748 votes at the same elections, were represented in the Sfatul Tzerii by eight deputies.

** This was an entirely newly-formed organization, which had only 100 members, but was nevertheless represented in the Sfatul Tzerii in the same strength as the Provincial Zemstvo, which represented all the best elements in Bessarabia and the whole of whose members were elected by universal, equal and direct suffrage.

APPENDIX No. 8

**Resolutions of the first Military Congress of the
Moldavians of all Russia, October 25, 1917.**

I. — THE RUSSIAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC.

Considering that, in view of the immensity of Russian territory and the large number of races which inhabit it, with varied civilisations and clearly constituted ethnical consciousness, centralisation of power constitutes a hindrance to the development of nationalities and to the economic life of the country, the first Military Congress of All Russian Moldavians resolves that :

The sole form of government admissible and possible in Russia is that of a Federative and Democratic Republic.

II. — BESSARABIAN AUTONOMY.

Considering the national civilisation of the Moldavian people, its past history and the principle of the absolute right of nations to dispose of themselves, as proclaimed by the Revolution, the first Military Congress of All Russian Moldavians unanimously resolves that, in order to achieve a closer union of the Moldavian people, to guarantee its right to its autonomous, economic and national development, Bessarabia shall enjoy territorial and political autonomy.

For the defence of the interests and the rights of auton-

mous Bessarabia, the Russian Provisional Government must provide for the inclusion of a representative of Moldavian national affairs.

III. — NATIONALISATION OF THE MOLDAVIAN ARMIES.

Seeing that the old system of constituting armies by an admixture of nationalities is based on obsolete and anti-democratic principles, which tend to exhaust the strength of the various nationalities, and considering further that the Moldavian people cannot defend their country and the liberties won by the Revolution except under their own national flag, and with officers of the same blood and the same mentality as leaders, the first Congress resolves :

To constitute without delay Moldavian units of all arms. In order to carry out this plan and to administer these Moldavian units, a Moldavian Military Committee shall be organized without delay, which shall have at its head a Commissioner of National Military Affairs and a representative at General Headquarters. The Moldavian Military Committee shall take into consideration a scheme for the nationalisation of units and make efforts for its immediate application.

III*. — MOLDAVIAN « FLYING » UNITS (COHORTS).

In order to offer a resistance to the regime of terror and anarchy and to assure order in Bessarabia during the period of demobilisation, the first Moldavian Military Congress resolves :

That the number of units of « flying militia » (or cohorts) shall be increased to one hundred, consisting of 100 men each, and further, that the Moldavian cavalry soldiers shall be withdrawn from the main body of the troops and formed into separate formations and sent into Bessarabia, for the purpose of replacing the other cavalry units at present in the country.

IV. — NATIONAL COUNCIL (SFATUL TZERII).

The first Moldavian Military Congress has resolved :

That a National Council shall be constituted immediately, for the purpose of administering the whole of the affairs of autonomous Bessarabia. This National Council shall consist of 120 members, and shall be composed as follows :

44 members of the Military Congress, to be elected forthwith ;

30 members elected by the Moldavian Peasants ;

10 members elected by the other Moldavian groups and parties ;

36 members elected by other nationalities inhabiting Bessarabia (considering that the non-Moldavian elements amount to 30 per cent of the whole population) ;

10 seats to be left at the disposition of the Moldavians beyond the Dniester, in the event of their desiring to take advantage of this possibility.

All coalition with the capitalist party shall be regarded as undesirable.

The National Council shall be considered as a provisional organization until the meeting of a Bessarabian Constituent Assembly which shall be elected by universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage. All the administrative, governmental and local bodies (Zemstvos) shall henceforth be subordinate to the National Council, and shall be directed by it. From the moment of the constitution of the National Council all the Committees at present existing in Bessarabia shall return to their purely professional status.

V. — THE AGRARIAN AND COLONISATION QUESTIONS.

The Congress has decided :

That all land is the property of the nation. Lands held by convents and other monastical establishments, the Church, the Treasury, appanages and private landed estates will be handed over to the people (the working classes) without compensation.

The distribution of land among the cultivators will be entrusted to the Constituent Assembly.

All forest and mineral deposits in autonomous Bessarabia shall be regarded as the property of the nation. Colonisation of the country by non-native elements shall be and is prohibited. Bessarabians who have left the country owing to the lack of land shall be permitted to return and shall be allotted land on the same terms as other cultivators.

VI. — ATTITUDE OF THE CONGRESS IN REGARD TO THE PRESENT
SITUATION AND THE PAN-RUSSIAN CONSTITUENT.

The Congress.... decided :

1. — To nationalise immediately all schools (secondary and primary), as well as the other institutions in autonomous Bessarabia.

2. — That education shall be free and obligatory in the national language of the people; that all schools shall be maintained at the cost of the State.

3. — That all establishments for secondary education depending from the Ministry of Education shall pass under the control of the Bessarabian Provincial Zemstvo.

4. That the Provincial Zemstvo shall also have under its control all normal schools for teachers and similar establishments of this type, as well as all agricultural, technical and viticultural schools. All such establishments shall be nationalised.

5. — In conformity with the decisions come to and the measures taken by the Provincial Zemstvo in regard to the question of the nationalisation of schools, the Congress recognises that the creation of a national school shall be the work of the nation itself and not merely of local administrative bodies and professional associations.

6. — That all District Zemstvos shall be called upon to apply without delay the whole of the measures decided upon by the Provincial Zemstvo in all that concerns the nationalisation of schools.

7. — That the Akermann and other Zemstvos, which have

opposed the introduction of the national school, shall be required immediately to introduce the Moldavian language into those schools in which the pupils are Moldavian.

8. — That all school teachers and professors throughout Bessarabia shall be required to collaborate without delay in the creation of the new schools, on a democratic basis.

9. — That all the governing educational committees of all establishments of secondary education throughout Bessarabia shall be informed of the measures taken for the immediate nationalisation of the schools and the introduction of the mother tongue in teaching.

VII. — SUPPLEMENTARY EDUCATION.

That the Congress recognises the organization of supplementary education on a national basis as urgent. It considers that this task should fall upon the Provincial and District Zemstvos, but all questions of education, like all questions of government, shall be under the control, in autonomous Bessarabia, of the National Council.

VIII. — MOLDAVIANS BEYOND THE DNIESTER.

The Congress.... has decided :

To support in their respective centres of organization all Moldavians living beyond the Dniester, and to allot them ten seats in the National Council ; to address to the Ukrainian Rada and to the Provisional Government of that country a request that they shall accord to all Moldavians beyond the Dniester, in the Caucasus, in Siberia and elsewhere the same rights that Moldavians accord to people of other nationalities who inhabit autonomous Bessarabia.

IX. — A NATIONAL FUND.

The Congress.... has decided :

That the National Council be requested to take measures for the constitution of a National Fund.

The Congress... recognises that, in the work of creating a new democratic and national life, the rights of ethnical minorities must be completely and scrupulously respected.

Signed : V. CHIJEVSKY ¹,

Captain of Cavalry, president of the Congress.

S. GOLBAN,

Enlisted Volunteer, Secretary.

Kichinef, October 25, 1917.

APPENDIX No. 9

Paris, October 26, 1919.

To Mess. A. N. KROUPENSKY, President of the Bessarabian Provincial Zemstvo, and A. Ch. SCHMIDT, former Mayor of Kichinef, Bessarabian Delegates to the Peace Conference.

Gentlemen,

I beg to confirm the incident to which I allude in my brochure entitled « *Choses de Bessarabie* » and which is mentioned under the heading, « A Curious Story about Benzine. »

In the early days of March 1918 Messrs. Inkouletz, Erchan and Tchegourean, discontented with the Roumanian Government — which, they stated, had failed to keep its promises — informed General Istrati that they had decided to give their support to Russia and were leaving for Kief.

In order to be able to effect their journey by motorcar, they applied to be supplied with benzine, with which the Roumanian authorities had hitherto always furnished them.

General Istrati declared that, for the moment, he had no reserve of benzine, and telegraphed to his Government, making them acquainted with the facts and asking for instructions.

1. Chijevsky left Bessarabia in 1918 and, asserting that he was of Polish nationality, retired to Warsaw.

Four days later he received the reply to pay, in order to retain these ringleaders in the service of the Roumanian Government, and General Istrati paid.

I received these facts from the officer who was chiefly concerned, Captain Ionel Istrati, the son of the General, who acted as cashier in the matter, and who told me the facts in his father's own house at Bucarest, accompanied by the remark :

« We paid, but what other Government would not have done the same? »

My testimony will certainly only confirm what you know already; nevertheless I hereby authorise you to make use of it, if you find it necessary, for the needs of the Bessarabian cause.

(Signed) : E. SIMAIS,

Director of the Propaganda Bureau
of General d'Anselme
Commanding the Allied Forces in South Russia.

APPENDIX No. 10

Declaration of the supreme Council of the Moldavian Republic, the "Sfatul Tzerii", December 2, 1917.

Moldavians, and Brother Peoples of Bessarabia.

The Russian Republic is in serious danger. The absence of any central power and the anarchy throughout the whole country, now without forces before the external enemy, threaten to annihilate the whole of the Russian State.

At this terrible and historic hour the only means of saving the democratic Russian Republic is to organise and unite all its people, in conformity with their right to decide freely as to their national and territorial fate.

Basing itself upon this principle and desiring to establish

order and to seal the conquests of the Revolution, Bessarabia, strong by its historic past, declares itself henceforward as the Moldavian Democratic Republic and part of the Russian federal Democratic Republic.

Until the meeting of the Constituent Assembly of the Moldavian Republic, the members of which will be elected by universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage, and according to the system of proportional representation, the supreme power of the Moldavian Republic will belong to the Sfatul Tzerii, which is composed of representatives of all the organized bodies of the revolutionary democracy, of all the nationalities and of all the local autonomous bodies (zemstvos and townships).

The executive power of the Moldavian Republic will be exercised by the Council of Directors General, who will be responsible to the Sfatul Tzerii alone.

As the trustees of the will of the people inhabiting the territory of the Moldavian Republic, the Sfatul Tzerii pledges itself :

1. — To convoke in the near future the representatives of the people of the Moldavian Republic, elected by universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage, and according to the proportional system.

2. — To transfer the land, integrally and gratuitously, into the hands of the working classes, on the basis of the right of equal enjoyment.

Until the date when the law providing for the realisation of this transfer shall be created and in order to avoid anarchy and the waste of the public property, all land which is not exploited by the personal labour of its proprietor, as well as all the stock attached to this land, must be placed in the possession of the land committees, which shall be reorganized on a democratic basis.

The Sfatul Tzerii is drawing up detailed instructions, which will settle the manner in which the land must be transferred to the land committees, as well as the method by which they will be distributed.

Lakes and streams, forests, mineral wealth, testing grounds, nurseries, sugar beet plantations, vines, orchards and all build-

ings belonging to monastic establishments, appanages, the churches and to the former great landowners are subordinated to and brought under the control of the Principal Land Council of the Moldavian Republic, as forming part of the public estate.

3. — To improve production and to distribute equally the products intended for consumption and of the first necessity; to protect and regulate labour, to apply the eight hours' day to all industries, and also to bring production and profits under the control of the State throughout the territory of the Moldavian Republic.

To draw up a detailed plan on the measures necessitated by the demobilisation of the army and of war industries. For the purpose of preventing famine and its consequences, the Sfatul Tzerii will undertake all the measures necessary in order that all untilled land in Bessarabia be sown and brought into cultivation.

4. — The organization of regular elections, on the basis of universal suffrage, equal, direct, secret and proportional, of the members of the local administrative bodies which have not yet been elected in accordance with democratic laws.

5. — Confirmation of all political liberties conquered by the Revolution : liberty of speech, of the press, of religion, of conscience, of public meeting, of associations and coalitions. The inviolability of the individual and of the domicile, as well as the organization of a people's tribunal, public and equal for all.

6. — The abolition of capital punishment for ever, on the territory of the Moldavian Republic.

7. — Complete equality of the rights of all nationalities inhabiting the territory of the Moldavian Republic, and a guarantee to each nationality of autonomy for its national and personal culture.

8. — The wide organization of public education, on the basis of completely autonomous and nationalised instruction for all the nations comprised in the Moldavian Republic.

9. — The immediate organization of territorial and national armed forces of citizens born in Bessarabia for the defence

of the public well-being against the dangers of demobilisation, and for the safeguard of the country against disorder and anarchy.

The taking of all possible measures for the conclusion of immediate peace, without annexations or contributions for the benefit of any of the belligerent parties, on the basis of the absolute right of peoples to decide their fate, and this in agreement with our Allies and with all the peoples of the Russian Federal Democratic Republic.

At this terrible and solemn hour, when we all find ourselves on the edge of the precipice that skirts the abyss of anarchy, at this period when we are in danger from hunger, and cold and beggary, and run the risk of witnessing the flow of the blood of our brethren, at this hour the Sfatul Tzerii begs of you to rally round it, the supreme body of the country, and to lend all your strength to the decisive conflict that we are engaged in with disorder and anarchy.

The Sfatul Tzerii calls on all the peoples of the Moldavian Republic to sustain and defend with all their power the Constituent Assembly of Russia as a whole.

The Sfatul Tzerii calls on the Moldavian people and the brother peoples of the Republic to work together for the building up of a new life on the basis of liberty, equality and fraternity.

Only in this way can we save our country and prevent the definite loss of our common motherland, the great Russian Federal Democratic Republic.

Voted by the Sfatul Tzerii, December 2, 1917.

Declaration of January 24, 1918 by the Supreme Council of the Moldavian Republic (Sfatul Tzerii).

To the Moldavian People and all the Peoples of the Moldavian Republic :

The great Russian Revolution has brought us out of the darkness of unnumbered years and placed us in the path of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity.

Thanks to the labour and the sacrifices of you all, our country, realising the rights that we have conquered through the Revolution, has decided its own future and become a free popular Republic.

Bound together by the blood of our brethren, which flowed beneath the flags of the Revolution, we are inspired by an unshakeable desire to live in union with all the republics that have been born in the territories that formerly belonged to the old Russian Empire, and to form together the great Russian Federal Republic.

Times have changed, however and political development has placed unsurmountable obstacles before the realisation of this union.

Our neighbours of the Ukrainian Republic have declared their independence. We therefore find ourselves cut off from Russia and the Republics that have arisen in its territories.

In these circumstances we also have been led by historic necessity, in accordance with the will of the people, to declare ourselves to be the free and independent Moldavian Popular Republic.

This declaration has been imposed upon us by the political situation, for the Moldavian Republic cannot expect for the time being any help in organizing its existence.

The peoples in the Moldavian Republic must understand that their destinies depend on themselves alone, and can be determined only by the supreme organ of the nation, the

Sfatul Tzerii, and by its government, the Ministerial Council.

Considering war as the most terrible scourge that can afflict any country or any people, the Independent Moldavian Republic has before it the task of ensuring the peaceful cohabitation of its people with all other nations, both near and far, and of bringing about a friendly understanding with them on all political and economic questions.

In its foreign policy, therefore, the Moldavian Republic will do its utmost to bring about a universal democratic peace, in agreement with all its Allies.

In the domain of internal policy the Moldavian Republic, by guaranteeing equal rights to all the nationalities within its borders, will endeavour to consolidate all the rights and all the liberties won by the Revolution and announced by the Sfatul Tzerii on December 2, 1917.

The Sfatul Tzerii and its Government consider as their first duty the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, elected by universal suffrage, which shall definitely determine the Constitution of the country and its relation with the other nations as may be best for the well-being of our Republic.

One other duty of equal importance is imposed upon the Sfatul Tzerii and its Government, and that is connected with the agrarian question. The land must pass into the hands of the working classes without compensation of any kind, in conformity with the declaration of the Sfatul Tzerii of December 2, 1917.

Independently of this, and within as short a period as possible, the Sfatul Tzerii and its Government will elaborate a whole series of laws and of measures to meet the necessities of the country and tending to lead our Republic out of darkness and poverty and famine.

Moldavians and fraternal peoples of the Republic :

We are living through the most serious historic hours. On your reason and your conscience depends the whole future of our country.

The entry into our territory of the fraternal Roumanian Army can only contribute towards the peaceful organization of our life in every direction.

The Roumanian troops have for their sole object nothing but the task of safeguarding the railways and the grain supplies for the front. Their presence, however, is a guarantee of order and will enable every citizen to enjoy the fruit of his labour, by defending him against the brigand bands.

No other object is pursued by the Roumanian Army on the territory of our Republic.

All the reports that are in circulation as to their desire to conquer our country and instal their Government here are false and are the work of the enemies of our Republic.

France, by agreement with England and America, as well as the representatives of Roumania, guarantee that the Roumanian Army in no way menaces our independence, our liberty or the rights won through the Revolution.

Moldavians and fraternal peoples of the Moldavian Republic :

Strong in the right that we possess to organize our national life in our own way, and sure of our independence and of all the liberties conquered through the Revolution, we call upon you to consolidate our union, to devote yourselves to peaceful labour and to tranquility, for the well-being of all the peoples of the Moldavian Popular Republic, free henceforward and for ever.

Voted by the Sfatul Tzerii, Kichinef, January 24, 1918.

APPENDIX No. 12

**Declaration of the Sfatul Tzerii of the Moldavian
Democratic Republic, March 27, 1918**

In the name of the People of Bessarabia, the Sfatul Tzerii declares :

That the Moldavian Democratic Republic (Bessarabia), bounded by the Pruth, the Dniester, the Danube, the Black Sea and the former Austrian frontier, torn by Russia more than a century ago from the body of ancient Moldavia, firm in its his-

toric rights as well as in the right of relationship, and basing its action on the right of nations to determine their own status; re-unites itself from to-day and for ever to its Motherland, Roumania.

This reunion is achieved upon the following bases :

1. — The present Sfatul Tzerii will preserve its existing powers, principally in order to bring about the solution and the realisation of agrarian reform according to the needs and desires of the people. Its decisions will be recognised by the Roumanian Government.

2. — Bessarabia shall enjoy provincial autonomy, and shall possess its own Sfatul Tzerii, or local territorial council, which shall be elected henceforward by universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage, and shall possess its own executive body and its own administration.

3. — The Sfatul Tzerii shall have full powers to :

- a) Vote the local budgets;
- b) Control all Zemstvos and municipal bodies;
- c) Nominate all local administrative officers through its own executive body (subject to the nomination of the principal officials being confirmed by the Roumanian Government).

4. — The army shall be recruited on a territorial basis.

5. — The existing laws and the local administration (Zemstvos and municipalities) shall remain in force and shall not be altered by the Roumanian Parliament until Bessarabian deputies shall form part of that body.

6. — The rights of minorities in Bessarabia shall be respected.

7. — Two representatives of Bessarabia shall be included in the Roumanian Cabinet. For the present these shall be elected from the membership of the Sfatul Tzerii, but in future they shall be selected from among the Bessarabian deputies in the Roumanian Parliament.

8. — Bessarabia shall send to the Roumanian Parliament a number of representatives in proportion to its population, who shall be elected by universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage.

9. — All elections in Bessarabia, whether for cantons, com-

munes, towns, zemstvos or Parliament, shall be carried out by means of universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage.

10. — The liberty of the subject, liberty of the press, of speech, religion, public meeting and all other public liberties shall be guaranteed by the Constitution.

11. — Full and complete amnesty shall be and is hereby granted for all breaches of the law and offences of a political character, both before and during the period of disorder.

As Bessarabia has united herself to Roumania as a daughter to her mother, the Roumanian Parliament will order without delay the convocation of a Constituent Assembly, which shall comprise representatives of Bessarabia, elected proportionally to her population and by universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage, for the purpose of drawing up by common accord a Constitution based on the principles and the guarantees set forth above.

May the union of Bessarabia with Roumania continue forever!

Voted by the Sfatul Tzerii, at Kichinef, March 27, 1918.

(Signed) : I. INKOLETZ,
President of the Sfatul Tzerii.

I. BOUZDOUGAN,
Secretary of the Sfatul Tzerii.

APPENDIX No. 13

**Minutes of a Meeting of the Justices of the Peace
of the City of Kichinef.**

Held on October 21, 1918.

The meeting has heard the reading of the report of its president, who has informed them of a telegram from the Director of Justice received on October 15, ordering the handing over of all the records, together with the court buildings and their contents to the President of the Roumanian Court at Kichinef.

The meeting also had laid before it decree No. 2,720 of the King of Roumania, dated October 6, 1918, published in the « Official Monitor » on October 9, on judicial organization in Bessarabia and on the institution connected with the local judges.

The meeting understands that the Royal decree abolishes the office of Justice of the Peace such as it has existed in Bessarabia for more than half a century; that is to say, since the great reforms of 1864, the functioning of which is legal and obligatory throughout Bessarabia.

The introduction of the obligatory and exclusive use of the Roumanian language in all procedure and pleadings through Bessarabia (Article 1) is inconvenient for all Bessarabians and especially for those in the towns who are ignorant of that language; the suppression of the associations of J. P.'s (Article 20); the creation of a new category of assistant judges, nominated by the central power and having a right of control over the whole electoral district (Articles 9 and 11); the confirmation by the central power of elected judges and the freedom to replace elected judges by nominated judges (Articles 10 and 12); the abolition of the irremovability of judges (Article 84); and the order given to elected J. P.'s at present in office to take oath to Roumania under threat of dismissal (Article 10 to 88); all these measures tend to the destruction of the judicial organization in Bessarabia and are contradictory not only with the fundamental laws of 1864, but also with the Act of Union of March 27, 1918. Although that Act of Union was not a manifestation of the right of peoples to decide of their own fate and although it has received no international sanction, its clauses are none the less obligatory on the Roumanian Government, which itself recognised the Act as legal.

According to Article 5 of the Act of March 27, none of the laws in vigour at that moment in Bessarabia can be abrogated or changed except by the Roumanian Parliament, which must include representatives of Bessarabia elected by universal, direct and secret suffrage.

Consequently, for the reasons above mentioned, this meeting of Justices of the Peace for the electoral district of Kichinef

confirms its previous decision of September 15, 1918, and refuses, in the persons of its members, to take the oath demanded by the Roumanian Government.

This meeting of Justices of the Peace declares hereby its intention to suspend its activities, to hand over all records to the Roumanian Tribunal and to inform the First President of the Court of Cassation at Odessa of the action it has taken.

(Signed) : Here follow the signatures of the Judges.

APPENDIX No. 14

**Minutes of a Meeting of the Judges of the Kichinef
Court of Appeal, October 12, 1918**

This twelfth day of October, 1918, the Court of Appeal at Kichinef in plenary meeting assembled, when there were present :

The President : S. L. LOUZGUINE;

The Vice-Presidents : J. N. KONONOVITCH, Th. M. STANEVITCH,
Th. G. TRIFONE and A. B. DEMENTCHENKO;

The Members of the Court of Appeal : P. B. IVAKOUNOF,
S. P. LEVITSKY, G. A. TROTZKI, L. M. TCHERNOF, D. I. KOTOUKHNO,
A. A. IVANOVSKY, M. N. ELTCHANINOF, B. B. CONRADI, A. N. SIDO-
ROVSKY, G. I. OKHANOF, B. K. MOGAREVSKY, B. P. BARANOVSKY,
A. N. PETROF, A. O. EBERS, U. B. IABLOKOF, G. I. GROSSOU;

The Judge Administrator : J. E. GOUREVITCH;

The Court Prosecutor : N. P. SMOLENSKY;

and the Secretary : A. N. KLISSEVITCH;

having heard read the communication of the president of the Court on the subject of the situation created by the decree of the King of Roumania No. 2720, dated October 6, 1918, published in the « Official Journal » for October 9, 1918, (No. 160), and having considered the above mentioned decree, places on record :

That the Kichinef Court of Appeal, having been created and

having fulfilled its functions in conformity with the laws on judicial organization of November 20, 1864, which represent the ideas of justice and of right in the eyes of the Bessarabian population, which did not cease to fulfil its duties even during the days of anarchy and bolchevism, because it enjoyed the confidence of the population and was supported by the municipalities of the towns and the Zemstvos and by the jury body, is abolished; and that there have been introduced into Bessarabia an appeal court and district courts, and that in place of the Court of Appeal which has been suppressed, a special tribunal called the Liquidation Tribunal, has been created for a period of one year, for the purpose of definitely settling, according to the Russian laws and in the Russian language, all business in hand.

The principles on which the new Liquidation Tribunal is based are the very negation of the foundations on which Russian judicial organization has been erected. The judges of this Liquidation Tribunal, for instance, may be dismissed by order of the Roumanian Minister of Justice; the irremovability of judges, therefore, no longer exists. The law of November 20, 1864, which proclaimed the great principles of Russian judicial organization, had for its supreme object the elevation of the magistracy out of all reach of attack and to render it independent; to which end Article 245 laid down that the members of the magistracy could neither be called upon to resign nor be displaced without their own consent, and that they could not be dismissed except by judgment of a criminal tribunal.

Further, the members of the magistracy will be henceforth submitted to the severest control on the part of not only the Presidents of the Court of Appeal and the District Courts, but also of the Public Prosecutors and of special judicial inspectors, who will decide the fate of all Russian magistrates and of all the Assistant Prosecutors of the new Liquidation Tribunal.

It is therefore evident, that the activity of the Kichinef Court of Appeal, in so far as it is an independent tribunal, must be suspended, both on the ground of the new system of nomination and revocation of magistrates by the Roumanian Govern-

ment, and because of the subordination of its activity to the Roumanian judicial organizations, to such an extent that the Liquidation Tribunal is no more than an instrument in the hands of the Roumanian Government.

This plenary assembly consequently resolves, in conformity with the decision of July 3, 1918, to place the Court of Cassation at Odessa and the Minister of Justice in possession of the facts set forth above, and to evacuate the Court of Appeal of Kichinef in conformity with the decision taken by the Council of Ministers in the month of August of the present year.

(Signed) : Here follow the signatures.

Conter-signed : J. N. KONONOVITCH.

Vice-President of the Kichinef Court of Appeal.

APPENDIX No. 14a

Oath of allegiance to the King of Roumania.

FORM OF OATH FOR JUDGES

I swear before God to be faithful to my King and to the Constitution of my country; to fulfil in all honour, conscience and impartiality the functions that have been entrusted to me. May the Lord grant me His help.

(Signed) :

APPENDIX No. 15

Minutes of the plenary Assembly of the Bessarabian Barristers, their deputies and the representatives of the solicitors, October. 14, 1918.

The plenary assembly of the body of Bessarabian barristers, held on October 14, 1918, took into consideration the decree of the King of Roumania on judicial organization in Bessarabia

promulgated on the 6th of October of the present year, and particularly examined the articles in this decree concerning the body of advocates. After the discussion on the subject was ended, the assembly unanimously adopted the following resolution :

That, in view of the fact that Article 70 of the decree insists that any barrister who wishes to continue to fulfil his professional duties must take the oath of fidelity provided by Roumanian law, and that this demand is contrary to the present law of Bessarabia, which has not yet been abrogated (Article 325 of the Russian Penal Code), sworn legal practitioners cannot in all conscience infringe this law and thereby voluntarily become perjured.

The fact of flatly ignoring Russian law and of willing its abrogation by a mere Royal decree cannot be justified by the Act of March 27, 1918, for this Act belongs to the domain of acts of international law and must be sanctioned either by a freely entered into agreement between Russia and Roumania or by the recognition of the Great Powers.

The Act of March 27, however, cannot be appealed to on either of these two grounds. That Act was not even a manifestation of the principle of self-determination, for it did not express the free will of the people.

Realising fully the seriousness of a situation which renders almost impossible any understanding between litigants and the judges, owing to the withdrawal from the courts of the advocates, the natural intermediaries between the magistracy and the parties who come before them and the defenders of the oppressed and the injured, the body of advocates of Bessarabia is nevertheless persuaded that, as the trustees of the principles of justice and of legality, they have no option except to protest against the state of things created by the decree, and to refuse to take the oath demanded by Article 70 of the Royal decree.

(Signed) : Here follow the signatures of 39 advocates.

N. B. — Two advocates did not sign; they accepted posts offered to them by the Roumanian Government.

Minutes of the sitting of the Executive Board of the Bessarabian provincial Zemstvo on October 8, 1918.

The Executive Board of the Bessarabian Provincial Zemstvo received communication of the following information from its President :

General Voitoyano, the Roumanian Commissioner-General in Bessarabia, arrived at the offices of the Executive Board on October 6, accompanied by the President of the Council of Directors, M. Cosack, M. Tcherkess and Dr. Vicole. In the presence of the President of the Executive Board for the District of Bender, M. A. Carra, who happened to be also there, the Commissioner-General read the Royal decree of October 4 (No. 2720) abolishing the Bessarabian Provincial Zemstvo, together with the report of the Commissioner-General of October 6 (No. 8442) in explanation of this decree (a copy of which is attached). The report sent to the King of Roumania, with the statement of the reasons for the said decree, were not communicated.

The reasons for the proclamation of the decree, as given by the Commissioner-General in person, resolved themselves into a series of reproaches referring to the last Assembly of the Bessarabian Provincial Zemstvo, which was alleged to have concerned itself with politics.

After the reading of the decree the Commissioner-General, in accordance with the request of the President of the Executive Board, translated the said decree into French; after which the President of the Executive Board undertook to place the situation before the members and inform the Commissioner-General of their decision.

Having deliberated on this communication, the Executive Board of the Bessarabian Zemstvo decided, in order to safeguard the dignity and the rights of the Assembly of the Bessa-

rabian Zemstvo, of which it is the guardian, to formulate its opinion in the only legal form of which it has knowledge, namely, in the form of minutes, which, in conformity with Article 99 of the « Regulations for Provincial and District Zemstvos », must be brought to the knowledge of the General Assemblies of the Bessarabian Provincial Zemstvos and of the District Assemblies through the medium of their respective Executive Boards.

The President of the Executive Board of the Bessarabian Provincial Zemstvo is directed to transmit a copy of the said decision to the Roumanian Commissioner-General, and also to those persons who are responsible for the direction of the various branches of the Zemstvo. Further, in view of the fact that the suppression of the Provincial Zemstvo is an illegal act, the President of the Executive Board of the said Zemstvo must remain the representative and the defender of the interests and the needs of the country and, in such quality, must transmit such decision to the officials and to the local bodies.

So far as the transaction of current business is concerned, and of matters connected with real estate and other property, amounting to a value of over 1,000,000,000 roubles (to say nothing of the 200,000 desseatines of land belonging to the convents, which, in accordance with the testamentary wishes of the donors must be managed by the Provincial Zemstvo), the Provincial Executive Board, finding itself no longer in a position in which it will be possible to receive full powers from the Zemstvo and basing itself on Article 99, as mentioned above, has decided as follows : that in order to more efficaciously protect the said property and interests and considering that the persons to whom they will be transmitted under the terms of a Royal decree will be responsible for their management, the said property and current business should be transmitted by a special Act, of which a certified copy will be entrusted to the President of the Executive Board, who will keep it in a manner that he shall judge most suitable. As confirmation of this act, the presidents of all the District Executive Boards to be informed by telegraph.

The consideration of the decree ordering the suppression

of the Provincial Zemstvo was considered by the Executive Board both in regard to the form and the matter of the said decree.

The minutes of the discussion were ordered to be drawn up in the following manner :

The Executive Board declares that the Act abolishing the Provincial Zemstvo is illegal. The Bessarabian Zemstvo is an institution whose attributes are strictly regulated by law (« Regulations for Provincial and District Zemstvos », dated June 12, 1890); Articles 1, 2 and 3 of this law institute the Zemstvos into Provincial and District Zemstvos. On the other hand, conformably to the declaration of the Sfatul Tzerii of March 27, 1918, on the union of Bessarabia with Roumania — a declaration which is obligatory on the Roumanian Government itself, since it was accepted by that Government and published by Royal manifesto in the collection of laws and ordinances of the Kingdom (« Monitor Official ») — all existing Bessarabian laws and regulations remain in force, and henceforward the Roumanian Government is deprived of the right to suppress these laws or to change them in any manner whatever; for according to Paragraph 8 of Article 93 and Article 96 of the Roumanian constitution, the King himself cannot modify the laws, nor stay their course, nor exempt any person whatever from observing them. The conclusion that must be drawn from the foregoing is that the stability and the regular functioning of the Zemstvo are completely guaranteed by the law, and that any modification of the Zemstvo is a breach of the law and an act which is absolutely inadmissible in a constitutional State. As a matter of fact, during the whole period of fifty years during which Zemstvos have existed in Russia, not a single case of dissolution of Zemstvo Assemblies can be cited, even at the time when the monarchy was absolute; for, in spite of all the arbitrary character of the *ancien régime*, it never perpetrated such a flagrant act of illegality, however hostile to the central power the Zemstvos may have been. It is evident that, whatever may have been the motives which influenced the Roumanian Government, it is impossible to throw the cloak of legality over the decree suppressing the Zemstvo.

Further, it is impossible to pass over in silence the situation that has been set up in connection with insurance matters, owing to the suppression of the Zemstvo. Insurance was absolutely permissive, and up to the present the Zemstvo has alone been responsible for the payment of money due under insurance policies. To-day, however, owing to the suppression of the Zemstvo, policy holders find themselves in face of an entirely new institution, the Council of Directors, with which they have up to now had no relations. The Royal decree, therefore, arbitrarily establishes entirely fresh juridical relations.

Another question still more important is that of property, and above all of real estate donated or bequeathed to the Zemstvo by private persons. Without dealing with the fact that the future of none of those properties can in any case be decided simply by their transfer into the hands of the Directorate of Finances, without any investigation of the wills or deeds of gift drawn up by the donors of the properties, one is compelled to recognise that, the wishes of the testators and donors having been that their properties should be transferred not to a new power but to the Provincial Zemstvo, with a predetermined object, the only solution that is admissible, strictly speaking, was the transfer of these properties to the District Zemstvos, for the benefit of the whole Province.

In dealing with the material questions involved, the Executive Board declares that the Provincial Zemstvo, being responsible for safeguarding the interests and needs of the whole of Bessarabia, its suppression will have deplorable consequences for the population, who will henceforth be deprived of the traditional body in which were centralised all the economic and other services (medical, educational, etc.) of the region.

Throwing a retrospective glance over its activity down to the eve of its jubilee, and making every allowance for the deviations to which it has had to submit through the faults of the *ancien régime*, which was incompatible in principle with even the idea of local self-government, it cannot be denied that the Provincial Zemstvo's half-century of activity enabled it to render great services in connection with the development of the country. Fifty years ago Bessarabia was endowed with an

entirely primitive administration only, and a quite inferior standard of culture. She possessed neither hospitals nor schools, nor any foundation of public interest. The Bessarabian Zemstvo found before it an immense territory that was antirely virgin soil. During the past half-century, thanks to the labour of its elected members, assisted by its professional officials, the results which we see to-day have been achieved. Bessarabia is now endowed with a network of institutions of public utility, distributed over the whole surface of the country, which are at the service of the whole population and have placed it, little by little, in contact with the benefits of modern civilization. And the moment when the entire population is called to take part in this civilizing labour, when broad perspectives were opening at last before the new Zemstvo assemblies, this undertaking has received a mortal blow.

The suppression of the Zemstvo will put an end to the development of a whole series of undertakings and prevent the solution of a large number of problems ;

a) It was the work of the Zemstvo to supply the population with seed for the spring sowings, together with materials of the first necessity. The Ukraine, who should furnish these things to Bessarabia, refuses to supply them except through the Provincial Zemstvo.

b) In the domain of public health, which is so important at the present moment, in view of the epidemics which are raging everywhere, the carrying out of the measures for the preservation of the public well-being, already voted by the Provincial Zemstvo Assembly, will have to be dropped.

c) The same unfortunate effects will be experienced in connection with legal assistance for the people, and the institution of new agents representing the political régime and pledged to the defence of the rights of the population. The creation of such machinery was particularly necessary at this critical period, and all the more so in view of the fact that for nearly a year and a half the people have lived in an atmosphere of arbitrary treatment and anarchy and have begun to lose the sentiment of legality and respect for the law.

d) In agricultural matters, again, the Executive Board of

the Provincial Zemstvo would have the duty, under the authority of the competent administrative tribunal, of distributing land, and, without going outside the limits of its jurisdiction, it proposed to re-establish, little by little, by means of a series of rational measures, a certain amount of order in agrarian questions; for the absence of order in this direction is threatening to draw the population into an absolutely chaotic situation. None of the orders so far published by the Committee of the Directory have been based upon any definite principle, which has given rise to arbitrary interpretations when the instructions that have been issued have come to be put into practice. The arbitrary character of these interpretations has been further increased by the fact that Roumanian governmental agriculturists, ignorant of local conditions, have been appointed, and have interfered in the settlement of these questions.

In addition to the new duties which would fall on the Provincial Zemstvo, that body would also have (conformably to the law of June 9, 1917) the direction and the surveillance of various local institutions, it was responsible for everything that related to the rural economy of the country — the roads, technical establishments, statistics, insurance, pensions, agriculture (with the maintenance of testing grounds), public museums, hospitals, medical establishments, etc.

Having thus set forth the reasons for its decision, both as regards the question of form and the practical reasons involved, the Executive Board, addressing itself to the provincial deputies who have elected it, exhorts them to continue as far as possible, the work that has been commenced, and to guard, firmly and unflinchingly, their faith in the final triumph of right over might — a faith without which we can neither live nor labour.

(Signed) : Here follow the signatures of the members.

**Minutes of a Meeting of the Executive Board of
the Bessarabian provincial Zemstvo, October 11,
1918.**

The members of the Executive Board of the Bessarabian Provincial Zemstvo have had under consideration the situation created by the abolition of the Provincial Zemstvo (Royal decree of October 4, No. 2720) and by the suppression of all legal institutions that might represent and defend the interests of the Bessarabian population. Having considered this situation, the Executive Board has arrived at the following conclusions :

That the sole legal representative body in the whole of Bessarabia at the present moment is the Provincial Assembly of the Zemstvo, which is composed of deputies elected by universal suffrage by the district assemblies and by the Kichinef Douma. The Provincial Assembly is not an organ arbitrarily formed, but has been legally and regularly elected. In conformity with the law, the organs of the Provincial Zemstvo consist of the Assembly of the Zemstvo and the Executive Board of the Zemstvo (Art. 13 of the Code of Zemstvo Institutions). Executive Boards, further, being the executive organs of the Zemstvos, are entrusted with the direct administration of the affairs of the Zemstvos (Art. 97). They form connecting links between the Zemstvos and the Government departments and their representatives (Art. 104). In particularly important cases, if extraordinary meetings of the Zemstvos cannot be called together in time, the Executive Boards take the necessary steps and report as to what they have done at the next meeting of the Assembly (Art. 99). They are, in a word, the organs which represent the Assemblies of the Zemstvos in their external relations. The members of the Executive Boards, including their presidents, are elected by the Assemblies for a period of three years (art. 123), and

after the expiration of this term they continue to exercise their functions and enjoy all their rights as members of the Executive Board until they are replaced by newly elected members (Note to Art. 123). They cannot be dismissed from their functions before the expiration of their term of office, except at their own request, laid before the Assembly of the Zemstvo (Art. 135).

In view of these facts and of its decision of October 8 last, the Executive Board of the Bessarabian Provincial Zemstvo declares the Royal decree of October 4 (No. 2720) concerning the abolition of the Provincial Zemstvo, to be illegal, null and void.

It therefore considers and resolves :

I. — That the Bessarabian Zemstvo has not ceased to exist juridically, and that the Executive Board of the Provincial Zemstvo likewise also continues to exist juridically.

II. — That the 49th Ordinary Assembly of the Bessarabian Zemstvo, having elected M. Basile Janovsky as President of the Provincial Executive Board and Messrs. Th. Souroutchane, A. Katchoukoff, H. Tchelebidaki and G. Okhanoff members of the Executive Board, and that (although the illegal suppression of the Provincial Zemstvo has obliged them to suspend their activity and to hand over to other officials the current business and the property of the Zemstvo), they must be considered as continuing to fulfil their functions (seeing that they have in no sense asked to be relieved of their duties and have not been relieved of them by the Provincial Zemstvo, and have not, further, been able to transmit their rights as representatives of the Bessarabian Zemstvo and as members of the various committees of which they form part as *ex-officio* members).

III. — That their withdrawal from participation in affairs has in no way modified their juridical situation, and that they remain the sole representatives of the sole Bessarabian representative body of which it is their duty to defend the interests and the needs (Art. 1 of the Code of Zemstvos, 1892 edition) in so far as the present situation permits. Among the immediate obligations which fall upon them are the following :

a) To represent the Zemstvo in external relations concerning the affairs of Bessarabia as a whole;

b) To take part in the work of the Zemstvo commissions for Russia as a whole, these commissions not being able to work legally without the presence of the President and the members of the Executive Board, who belong to them in virtue of their office;

c) To undertake the defence of the land interests of the Zemstvo, which may require to be protected against possible pretensions on the part of heirs, testators or donors;

d) To undertake the duty of assuring the maintenance of officials of the Provincial Zemstvo who have been dismissed from their posts by the decree abolishing the Provincial Zemstvo.

The Executive Board of the Bessarabian Provincial Zemstvo therefore resolves :

« That the Executive Board considers its personnel as having preserved its entire powers and as having the duty of continuing to exercise its functions as representing the Provincial Zemstvo and as the defender of the interests of the people of Bessarabia in so far as the present situation permits. »

The Executive Board resolves further : « That this resolution shall be communicated to the District Executive Boards, with instructions, that copies of the same shall be forwarded to the District Assemblies, to the Provincial deputies and to the members of the General Assembly.

The original minutes are signed by

B. IANOVSKY.

President of the Executive Board.

Th. SOUROUTCHANE, Alexander KATCHOULKOFF,

Ch. TCHELEBIDAKI, George OKHANOFF.

Members.

M. KIATSKY.

Secretary.

Report by the President of the Executive Board of the Khotin District Zemstvo.

On October 28, 1918, the district of Khotin was occupied by the Roumanian troops, who proclaimed its annexation to Roumania.

Up to that period life in the Khotin district had been grounded on other principles, and Russian traditions and beliefs were deeply rooted in the hearts of the population.

Having been close to the line of the front throughout the war and having experienced all the horrors of the conflict, of a chaotic demobilisation and of bolchevism, the Khotin district was able, by good fortune, to remain outside the jurisdiction of the Sfatul Tzerii.

In February, 1918, the Khotin district was occupied by Austro-Hungarian troops, and the Austro-Hungarian commander confirmed the fact that the district belonged to Russia, and therefore allowed Russian law to remain in force and maintained the powers of the various administrative and other bodies that were in existence there. The Zemstvo was also maintained.

Owing to the fact that the district was entirely cut off from the rest of Bessarabia and out of touch with the various administrative bodies in the province, executive power was entrusted to the local Zemstvo, which centralised under its own control the whole of the administrative services, after the Provisional Government Commissioner was suppressed (August, 1918). This state of things continued until October 28. The Austrian authorities refrained from useless interference in questions of local government and confined themselves to maintaining order, for the purpose of ensuring the exportation of raw materials, and especially foodstuffs. The occupation of the district by foreign troops, however, was a heavy burden for the people, who impatiently awaited the end of the war,

the re-establishment of a united and indivisible Russia and the return of the district to Russia. These desires manifested themselves upon every occasion, and certainly had an influence on the economic situation of the region.

On October 28, after the retreat of the Austrian troops, the people of the district breathed freely once more, and awaited with impatience the revival of Russia, the territorial integrity of which it appeared must certainly be guaranteed by the approaching victory of the Allies. These hopes were unhappily disappointed. Roumanian troops entered the district and declared its annexation to Roumania, in virtue of the decision of the Sfatul Tzerii on March 27, 1918.

Like all the rest of Bessarabia, however, the people in the Khotin district refused to recognise this decision of the Sfatul Tzerii, to which they had never been subject and to which they had never sent representatives, and declined to consider themselves bound by the decisions of what they considered to be a legally incompetent body.

The minutes of the Executive Board of the Khotin Zemstvo, as will be seen from the copy attached (Appendix No. 19), show that that body, by its decisions, confirmed the resolve of the people of the district to remain, as in the past, united to Russia.

The entry of the Roumanian troops was accompanied by measures for the forcible roumanianisation of the district, which were very unfavourably received by the population. Barely thirty per cent of the people are of Moldavian race, and the Zemstvo had to exercise all its authority to prevent an armed rising, which was rendered very possible owing to the large quantity of arms concealed in the houses of the district,

Having been asked by the whole of the population of the Khotin district to bring these facts to your notice, and being myself in entire sympathy with the rest of the representatives of Bessarabia and the opinions they have expressed, I trust that the desires and the aspirations of the people of the Khotin district will not be overlooked when the Bessarabian question comes to be finally settled — a question which, important as it is for us, cannot fail to be the subject of international consideration.

In awaiting that event we desire to point out the extreme necessity of bringing to an end in this district the practice of roumanianisation, which is tending to disorganize and fundamentally modify all the accepted standards of the daily life of our people.

Signed : the President of the Executive Board
of the Khotin District Zemstvo.

APPENDIX No. 19

**Minutes of a Meeting of the Khotin District
Zemstvo (October 23, 1918).**

Owing to circumstances not under control, the district of Khotin is at present entirely isolated, and forms part of the territory of none of the neighbouring States (Austria-Hungary, Roumania, Ukraina).

Occupied since the month of February, 1918, by the armies of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the district of Khotin, which down to that period formed part of the Province of Bessarabia, is now entirely cut off from the central institutions of the Russian Empire, with the result that the population is faced with many and infinite difficulties in every sphere of their existence.

At the present time, in view of the approach of universal peace and of conditions that will shortly give territorial units, of even trifling importance, the possibility of freely expressing their national and political desires, the Executive Board of the Khotin District Zemstvo, in virtue of its right to voice the opinions and inclinations of the people of the district, considers the moment opportune to take the necessary steps for the purpose of making known :

1. — The existence of the Khotin district, which, although torn from its motherland Russia, is opposed to all idea of being separated from that country and desires to remain united to it.

2. — The national aspirations of its population.

The Executive Board hopes that the forthcoming International Peace Conference will take into consideration the natural desires of territorial units of lesser importance, that it will defend them against all violent annexation to this or that State, that it will give the populations of such units the right to express their wishes freely, and that it will not overlook the fact that the people of the Khotin district have already repeatedly and categorically manifested their desire to remain united with a reconstituted Russia.

For these reasons the Executive Board resolves :

That the President of the Board, Mr. N. M. Kroupensky, be and is hereby authorised to inform the Spanish Ambassador, who was at one time in charge of the interests of Russian subjects in Austria-Hungary as well as the Russian Minister in Roumania, the President of the United States of America, together with all the leagues and other organizations for the regeneration of Russia, as well as all societies that have for object the reconstitution of Russia, one and indivisible, that Mr. Kroupensky is authorised to inform all and sundry of the real aspirations of the people of the district of Khotin.

(*Signed*) : President of the Executive Board.

(*Countersigned*) : Secretary.

Certificate. — It is hereby certified that the elections of the district and cantonal delegates, as well as the officials of the Zemstvo institutions, took place in conformity with the regulations, decisions and orders of the Provisional Government, namely, the Provisional Government Regulation of May 21, 1917, fixing the procedure to be followed in the election of provincial and district delegates; the Provisional Government Regulation of June 17, 1917 in regard to Cantonal Zemstvo Councils; and the decision of May 31, 1917 and the Supplementary Regulation to Section I of the decision of the Provisional Government adopted on July 26, 1917.

The above mentioned Orders and Regulations in regard to

elections are based on the law establishing universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage.

(Signed) : Secretary.

APPENDIX No. 20

**Minutes of the sitting of March 18, 1918,
of the Bender Zemstvo.**

The forty-ninth Ordinary Assembly of the Bender Zemstvo took place on March 18, 1918, in the following conditions.

Before the main door were posted two Roumanian sentinels and an officer. In the hall of the Executive Board, where the Assembly met, were stationed a company of Roumanian *chasseurs* (light infantry) with their two officers. In the vestibule outside the hall were two other sentinels.

The commander of the garrison, Colonel Voitchesco, took his seat on the platform alongside the President, and made a speech, which was included in the minutes. After this speech an address was delivered by major Isvorano, who was in command of the town, and who proposed that the Assembly should express its unconditional sympathy with Roumania on the ground that Russia, with its Emperor at its head, had been deposed for its crimes and its complete incapacity to organize a workable State. He concluded in these terms : « Those who are not with us are against us, and those who are against us may get out the other side of the Dniester. We refuse to have any neutrals. Let those who have ears to hear make use of them. Roumania has always been strong. At this moment you may see what its strength is by looking out into the courtyard. »

The Assembly then proceeded to deal with the items on the agenda. The Roumanian officers, however, of whom there were a large number in the hall, intervened in the discussions and tried to influence the decisions. So far as the elections were concerned major Isvorano distributed a list of his candidates and watched the deputies closely during the voting. Seeing

that two candidates, Messrs. Broun and Niaga, who were not on his list, were elected, he asked them to withdraw, and told them plainly that if they did not they « would have to do with him. »

During the discussion of the question of the union of Bessarabia with Roumania, machine guns were hoisted on their pedestals, their coverings were taken off and they were placed ready for firing. A detachment of soldiers were brought into the vestibule. Notwithstanding these threatening measures, the deputies refused to vote the resolution for union with Roumania, and the deputies showed plainly that they refused to be intimidated by major Isvorano when he told them that « agitators would have to deal with him. »

This statement may be confirmed by interrogating any of the deputies who were present at the sitting.

(Signed) : A. KONOVALOFF.

I, 25, 26 and 27 of the Minutes of the 49th Sitting of the Ordinary Assembly of the Bender Zemstvo.

APPENDIX No. 21

**Protest by Members of the teaching profession
in the district of Bender, 1918.**

To the Bessarabian Liberation Committee, Odessa,

Our country, Bessarabia, was constantly, from the third to the thirteenth century, the theatre of successive invasions by barbarian peoples, who have delivered it over to pillage and massacre. It was only from the thirteenth century onwards that the country began to enjoy comparative tranquility, and Genoese trading stations were established along the banks of the lower portions of the Dniester and Danube. Soon afterwards, however, Bessarabia fell under the power of the Turks,

and for many centuries was subjected to their yoke. After a struggle that lasted for two centuries between Russia and Turkey, Bessarabia at last passed in 1812 into the possession of Russia, together with its fortresses : Khotin, Bender, Akermann and Ismail.

The Russian Government made great efforts in connection with the primary organization and colonization of the country. Subsequently it endowed Bessarabia with the institution of the Zemstvo, — a wise and at the same time a bold policy — which carried on the work of social and economic development in the Province.

As the result of the constant, persistent and detailed labour of the Zemstvo and of all the best forces of the country, Bessarabia, which at the time of its annexation to Russia was a wild and uncultivated region, became a smiling and prosperous land where plenty reigned. No matter in which direction one looked, satisfaction, contentment and wealth were to be found. In the comparatively short period of fifty years new towns sprang up, such as Kichinef, for instance, which by its importance and its wealth was able to bear comparison with many of the European cities. Railways and well made highways crossed the country in every direction, and factories came into existence in many places. Fields, orchards, and forests planted by the hands of man, gave variety to the landscape. Bee-culture, the culture of the silkworm and fisheries occupied thousands of hands. The principle of compulsory education was put into operation and schools of all kinds dotted the country. Sanitary organization reached a high degree of development. The granaries of the toilers were filled with wealth.

The whole of the population inhabiting Bessarabia under the beneficent influence of Russia consisted of one sole people — the Russians. There existed neither Bulgarians, nor Moldavians, nor Gagaouses. All declared themselves with pride to be Russian. Such was Bessarabia, a land of smiling beauty, of corn and wine, prior to the arrival of the Roumanians.

During the ten months the Roumanian occupation has so far lasted, the country has so changed that it can scarcely be recognised any longer. Nothing has been able to escape their des-

stroying breath. Everything has been wrecked, sacked, pillaged, handed over to fire and sword.

Our towns have been destroyed. We, members of the teaching profession in the town of Bender, have been witnesses of the pillage of the town and the massacre of the inhabitants. These pillages and massacres have been carried out under the command of Roumanian officers. The public buildings have been destroyed. The Roumanians have been worthy emulators of the Vandals, and have proved once more, by their conduct, that history always repeats itself. The railway stations have been ruined and all the rolling stock carried off. The wheat has been taken away. The requisitions that have been made have been accompanied by horrible cruelties, to which we, the members of the teaching profession, can bear witness. In many cases the entire population of a village has been massacred. Flogging of inoffensive civilian inhabitants has become of regular occurrence. We are ready to confirm on our oaths all that we have herein stated.

Our teaching organization no longer exists. The whole of our work has been destroyed. Nothing remains of all that was done by the last Minister of Education, Count Ignatieff. The reforms introduced by him, especially in the curriculum of the secondary schools, the close co-operation which he had succeeded in establishing between parents and professors, have all been ruined by the clumsy intervention of the Roumanians in the educational domain. The intellectual level of the Roumanians scarcely exceeds that of the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands. At Bender, where the Russian population amounts to sixty per cent of the whole, there is no Russian school. In the lower classes of the colleges the teaching is in Roumanian or Yiddish. Russian children are deprived of the opportunity to learn their mother tongue.

The elementary schools in the rural districts have been nationalised, but parents no longer send their children to them. The schools are empty. The Bulgarians and the Moldavians refuse to hear anything but a *Russian* school spoken of. The Roumanian school teachers flog the children.

This is the manner in which the Roumanians are behaving

towards the Russians; yet Roumania would never have existed but for Russia. If Russia had not fought for her, Roumania would still be under the Turkish yoke.

We, members of the teaching profession of the town and district of Bender, have also witnessed the wholesale executions by drowning in the Dniester. We have seen large numbers of victims thrown into the river, tied hands and feet with wire. We are all children of this land of Bessarabia. We express its thoughts, its desires, its aspirations, its feelings. We have always stood up for its interests, and we cannot, we must not remain silent.

We protest against the Roumanian invasion, against the interference of the Roumanians in our internal affairs, against the forced requisitions, against the destruction of all our institutions, against the roumanianisation of our schools. We protest against the violent and arbitrary acts of which we are the victims.

We address ourselves to you, British and Americans. We declare to you that it would be criminal to submit no matter what country to Roumania. Roumania is a country so backward, it has civilization so inferior and a mentality so primitive that it is astounding such a people could have reached the sill of the twentieth century and remain what it really is. Transylvania, the Banat, Bukovina and Bessarabia stand at an infinitely higher level: their submission to Roumania would be equivalent to the submission of a professor to a college janitor.

It is Roumania herself who should be placed under the control of some civilised nation. We are convinced that if this is not done Roumania will perish without having ever reached rational development.

For ourselves, faithful to Russia, one, indivisible and democratic, we will never consent to the idea that we can be torn from our Motherland. Bessarabia can never be happy except under her wing.

(Signed) : Here follow numerous signatures.

Protest of the Russian supreme Patriarch to the Roumanian Holy Synod, October, 1918.

From the Very Humble TICHON, by the Grace of God
Patriarch of Moskovy and of All the Russias, to the
Holy Synod of the Roumanian Church :

In the month of April of the current year, 1918, His Eminence Archbishop Pimen, Metropolitan of Moldavia and Soutchava, then head of the Roumanian Church, informed us by telegram that, in consequence of the political union of Bessarabia and Roumania, the orthodox population inhabiting that province would in future, in accordance with canonical law, come under the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Church of the Kingdom of Roumania.

In reply to this epistle we have sent to His Eminence a special letter, in which we fraternally ask the Roumanian Holy Synod to discuss this question of canonical law, now once more brought up, by means of the usual communications ordinarily exchanged between the Roumanian and the Russian Churches, the clergy and the churchmen of the diocese of Kichinef being called upon to participate in the discussion.

To our profound sorrow we are compelled to place on record that our fraternal appeal to the leaders of the Roumanian Church did not find with them the friendly reception which we expected. His Eminence Mgr. Pimen and the Holy Synod of the Roumanian Church preferred immediately to break off all communication with us, and to insist that Anastasius, Archbishop of Kichinef and Khotin, as well as all the suffragans of the diocese of Kichinef, Gabriel, Bishop of Akermann, temporarily in charge of the diocese of Kichinef, and Dionysius, Bishop of Ismail, should submit themselves and their flocks to the jurisdiction of the Roumanian Church.

Archbishop Anastasius and his suffragans being unable to see their way to accede to these illegal demands, the former

was dispossessed of his episcopal see by the Roumanian Synod, and the other two bishops were compelled to yield to force and to cross the Bessarabian frontier. Simultaneously the diocese of Kichinef was entrusted to Nicodemus, Bishop of Houchi, who took possession of the archiepiscopal see and still occupies it to-day. Such has been the course of events which, little by little, have led Bessarabia into the abnormal situation in which it is found to-day.

Having considered the question with all the care and all the impartiality possible, we have arrived at the following conclusions, which are based not on our convictions but on the canonical conscience of all the primates of the Orthodox Russian Church.

I. — The Roumanian Church, *by its unilateral decision, arrived at without previous consultation with the Russian Church*, had no right to determine on its own sole initiative, the future of the diocese of Kichinef, by bringing it under the jurisdiction of the Roumanian Church, seeing that Bessarabia has for over a century formed an integral part of the body of the Russian Church. Such conduct on the part of the Roumanian Holy Synod is contrary to the spirit of Christian charity, to ancient canonical practices and to the sacred customs of the Orthodox Churches. The thesis that political union always entails ecclesiastical union cannot in this case be used as justification for the conduct of the authorities of the Roumanian Church; for (1) this thesis is incorrect from the historical point of view, and (2) it is based on a confusion of political matters with ecclesiastical matters, which differ in their very essence. Temporal power, as we know it, cannot alone determine the frontiers between local churches; these juridical frontiers are always established in conformity with certain canonical principles, defined by councils or arrived at by mutual agreement between the various Churches concerned. In the present instance neither of these two methods was adopted. Moreover, the very act of the union of Bessarabia with the Kingdom of Roumania, as we have already stated, is far from being universally recognised from the standpoint of international law, and may certainly be revised when the time comes for a definite

settlement of the various questions that have arisen out of the World War.

II. — In forcibly cutting off the diocese of Kichinef from the Russian Church, the Roumanian ecclesiastical authorities have not only violated ancient practise and established procedure, but have likewise brought confusion and temptation into the life and conscience of the Bessarabian clergy and their flocks, who cannot but feel themselves bound to canonical obedience to the Russian hierarchical authorities and yet, for all practical purposes, have to submit to the jurisdiction of the Roumanian bishops, who are supported in their claims on the Bessarabian Church by the Roumanian civil and military authorities.

III. — The demand of the Roumanian Holy Synod that Archbishop Anastasius and the Bishops Gabriel and Dionysius, and their flocks, should separate themselves from the Russian Church and submit to the jurisdiction of the Roumanian Church is contrary to the very essence of canon law and amounts moreover to trampling on the liberty of their episcopal consciences, which must forbid them from violating the oath they took at the time of their ordination. The very circumstances in which Bishops Gabriel and Dionysius left Bessarabia demonstrate that they were expelled from their diocese; they were, as a matter of fact, given very little time to settle their episcopal and private affairs, and were refused the opportunity to take leave of their flocks.

IV. — The accusation brought against Archbishop Anastasius — namely, that he failed to respond to two summonses, requiring him to appear before the Roumanian Synod — cannot be considered as well-founded, *even from the Roumanian point of view*; for the two summonses were sent by telegraph to Kichinef, whereas the Archbishop at that moment was attending the Pan-Russian Council at Moscow. Communications between Moscow and Bessarabia were then extremely difficult and often entirely impossible, and the leaders of the Roumanian Church, moreover, were made fully acquainted with this situation.

It is evident from the facts set forth in the foregoing that the attitude of Archbishop Anastasius cannot be interpreted as indicating that *he voluntarily abandoned his diocese*. Such a

conclusion would be false both in substance and in form, for the said Archbishop notified his departure neither to the Russian ecclesiastical authorities nor to the Roumanian authorities, and he must therefore be regarded as having retained his rights on the episcopal see of Kichinef. In any case, he cannot be deprived of his powers as a pastor without the consent of the Russian ecclesiastical authorities, from whom he received his canonical powers.

V. — If such be the case, Nicodemus, Bishop of Houchi, in assuming the direction of the diocese of Kichinef, has made his appearance in a city which was not under his jurisdiction and has “ caused to submit by force ” a diocese that did not previously depend from him. His action must therefore be considered as illegal and as risking condemnation in conformity with the sacred canons of the Orthodox Church (App. 35, III, Con. Œcum. 8, Antioch, 21, 22).

In drawing the attention of the pious bishops of our sister, the Roumanian Church, to these considerations, we have confidence that as wise and prudent men they will hear without bitterness that which our sacred duty as a pastor commands us to say to them, and will hasten to abandon the dangerous path upon which they have entered in regard to the Bessarabian Church, a path which may otherwise lead to difficult and deplorable complications between the Russian and the Roumanian Churches. Should they not adopt the course we have indicated, should the Roumanian Church, without paying heed to our representations, seek to consolidate by force the position which she has usurped in Bessarabia, we shall be compelled, however painful it may be to us, to break off all fraternal and canonical communion with the Roumanian Synod and to submit the case to the judgment of the other Orthodox Churches.

(Signed) : TICHOX, Patriarch.

September/October, 1918.

Protest of a group of Deputies of the Sfatul Tzerii (November 30, 1918).

We, the under-signed deputies, members of the Sfatul Tzerii, have drawn up the present statement in order to expose an inadmissible act of political blackmail, accompanied by falsification and violation of our rights as representatives of the people.

On the initiative of the « Moldavian Bloc », the opening of the Sfatul Tzerii was fixed for November 25, 1918, without any date being announced in the newspapers and without any notification of the fact being sent to the deputies. Only the members belonging to the Moldavian Bloc were informed.

The real intentions of the Moldavian Bloc could barely be guessed from a note which appeared in the official organ of the Council of Directors, the « Sfatul Tzerii » (No. 189 of the Roumanian edition, dated November 25), in which it was stated that the Sfatul Tzerii would meet « to-morrow » or « the next day. » None of the other Parliamentary groups were in any way informed of the date of the opening of the Sfatul Tzerii.

Among the leaders of the other parties only Mr. V. Tziganko was aware of the fact, and he was informed privately, two hours before the opening of the sitting. There was then no time to inform the members of the Peasants' Party and the deputies who were connected with it.

The opening of the Sfatul Tzerii, therefore, took place in the presence of the Moldavian Bloc alone, with the exception of a few deputies belonging to some of the other parties who happened by chance to be in the Parliament building.

M. V. Tziganko, deputy, in the name of the Peasants' Party, the fraction representing the minority parties and a part of the Moldavian Bloc, lodged a protest with the Vice-President of the Sfatul Tzerii, Mr. P. N. Khalippa, against opening the sitting in

the absence of the other parties. He added that if circumstances rendered it necessary that the opening should take place forthwith, he objected to the election of officers being undertaken that day.

In spite of the protests of Mr. Tziganko, however, the opening of the sitting and the election of officers took place the same day, notwithstanding the absence of a quorum (there being only 54 deputies present out of a total of 162, of which only 48 took part in the voting).

The agenda for the sitting of November 26 foreshadowed only a discussion on the agrarian question. Prior to the beginning of the sitting the group of deputies who had declined to take part in the election of officers on the previous day and who found it impossible to entrust the management of the business of the Parliament to the officers who had been elected under such circumstances, authorised a deputy named Guenzul to make the following statement in their names at the opening of the sitting :

« The group of deputies who were absent from yesterday's sitting, for which absence the officers of the House were responsible, from the fact that they had sent out no notices convoking the members, desire to place on record that the elections of officials of the House took place in the absence of a quorum and that the group consequently refuse to recognise such elections as valid and insist that fresh elections shall take place; and they also desire to place on record that they will take no part in the plenary sittings of the House until such fresh elections shall have taken place. »

To this protest the President replied by giving the following explanation : « At the opening of yesterday's sitting there were present more than a sufficient number of deputies to form the necessary quorum, and more than one-half of the deputies took part in the elections of officials for the House, consequently the elections were regularly conducted and no fresh elections will take place ».

After this the group of protesting deputies left the hall, to the accompaniment of ironical applause from the deputies belonging to the Moldavian Bloc and from the President

himself. One part of the group left the Sfatul Tzerii forthwith, without further formalities, while another part held a meeting to consider the incident that had taken place. Notwishing to be accused of abstaining from the debates on the agrarian law, the latter decided to send Mr. Tziganko, one of their number, into the hall, to make the following declaration in the name of the whole of the protesting group :

« The group which has just left the sitting did so as a protest against the illegal election of the officials of the Sfatul Tzerii, which elections took place in the absence of a legal quorum and were accompanied by inadmissible breaches of Parliamentary procedure. The group declares its want of confidence in the officials of the House but, in view of the necessity for passing an agrarian law and considering that the Bill submitted by the agrarian commission is acceptable, it is prepared to take part in the deliberations upon such Bill, although declining to recognise the officials of the House as really representative of the Sfatul Tzerii. »

After the resumption of the sitting the President, Mr. P. N. Khalippa, immediately called on Mr. Tziganko.

Mr. Tziganko asserted that the protest had been handed to the clerk at the table, but that he would abstain from reading it, as the promises that had been made to him by the President appeared to him to be satisfactory. He added that, in the event of their still desiring it, the protest which he had handed in on behalf of the absent deputies might be read at the following sitting.

The small group of deputies who had re-entered the Sfatul Tzerii with Mr. Tziganko took part in the discussion of the agrarian law. The sitting, which began at eight o'clock in the evening¹, proved very tiring, and towards one o'clock in the morning the number of those present became appreciably smaller.

At 2.30 a. m., after the Agrarian Bill had been voted, the President, M. Khalippa, read to the Sfatul Tzerii a resolution declaring *the unconditional union of Bessarabia with Roumania*

1. Obviously it is the meeting of November 26-27 which is referred to.

and annulling the autonomy of Bessarabia. At this moment there were exactly forty-six deputies in the hall.

A portion of these deputies began to applaude frantically, and it became impossible to hear distinctly when the President put the questions : « For the resolution? » « Against? » « Abstention? » and ended with the assertion : « Carried unanimously. »

Various members of the Peasants' Party protested and asked to be allowed to speak, but the President declined to hear any of them; and it was in this way that an act of the highest importance was voted, in the absence of a quorum, by forty-six deputies, of whom a portion, including the deputy Boutchouchkan, protested.

The Commissioner-General, General Voitojano, was telephoned for and at 5.30 a.m. the dissolution of the Sfatul Tzerii by Royal Decree was made known to the deputies.

Certifying by their signatures the truth of all that is placed on record in the foregoing, the deputies of the Sfatul Tzerii who have received instructions from the various Parliamentary groups to draw up the present statement formally declare that the whole of the decisions of the Sfatul Tzerii come to at the sittings of November 26 and 27, 1918, are null and void. The signatories protest in the strongest possible manner against the flagrant violation of the will of the peoples inhabiting that province.

(Signed) :	TZIGANKO,	A. D. RATKO.
	BOUTCHOUCHKAN.	CHJEVSKI.
	PASCALOUTZA.	THEODORE NIAGA,
	ALEXANDRI.	M. ROUSSIEFF.
	F. F. SOUROUTCHAN.	BACHBEOUK-MELIKOFF.

**Address from the Sfatul Tzerii to the King
of Roumania.**

To His Majesty the King, Bucarest.

The Sfatul Tzerii, which has been opened to-day, in accordance with Your Majesty's Royal Decree, begins, before commencing its preliminary labours in connection with agrarian reform, by directing its thoughts towards your Majesty, the King of all the Roumanians, and humbly begs to be allowed to lay at the foot of your throne an expression of its sentiments of fidelity, love and unchangeable devotion.

It respectfully beseeches your Majesty, the King of the peasants, who has bestowed on them universal suffrage and land to cultivate, each according to his needs, to accept the assurance that we desire, one and all, to unite ourselves to our country, in community with the whole of our Roumanian brethren, within our historic and ethnical frontiers.

United in this faith and in these sentiments, we desire in our turn to serve as a rampart for your throne, in which we see the strongest and most certain guarantee of the prosperity and happiness of the Roumanian nation.

Long live his Majesty the King !

Long live her Majesty the Queen !

Long live the Roumanian Dynasty !

APPENDIX No. 25

Extract from the official journal "Sfatul Tzerii" of November 26, 1918, announcing the Meeting of the Sfatul Tzerii.

This evening at six o'clock the Sfatul Tzerii will begin the discussion of the Bill for Agrarian Reform. All the deputies of the Sfatul Tzerii who do not wish to be confused with Russian *agents provocateurs* are requested not to leave the hall during the sitting.

APPENDIX No. 26

Report by M. V. Tziganko, Leader of the Peasants' Party, of an interview which he had, accompanied by several other Deputies, with general Voitoiano, Roumanian Commissioner-General in Bessarabia, on Friday, November 23, 1918,

A few days before the opening of the Sfatul Tzerii a telegram signed "Inkouletz," arrived from Bucarest, announcing that four Ministers would come to Kichinef for the opening of the local Parliament. These Ministers were to be Messrs. Tchegoureanu, Fati, Enesco and Voitoiano.

The majority of the deputies were in a gloomy and uneasy state of mind, with the exception of the leaders of the Moldavian Bloc, who moved from one group to another with smiling faces and chatted gaily. The Opposition focussed its attention closely on the situation and prepared itself to receive news of fresh intrigues on the part of the Roumanian ringleaders. They knew from experience the meaning of this mobilisation of the whole of the enemy's forces.

We saw in the arrival of the Roumanian Ministers a close relation with the reports that were in circulation in regard

to the abrogation of Bessarabia's right to autonomy, and events proved this view to be well-founded.

The Ministers reached Kichinef, in fact, and on November 25 the whole of the Moldavian deputies were invited to meet at four o'clock at the place where General Voitoiano was staying. Every possible measure was taken to influence the minds of the guests in a given direction, and to produce a desired impression in advance.

The deputies were received by the General himself in the finest hall in the Pronine Hotel. The lighting of the hall, the luxury of the surroundings, the General in full uniform occupying the presidential chair, all combined to produce a deep and impressive effect on the humble deputies, who clung close to each other and listened attentively and in silence.

The Minister, General Voitoiano, addressed the deputies as follows.

“ Gentlemen, Members of the Sfatul Tzerii,

“ I have asked you to come here because I want to talk to you, as a Roumanian to Roumanians, in order to learn your wishes and your aspirations, and to lay before you the situation in which the Bessarabian question now stands.

“ All that takes place here must remain confidential between us. As Roumanians we may say what we like between ourselves, but nobody must say anything outside.

“ We must go to the Sfatul Tzerii with our minds all ready made up. The whole weight of Bessarabian policy lies on you. On March 27 you took upon yourselves a very heavy burden : you began to deal with the problem of the union of the whole of the Roumanian people. Now the moment has arrived to bring to a conclusion what has been commenced, for matters cannot be allowed to remain half-finished. The Act of March 27 granted you provincial autonomy. You must now renounce that autonomy in order henceforward to form only one body with the Roumanian people. Why should you wish to maintain autonomy? Are the Roumanian laws bad laws? I really don't understand what this autonomy is. You must renounce it, if only for

this sole reason — that you have no good Roumanian officials in Bessarabia — that is to say, none who are good nationalists.

“ If you give up autonomy, you will no longer have a Commissioner-General, but you will have a Bessarabian Chargé d’Affaires, a man of your own character, who will be nominated by the Central Power.

“ The new Directorate will remain in office until the meeting of the Pan-Roumanian Constituent Assembly. Does this appeal to you as attractive?

“ I realise fully, Gentlemen, that on March 27 the situation, as it then was, necessitated a vote of conditional union between Roumania and Bessarabia. At present the outlook is much more serious, and you must renounce the idea of autonomy. All Roumania insists that you shall. The realisation of your national ideal also demands it.

“ Suppose for a moment that you do not relinquish your autonomy at a moment when all the other Roumanians form one solid bloc and you with your autonomy remain separate : what will become of you?

“ Look towards the north. You see there a front for the reconstitution of a Great Russia. Bear in mind that that front is a menace for your national aspirations, and don’t forget it! If you are obstinate in this matter, you will do an enormous amount of harm to the national unification. All Roumanians — whether in Old Roumania, in Transylvania and Ardeal, in Bukovina and in Bessarabia — must form one sole bloc to resist the pressure from outside. I tell you plainly : the abrogation of Bessarabian autonomy is necessary to us, in view of the Peace Conference. We must be united on this question, in order not to give any opportunity for criticism. Then we shall be able to say : “ See how happy Bessarabia is in the arms of Roumania ! She has even renounced her autonomy and only asks to be entirely one with the Roumanian people ! ”

“ At this moment the bonds between Bessarabia and Roumania are reduced to one single thread. Do you wish to break this last thread by your obstinacy?

“ Gentlemen, the national ideal takes precedence of everything.

“ For tactical reasons, which I have already indicated, it is necessary that you should demand nothing. You must give everything.

“ I hope now that everything is clear to you, and that your hesitations, which could only be explained by unjustifiable provocation, are a thing of the past.

“ You, M. Alexandri, for example — (M. Alexandri sat on the General's left) — have been hesitating throughout the whole of the summer, I know, and I hope that you will stop amusing yourself with your “ russification ”; for otherwise — (and here the General's voice assumed a threatening tone) — we shall have to take certain steps.

“ You will understand that I am speaking plainly. I am an old soldier and I would not and will not hide the facts from you.”

At the close of this speech the senior deputy present, M. Alexandri, took the General's place in the chair. Some of the deputies put questions to M. Tchegourean, who was also present. Among other things he was asked :

1. — How do you explain the article in the electoral law which says that “ any official who wishes to take part in the elections must resign office 15 days before the elections,” when everybody knows how short Bessarabia is of Moldavian officials ?

2. — Can elections be considered as normal or even possible under a state of siege, which prohibits all electoral agitation ?

M. Tchegourean replied : “ Don't let this frighten you, Gentlemen. It is always possible to get round the law. When we considered these questions at the Ministerial Council we decided that in principle the law must be respected, but that in Bessarabia matters should be left in this way :

“ *Any official who is a good Roumanian nationalist must arrange things with his chiefs. We go so far as to say that good Roumanians ought to enter the Roumanian Parliament — but all other elements must find no place there. As to election agitation, a good Roumanian will be able to do anything he wants*

to, but the Russophils will have no latitude allowed to them. In any case, so far as they are concerned, there is no room for them in Bessarabia. ”

In accordance with the proposal of one of the deputies, it was decided to adjourn the discussion of the questions raised in General Voitoiano's speech, and the whole assembly was invited to take a cup of tea or a glass of wine.

In this connection M. Tzanza, one of the deputies, made the remark that “ the Roumanians apparently want to buy us with a glass of wine. ” Next day General Voitoiano had a short conversation with him in reference to this remark.

Only one toast was drunk — that to the health of the deputies. It was remarked that the whole of the deputies belonging to the so called People's League paid assiduous court to General Voitoiano, with the exception of the veteran Alexandri.

The gathering broke up at seven p. m.

(Signed) : V. TZIGANKO.

APPENDIX No. 27

To the Bessarabian Liberation Committee.

A Letter from M. Jean Pascaloutza (member of the Sfatul Tzerii).

Kichinef, November 27, 1918.

To the Bessarabian Liberation Committee,

I consider it to be my duty, even before sending to the Committee the whole of the documents to justify my statements, to inform the Committee of the latest act of violence perpetrated by the Roumanian Government against unhappy Bessarabia.

On November 15 (old style), 1918, the Secretary of the Sfatul Tzerii, M. Epoury, received from M. Inkouletz, Minister without portfolio, from Jassy, a declaration directing him to

inform the deputies that the Sfazul Tzerii would be convoked for November 21.

Towards the same date it became more and more clear that the Roumanian Government intended to proceed to the unconditional annexation of Bessarabia, in violation of the Act of March 27 and of the will of the people.

In order to forestall this intention, the majority of the deputies belonging to the Moldavian Bloc formed themselves into a distinct group, which also received the adhesion of the members of the Peasants' Party (with the exception of five), and all the representatives of minorities.

This combination, which comprised of itself two-thirds of the membership of the Sfatul Tzerii, on November 20 presented a memorandum in which was set forth the political situation of Bessarabia, and proposed remedies for it (under thirteen headings) in the form of demands based on the Act of March 27, 1918. The signatories declared that if the demand formulated in this memorandum were not satisfied, seeing that they were based upon the Act of March 27, 1918, that Act would henceforward be regarded as having been violated by the Roumanian Government and no longer binding on Bessarabia.

This memorandum, which was signed by an absolute majority of the members of the Sfatul Tzerii, should have been transmitted by the president of that body to the Roumanian Government at Bucarest and to the representatives of the Allied Governments.

On November 21 the Roumanian Minister of the Interior, General Voitoiano, and Messrs. Inkouletz and Tchegourean, Ministers without portfolio, arrived at Kichinef. The first-named brought two Royal Decrees, without either number or date, the one convoking the Sfatul Tzerii and the other dissolving it.

Although the majority of the deputies had arrived at Kichinef for the opening of the Sfatul Tzerii on November 21, the opening was delayed, to permit of a campaign being carried on for the suppression of the conditions stipulated for between Roumania and Bessarabia in the Act of Union of March 27. Banquets were given with this end in view.

At one of these banquets, on November 24, General Voitoiano, after having made numerous promises to his guests, begged them, with great emphasis, to abrogate the conditional Act of Union. He obtained no success, however. Then he tried the plan of inviting the most influential deputies to call on him separately, and tried every means possible to convince them.

On November 25, about two o'clock in the afternoon, M. Khalippa, the Vice-President of the Sfatul Tzerii, who had arrived at Kichinef, caused a notice to be posted on the doors of the seat of the Sfatul Tzerii, notifying that the opening of the Sfatul Tzerii would take place the same afternoon at four o'clock.

At the hour named General Voitoiano arrived at the Sfatul Tzerii and read the Royal Decree on the convocation of the Sfatul Tzerii. About thirty deputies were present.

After the reading of this decree and the sending of a dispatch of congratulation and good wishes to the King, M. Khalippa, who occupied the chair, proposed that the election of the officers of the House should be proceeded with, on the ground that there now remained only two of the old officers (one vice-president and one secretary).

Without giving any attention to the protest I made in the name of the majority of the members or to the formal regulations of the Sfatul Tzerii, and notwithstanding that the requisite quorum was not in attendance, the election of officers of the House was proceeded with. M. Khalippa was elected President, Messrs. Bourianof and Byrka vice-presidents, and Messrs. Bouzdougan, Scabiola and Epoury secretaries. M. Epoury withdrew his candidature. It may be stated that M. Bourianof was at that moment the subject of judicial proceedings, on accusations of having misappropriated public funds as Minister of Revictuallment for the Moldavian Republic, and although he had not been acquitted by the Courts he was protected against the normal course of justice through the influence of the Bucarest Government.

During the elections for officers of the house forty-eight deputies were present, of whom thirty-eight voted for the candidates proposed, while the others voted against or abstained.

On November 26 a notice printed in large type appeared in the official journal « Sfatul Tzerii », announcing that all deputies who did not wish to be regarded as Russian *agents provocateurs* would be expected to attend the next sitting of the Sfatul Tzerii, and not to leave the hall under any pretext.

The same evening the Bloc, meeting in committee, resolved not to recognise the election of the officers of the House. on the ground of the violation of the rules and the absence of a quorum, to demand fresh elections, and to refuse to take part in the next sitting of the Sfatul Tzerii unless there were a new election of officers.

At nine o'clock — later in the same evening — the Bloc entered the hall in which the sittings were held, and found already there about forty deputies belonging to the old Moldavian Bloc.

The President, M. Khalippa, called upon me to read the resolution that had just previously been passed by the Bloc (as mentioned above). This reading was listened to in profound silence, M. Khalippa, who up to this moment had been disposed to recognise the irregularity of the elections, now spoke for the purpose of endeavouring to demonstrate their legality. When he had finished I was refused permission to address the House and left the sitting, more than half the other deputies following me, and leaving only about thirty deputies in the place. A large portion of the spectators also left. The deputies who remained behind sought to throw discredit upon their protesting colleagues by accusing them of wishing to *saboter* the proposals for agrarian reform and of having left the hall because they had realised that they were powerless to do so.

The members of the Bloc subsequently held yet another meeting, at which the resolution previously passed was confirmed, and then, in view of the lateness of the hour, they dispersed.

Towards one o'clock in the morning a number of the deputies belonging to the old Moldavian Bloc (about 45 in all), of whom seventeen had been elected as deputies the same evening — some of them from among the spectators in the public part of the House even! — entered the hall and proposed that a vote

should be taken on the Agrarian Reform Bill. The House at once proceeded to the election of members of the « Casa Noastra » and of the Liquidation Commission. Then a resolution was passed to increase the salaries of the deputies. Afterwards a resolution was proposed for the abrogation of the conditions attached to the Act of March 27, 1919. At this period there were only about thirty deputies left in the House.

The resolution establishing the unconditional union of Bessarabia with Roumania was not put to the vote. It was received with a general « Hurrah », and this was declared to be sufficient. It was then five o'clock in the morning.

General Voitoiano, who was telephoned for, arrived immediately, read the decree dissolving the Sfatul Tzerii, and invited the deputies to dine with him the same evening.

At 11 a. m. there was a solemn service at the Cathedral, in celebration of the unconditional union of Bessarabia with Roumania. From the Cathedral the deputies and a group of Roumanian officers went to a restaurant, where they indulged in festivities until five o'clock in the afternoon. Then, with the authorisation of General Voitoiano, they made their way to the monuments of Alexander I and Alexander II, and overturned them.

(Signed) : JEAN PASCALOUTZA
Member of the Sfatul Tzerii.

APPENDIX No. 28

Memoir sent to the Roumanian Government on November 20, 1918 by forty Bessarabian Deputies¹.

Kichinef, November 20, 1919.

The extremely painful conditions in which Bessarabia now finds itself are partly due to the long, stubborn and ruinous war and partly to the criminal blundering of the Council of

1. See fac-simile opposite to page 112.

Directors during the grave and tragic period our country is passing through.

We, the under-signed deputies, profoundly impressed by the truth of these considerations, believe it to be our sacred duty as honest citizens to indicate to the Roumanian Government the fatal consequences that must result from the governmental policy which it has followed throughout the immediate past.

Bessarabia, this country that was formerly so flourishing, is ruined and starving. Its economic life is entirely destroyed. All social activity is repressed by violence. All political and civil liberties are trodden under foot. The inviolability of the representatives of the people and of the citizens is scorned. The people are subjected to the arbitrary and brutal methods of the agents of the Roumanian administration, who have replaced the former Bessarabian-born employees. The rights of national minorities are treated with contempt and the fostering of artificial discords has replaced the friendly associations which formerly united in fraternal fashion the various races in Bessarabia.

The seriousness of this state of things forces us to express our minds plainly to the Roumanian Government.

In order to guarantee public order, in order to bring back tranquility to all classes of a population which has passed through an odious period of anarchy and is now in a state of ebullition and irritation, and moved by the deepest and most sincere desire to avoid fresh political and social upheavals, we demand from the Roumanian Government the following measures :

1. — The promulgation of a decree re-establishing freedom of speech and of public meeting, the liberty of conscience and the suppression of the censure.

2. — The inviolability of elected representatives and of Bessarabian citizens in general. (No deputy must be deprived of his liberty without the assent of the Statul Tzerii. No Bessarabian citizen must be deprived of his liberty without judicial sanction).

3. — No law to be recognised as having been legally passed

by the Sfatul Tzerii until the deputies who have been expelled are allowed to return.

4. — The state of siege to be raised and constitutional guarantees to be established.

5. — Fresh elections to take place for officers of the Sfatul Tzerii and for the Directors. The present Directors to be brought to trial for violation of Bessarabia's right to autonomy.

6. — All executive power to be handed over to the Council of Directors elected by the Sfatul Tzerii, and the Commissioner-Generality to be suppressed.

7. — Roumanian gendarmes to be withdrawn from the villages and concentrated in barracks, and to be subordinated to the civil authorities.

8. — The Zemstvos and municipalities which have been suppressed, to be re-established, with all their rights.

9. — The employees of all the institutions of the country who have been driven from their posts, to be reintegrated.

10. — All judicial institutions to be re-established, with their former rights and in their former limits.

11. — Re-establishment of the rights of national minorities.

12. — Fresh Parliamentary elections for the Sfatul Tzerii, and fixing of the date for new elections by the existing Sfatul Tzerii.

13. — The creation of special commissions, composed of Bessarabian citizens, to investigate all misdemeanours committed by both civil and military authorities.

To all the above-mentioned demands, which are founded on the Act of Union of March 27, 1918, satisfaction must be given within a period of ten days.

If all these demands are not agreed to as a whole or in part, we, the undersigned deputies, will be compelled to regard the Act of Union of March 27, 1918 as having been violated by the Roumanian Government and as having ceased to be obligatory so far as Bessarabia is concerned.

(Here follow the signatures of forty deputies, members of the Sfatul Tzerii. It will be noted that the first name on the list is that of the veteran Bessarabian politician, M. N. Alexandri,

the senior member of the the Sfatul Tzerii, who was considered by the Roumanians themselves as a great patriot and pro-Roumanian. The full list of signatories was as follows) :

1. — N. ALEXANDRI, President of the People's League.
2. — JEAN PASCALOUTZA, former Vice-President of the Moldavian Bloc.
3. — V. TCHJEVSKY, President of the Moldavian Military Congress.
4. — TH. SOUROUTCHANE. Vice-President of the Provincial Zemstvo.
5. — B. EPOURY, Secretary of the Sfatul Tzerii.
6. — V. GUENZOUL, former Vice-Director of Manufactures and Trade.
7. — T. KOROBTCCHANE, Member (Moldavian Bloc) of the Sfatul Tzerii.
8. — GABRIEL BOUTCHOUCHKANE, President of the Bessarabian Peasants' Committee.
9. — VLADIMIR TZIGANKO, President of the Peasants' Party.
10. — DONICO-IORDAKESKO, former Vice-Director of the Interior.
11. — F. MOLDOVANE, Secretary of the Peasants' Party and its Committee.
12. — STEPHAN BALAMEZ, President of the League of Public Officials.
13. — JEAN ROUSSO, former Departmental Manager of the Department of Manufactures and Trade.
14. — ALEXANDER RATCO, member of the Bender District Zemstvo.
15. — THEODORE NIKITIIOUK, Member of the Peasants' Regional Committee, Member of the Peasants' Party in the Sfatul Tzerii.
16. — GEORGE BRYNITCH.
17. — NIKITA BOUDNITCHENKO, former Vice-President of the Bessarabian Peasants' Committee.
18. — PETER KOUNTCHEF.
19. — MICHAEL MINTCHOUNE, Vice-President of the Peasants' Committee.
20. — JEAN POPA.

21. — BASIL TCHERESCO.
 22. — THEODORE POJOGA, representative of the League of Public Officials, Member of the Sfatul Tzerii.
 23. — MICHAEL MAKEDONE, member of the League of Public Officials, member of the Sfatul Tzerii.
 24. — V. LOUNEF, Municipal Councillor.
 25. — THEODORE OUNKOU, Delegate of the Bessarabian Postal Servants.
 26. — JEAN GARBOUSE.
 27. — BACHBEOUK-MELIKOF, former President of the Executive Board of the Orgheief District Zemstvo, Representative in the Sfatul Tzerii of the Bessarabian Armenians.
 28. — NICANOR TCHOKANE.
 29. — PHILIP ALLMENDINGER.
 30. — PITCHIOR-MARE, PETER.
 31. — ZOUBAK, Vice-President of the Organizing Bureau of the Sfatul Tzerii.
 32. — THEODORE NEAGOUL, President of the Kichinef District Zemstvo.
 33. — VESETEOU.
 34. — VLADIMIR KRISTY, former Minister of the Interior for the Moldavian Republic, Deputy (Peasants' Party) and former Commissioner of the Provisional Government.
 35. — ZACHARY BAKSANE.
 36. — CALLISTRATE SAVTCHOUK, President of cantonal bureau.
 37. — A. NOVAKOF, Bulgar-Gagaouse delegate, deputy in the Sfatul Tzerii.
 38. — A. P. KOULAVA, Deputy (Peasants' Party).
 39. — DIMITRY MARKITANTE, Deputy.
 40. — I. KIRILOF, Deputy from the Ismail Zemstvo.
-

**Extract from the minutes of the sitting of the
Assembly of the Zemstvo for the district of So-
roki, March 13, 1918.**

The Assembly considered the question of the representatives of the Soroki Zemstvo in the local body of the Sfatul Tzerii. The following points were made clear:

1. — That the members of the Sfatul Tzerii for the district of Soroki have been elected by all kinds of revolutionary organizations, congresses, soviets, etc., who no longer exist.

2. — The names of the members of the Sfatul Tzerii are unknown either to the mass of the electors, or to the Zemstvo Assembly.

3. — Seeing that the revolutionary bodies which sent representatives to the Sfatul Tzerii have disappeared, and seeing that these representatives have lost touch with their electors, they cannot be considered as the true representatives of the district of Soroki.

4. — The Assembly of the District Zemstvo, which has been elected by universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage, is the only representative of all classes of the population in the district, and is alone qualified to elect representatives to the Sfatul Tzerii for the district of Soroki.

The Assembly of the District Zemstvo consequently unanimously decide to recall all the present representatives of the district of Soroki in the Sfatul Tzerii, and to proceed to fresh elections.

Resolution of the inhabitants of Tourlak, district of Akermann, Government of Bessarabia, November 5, 1918.

We, the undersigned, gathered together in small groups (the Roumanian gendarmes forbidding all large meetings), having considered the present situation and the fact that the Allied troops have arrived in Bessarabia, as well as the question that we are entitled to determine our own future, unanimously resolve :

1. — Seeing that we are indissolubly bound, by our economic, moral and political interests, with democratic and federative Russia, our forcible annexation to Roumania condemns us to an inevitable fate.

2. — We consider as an act of provocation the Act of Union voted by the Sfatul Tzerii, which has been given no mandate by us, and has betrayed us and sold us to the Roumanians.

3. — We protest against corporal punishment, against the introduction into our schools and our administrations of the Roumanian language, which we do not understand, against the organized brigandage which is incessantly carried on under pretext of requisitions for wheat, against the corruption and the violence practiced by the gendarmes (vide the Balanescu case).

4. — We demand that the Roumanian gendarmes, troops and officials shall be withdrawn in the shortest possible delay, for our only experiences under the present powers have been those of violence and arbitrary treatment. The official language of the country should be Russian, which is understood by the people.

5. — We recognise the Oufa Directorate as the only legal power in existence among us, until there shall be a meeting of a Pan-Russian Constituent Assembly.

We cherish the firm hope that Republican France, liberal

England and democratic America will help us to obtain that which we demand as our right.

(Signed) : Here follow 500 signatures.

APPENDIX No. 31

Extract from the minutes of the Meeting of the Akermann municipal Council on November 25, 1917.

The meeting was opened by the President, I. P. Benislavsky, in the presence of the Mayor of the Town, N. D. Feredino, and of twenty-five members of the Municipal Council. (Here follow the 25 names).

The agenda for the meeting included the questions of the autonomy of Bessarabia and the elections of deputies to the institution known as the « Staful Tzerii ».

After a brief deliberation the Municipal Council (Duma) passed the following resolution by a majority of twenty-five votes (there being two abstentions) :

In view of the principle that the various peoples who inhabit Russia have the right to determine their own future, the Akermann Municipal Council resolves that the question of the autonomy of Bessarabia can only be decided by a popular referendum, confirmed by a Russian Constituent Assembly.

The Akermann Municipal Council therefore considers the institution known as the « Staful Tzerii » as useless and superfluous, and decides not to nominate any deputies to represent it therein.

(Signed) : Here follow the signatures.

М Е М О Р А Н Д У М Ъ.

Въ признаніи чрезвычайно тяжелыхъ условий жизни родной намъ Бессарабіи, создавшихся съ одной стороны длительной, напряженной и раззорительной войной, съ другой - преступно неумѣлымъ веденіемъ дѣлъ Совѣтомъ Директоровъ, въ этотъ серьезный и грозный историческій моментъ, который переживаетъ нашъ край, мы, нижеподписавшіеся депутаты, считаемъ своей священной обязанностью и долгомъ указать Румынскому Правительству на тѣ губительныя послѣдствія правительственной политики, которая проводилась имъ во все время.

При полномъ хозяйственномъ разстройствѣ страны, въ общинахъ, полудолодной, нѣкогда цвѣтущей Бессарабіи насильственно убивается элементъ всякой общественности и общественнаго контроля, думаются все гражданскія свободы, нарушается неприкосновенность гражданъ и представителей народа, чинится грубый произволъ надъ населеніемъ края различными правительственными агентами, пришедшими на смѣну бывшимъ служащимъ, - кореннымъ жителямъ уроженцамъ Бессарабіи и, наконецъ, попираются права національныхъ меньшинствъ, искусственно создавая национальную рознь и вражду между дружественными и братски сожившимися народами. Это положеніе заставляетъ насъ особенно строго отнестись ко всему этому и выразить Правительству свое твердую волю.

Въ обезпеченіе государственнаго спокойствія, въ успокоеніе нервно возбужденнаго и озлобленнаго настроенія всѣхъ слоевъ нашей Бессарабіи, среди грознаго ропота страны, переживающа уже разъ всѣмъ намъ не навѣстный періодъ анархіи, и въ сильнѣйшемъ и искреннѣйшемъ желаніи предотвратить какое бы то ни было государственное потрясеніе, предлагаемъ Румынскому Правительству нижеслѣдующія требованія:

1/ Возстановленіе свободы слова /упраздненіе цензуры/ и совѣстныхъ собраній, союзовъ - Правительственнымъ приказомъ.

2/ Неприкосновенность личности депутатовъ и вообще всѣхъ гражданъ Бессарабіи.

3/ Примѣчаніе. Ни одинъ депутатъ Эталуль-царій не можетъ быть лишенъ свободы безъ постановленія Эталуль-царій, а граждане Бессарабій - безъ постановленія судебныхъ властей.

3/ Возвращеніе высланныхъ депутатовъ Эталуль-царій, безъ коихъ ни одинъ законопроектъ не можетъ быть разсматриваемъ Эталуль-царій.

4/ Снятіе осаднаго и осаднаго положенія и возстановленіе конституціи.

туційних гарантій.

5/ Перевибори президіума Статуль царій и Директорьовъ.

6/ Вся власть въ Бессарабіи Совѣту Директорьовъ, избранному Статуль царій, съ упраздненіемъ Генеральнаго Комиссариате.

7/ Зводъ жандармовъ въ каварми путемъ увода ихъ изъ деревень въ міста, указанныя Директорьомъ Внутреннихъ Дѣлъ новаго Директоріате и подчиненіе ихъ гражданской администраціи.

8/ созывъ упраздненныхъ органовъ земскаго и породскаго самоуправленія съ возобновленіемъ всѣхъ ихъ присвоенныхъ правъ, согласно законамъ Временнаго Правительства.

9/ Возвратъ на службу всѣхъ удаленныхъ бессарабцевъ-чиновниковъ и служащихъ всѣхъ учреждений.)

10/ Возобновленіе въ прежнее вѣдѣ всѣхъ судебныхъ установленій

11/ Возобновленіе нарушенныхъ правъ національныхъ меньшинствъ.

12/ Немедленное вотированіе закона о выборахъ въ Статуль царій съ назначеніемъ настоящимъ Статуль царій срока новыхъ выборовъ.

13/ Образованіе по выбору Статуль царій спеціальной комиссіи для обследованія всѣхъ правонарушеній, совершенныхъ гражданскими и военными властями въ Бессарабіи.

Земъ вышеназванныхъ предсказаній, основанныхъ на актѣ 27 марта 1918 года, должны быть осуществлены, въ противномъ случаѣ не только депутаты, а также и сами депутаты несутъ на себѣ нравственную отвѣтственность за послѣдствія, такіе какъ непринятіе таковыхъ нарушающаго акты 27 марта 1918 года.

Ставить на настоящій меморандумъ прошивъ до роспуска Статуль царій, или во всякомъ случаѣ до 5 декабря 1918 года стараго стиля.

Настоящій документъ составленъ въ двухъ экземплярахъ за подписями. *Deputatilor*

1. *Președintele Blașcu moldovenesc*
2. *Președintele Confederației moldovenești*
3. *Președintele Ligii Populului n. Alexandru*
4. *Vice-Președintele Zemstrei Guberniale*
5. *Secretarul Statului*
6. *Asist. Vice-Director de Industrie și Comerț*
7. *Secretar al Partii din Bloc Moldovenesc*

- 8) Președintele Comitetului Tărănesc a Basarabiei Gheorghe Buiucan
- 9) Vicepreședintele Comitetului Tărănesc a Basarabiei Gheorghe Buiucan
- 10) Fost Vice Director de Internă Domschitz
- 11) Secretarul comitetului și fracției țărănești Filodoroșanu
- 12) Președintele Comitetului de Coaliție reprezentanților uniunilor profesionale ai slujbaşilor Ștefan Baloneț.
- 13) Șeful Univerității „Gheorghe Moșoiu” din Iași
- 14) Reprezentant al studenților la Facultatea de Medicină din Iași Alexandru Katen
- 15) Unii reprezentanți ai mișcării naționaliste din România
- 16) Teodor Bruma
- 17) Bogdan M. pregătitor la R.P. București
- 18) Teodor Bruma
- 19) Membrii pregăt. Creștinismului în România
- 20) Ion Popa
- 21) Vasil Cerescu
- 22) Reprezentanții uniunilor profesionale ai slujbaşilor și deputat în Parlamentul Român
- 23) Reprezentanții uniunilor profesionale ai slujbaşilor și deputat în Parlamentul Român
- 24) Titularul Direcției de Cercetări Științifice
- 25) Delegatul cu nume obișnuit în societate
- 26) Membrii Comitetului de Cercetări Științifice
- 27) Membrii Comitetului de Cercetări Științifice
- 28) Mecanic. Cămin.
- 29) Philipp Klemminger
- 30) Pictor mare Petr
- 31) Președintele al Societății de organizare al „Școlii Tinerimii” din Iași

32 Presidência da Zemskrei sud. Chibirão Gov. Neagu

33 E. Verney

34 Валентин Мининъ Вузыренинъ Давидъ Могилъ Рязанскій
изъ Вузыренина ои Кресовичахъ въ г. Таганрогъ Бессарабскій
подъ некимъ Коменскимъ Врѣменное Гражданство
35 Захарии Ефимовъ Вузыренинъ Крестенъ

35 Захарий Бонданъ Внучица Крестна

36 Предс. Данил Васильевич Кайгородов. Савин

37 ¹представителъ Бискупъ - гонимъ ²заступитъ
Срещу Церк. Монаховъ

38 *Dasyatis* Kr. apr. 4. A. N. Culara

39 *Demjanka Linnéus* *Mozzetta*

№ 188
% Державин Иван Иванович. Полковник

Resolution passed by the inhabitants of the village of N... N..., in the canton of Alexandrovsk, district of Akermann, November 10, 1918.

We, the undersigned inhabitants of the Commune of N... N..., having deliberated this tenth day of November 1918, in the presence of our Mayor on the present situation unanimously resolve as follows :

Considering that the reactionary party in Bessarabia has handed us over against our will to Roumania, and that the Roumanian authorities, both civil and military, in disregard of the rights which we have won through the Russian Revolution have overwhelmed us with violence and pillage and deprived us of our grain and fodder, in spite of official orders that requisitions are to be suspended.

Considering also that in October last grain has been taken away from us to the value of 30 000 roubles, for which we have been paid only 3000 roubles, and that fodder valued at 40 000 roubles has been forcibly taken away from us against payments amounting to barely 2000 roubles; that the military and civil authorities, in conformity with the wishes of the reactionaries, treat us as a subjugated people and as slaves; that they have deprived us of all the rights which belong to citizens in their own country; that they have flogged us, tortured us, imprisoned us without any charge being laid against us; that bribery and corruption are rampant;

We are unable any longer to endure such painful sufferings, and we therefore direct our delegates to address themselves on our behalf to the great American Republic and to the peoples of England, France and Italy, and beseech them to liberate our Bessarabian people from Roumanian slavery.

(Signed) : Here follow 120 signatures.

Village of Boudaki, canton of Postal, Akermann district. Resolution No. 1839.

We, the undersigned inhabitants of the village of Boudaki, having discussed in small groups (the decree of General Voitoiano of October 2, 1918, No. 8286, having prohibited all meetings) the situation created by Roumanian tyranny, unanimously resolve :

1. — Our enforced annexation to Roumania has condemned us to death, because through our language and our laws we are closely bound up with free Russia.

2. — We protest against the violence exercised by the Roumanian gendarmes, soldiers and officials, and we demand that they be recalled from Bessarabia.

3. — We declare that the decisions of the Sfatul Tzerii in favour of our annexation to Roumania were acts of treason and are denude of all legality.

4. — We insist on our reunion with Russia, on a basis of local self-government and of federation.

5. — We recognise that the sole and only legal authority in Bessarabia is the body that will undertake the work of summoning a Pan-Russian Constituent Assembly for the purpose of bringing about the Federation of all the Russias.

6. — With the present resolution we address an urgent appeal to the free peoples of Europe and America for the defence of our natural and just rights.

Long live the League of Nations!

(Signed) : The original is signed by 117 persons, with all due legal formalities.

November 7, 1918.

**Resolution of the German community at Neufal
in the canton of Boudaki, district of Akermann,
Bessarabia. (October 7, 1918).**

We, the undersigned German colonists in Bessarabia, having deliberated in small parties (all meetings having been prohibited by the Roumanian gendarmes) on the present situation and on the vexations and violence committed by the Roumanian authorities, resolve unanimously :

1. — To protest against the severe punishments that are being inflicted upon us, and against the pillaging and the acceptance of corrupt payments practiced by the Roumanian officials, under pretext of requisitioning the remainder of our grain and fodder.

2. — We demand that the Roumanian troops, together with the gendarmes leave our Colony and free the land of Bessarabia from their presence. We demand that only the Russian language shall be used in the governmental institutions and offices, as it is the only language which is understood by the whole of the people, including our colonists also. We demand that in our own schools both Russian and German should be used.

3. — The violent separation of Bessarabia from Russia has brought about the economic ruin of our colonies, for, owing to the new frontiers established by the Roumanians along the river Dniester, we have been deprived of the possibility of receiving from Russia sugar, petroleum, iron and other products of the first necessity, at reasonable prices. For these reasons we demand the reunion of Bessarabia with Russia, on a basis of autonomy. We desire that a meeting of a Russian Constituent Assembly shall be called, and until that is possible, we desire to be governed by an authority that will respect the rights of peoples and of our country.

4. — We address this resolution to all free peoples, in the hope that our rights and our desires will be respected.

(Signed) : Here follow, in the original, the signatures of
40 German colonists.

APPENDIX No. 35

**Decision of the Russian National Democratic
Bloc.**

The National Democratic Bloc of Russian Political Organizations in Paris (Paris Section of the Union for the Regeneration of Russia, the League of Russians faithful to the Country and to the Alliances, the Italian Union for the Regeneration of Russia, the Swiss Union for the Regeneration of Russia, the Russian Democratic Union of London; the Paris Section for the Regeneration of Russia and Union with the Entente, the London Russian Club), the Russian Republican League in Paris and the members of the Russian Constitutional Assembly who are now in Paris, gathered together on May 10, 1919, under the presidency of N. V. Tchaikovsky, after having heard communications from the representatives of Bessarabia on the annexation of that Province by Roumania (reports of the delegates of the Bessarabian Zemstvo, of the delegate of the Central Committee of Bessarabian Peasants, of the President of the Union of Bessarabian Towns and of the member of the Russian Constituent Assembly for Bessarabia), have voted the following declaration :

1. — Considering that Roumania has violated all the engagements which she took at the time of her occupation of Bessarabia, engagements guaranteed by the representatives of the Allied Powers;

2. — Considering that the annexation of Bessarabia to Roumania was an act of violence, that it took place without previous consultation of the people and with the help of a

regional council elected in an arbitrary manner and in no way representative of the people (the Sfatul Tzerii);

3. — Considering that the Roumanian Government has abolished all civil liberties in Bessarabia, that it has introduced into the country a regime of violence and terror and that it has suppressed the local democratic institutions, as well as the professional associations and the co-operatives;

4. — Considering that the behaviour of the Roumanian authorities in Bessarabia has been the cause of economic bankruptcy in the Province and has favoured the development of bolshevism :

We protest in the strongest possible manner against the actions of the Roumanian Government and of its representatives in Bessarabia, and declare to the International Peace Conference that all resolutions on the Bessarabian question that may be adopted against the express consent of the population, freely expressed through the medium of a plebiscite offering guarantees of independence, will be considered as a violation of the right of peoples to determine their own future — a right which has been recognised by the Peace Conference — and will not consequently be regarded as obligatory neither by Russia nor by Bessarabia.

(The signatures follow).

May 15, 1919.

APPENDIX No. 36

**Appeal by the Russian Political Conference in
Paris to the President of the Peace Conference.**

Paris, March 22, 1919.

To the President of the Peace Conference,

I

Bessarabia, which has been a Russian province, under the terms of the Treaty of Bucarest, since 1812, has for the past

twelve months been occupied by Roumanian troops. The presence of these troops cannot, obviously, prejudice the future status of the province. The Peace Conference, on January, 24, 1919, as a matter of fact, disapproved of force being used for the purpose of taking possession of territories legitimate claims to the possession of which must be decided by the Conference itself.

No historical basis can be put forward as an excuse for any modification in the international status of Bessarabia. In spite of the legend which has been created by certain publicists, Russia has never unlawfully seized or illegitimately acquired Bessarabia. Her claims to the province rest on an entirely legal title, based on an international pact.

The briefest historical sketch will be sufficient to show the real character of the relations between Russia and the Moldavo-Wallachian provinces, in the first place, and between Russia and Roumania afterwards. As everybody knows, the inhabitants of the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, vassals of Turkey, were the first to profit from the beneficent effects of Russia's Eastern policy, which aimed above all at withdrawing the Orthodox Christians from under the Turkish yoke. From the date of the signature of the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji, Russia became their recognised protector against the Porte. The Treaty of Jassy, in 1792, confirmed this state of things. By the Treaty of Bucarest, May 16-28, 1812, Turkey ceded Bessarabia to Russia as the result of a victorious war, without any intervention from the Moldavian and Wallachian Principalities, who were vassals of the Ottoman Empire. From 1812 to 1856 Russia never ceased to exercise the right of protection over the Danubian Principalities, whose relations with the Sublime Porte were placed under her effective control.

The Treaty of Paris, in 1856, put an end to this situation by substituting for the exclusive protection exercised by Russia the collective guarantee of the Powers. At the same time as the internal statutes of the Principalities, their territorial extension was fixed by common accord between the European Powers. In effect, Russia ceded a portion of Bessarabia not to Moldavia but to the Powers, in exchange for Russian towns, ports and

territory that were handed back to her by the Allies, and for the better assurance of the freedom of navigation on the Danube, (Article 20). The territory ceded by Russia was annexed to Moldavia, under the suzerainty of the Sublime Porte (Article 21). This Article 21 contained a stipulation in favour of Moldavia, therefore, but did not bind Russia except as regards her co-signatories of the Treaty of Paris.

The Berlin Congress of 1878 restored to Russia that portion of Bessarabia which had been detached from her by the Treaty of Paris, both in order to efface the blow struck at the dignity of Russia in 1856 and because that, in 1878, there no longer existed any connection between the freedom of the Danube and the future of Bessarabia, the Delta of the Danube having been detached from it in 1857. Moreover, Roumania was in no way despoiled of her portion of Bessarabia, for she received in exchange another province which had been conquered by Russian arms — that of the Dobroudja, which exceeded by 3,500 square kilometres the area of that part of Bessarabia which was retroceded to Russia, and gave Roumania the port of Constanza. The Berlin Congress placed this exchange of territories under the collective guarantee of the Powers, by making the retrocession to Russia by Roumania of that portion of Bessarabia which had been ceded to Moldavia in 1856, *one of the conditions of the recognition of Roumanian independence* (Articles 43, 44 and 45 of the Berlin Treaty¹).

There can be no question, therefore, in connection with Bessarabia, of any historical injustice comparable to that endured for forty-four years by the people of Alsace-Lorraine. Russia, which more than a century ago succeeded in removing Christian Bessarabia from under the Turkish yoke, holds at the present moment a title to sovereignty over that province which was recognised by the Great Powers themselves. Her formal rights over Bessarabia are incontestable.

1. See pages 43-44, appendix No. 3.

II

Nevertheless, the new Russia does not overlook the principles that have been brought to the front by the Great War. As the Russian Political Conference has already made known, Russia is freely inclined to satisfy the legitimate desires of non-Russian nationalities to organize their national life. The new Russia might even, in certain cases and in conditions to be mutually agreed to between such nationalities, recognise their independence. She conceives also, in the same conditions, the possibility of the reunion of a fragment of similar nationality with the main body of its racial connections to which it considers itself to belong.

It goes without saying that any such national reconstitution must be subordinated to the conditions indicated in Point 1 of the declaration of the Russian Political Conference of March 9, namely :

“ That the Powers recognise that

a) Questions concerning the territories of the Russian Empire as included within its 1914 limits;

b) As well as questions concerning the future status of the nationalities included within those limits,

cannot be settled except with the consent of the Russian people. No definite solution can consequently be arrived at in connection with such subjects so long as the Russian people is not in a position to manifest its will freely and to participate in the settlement of these questions ”.

At the same time it must be well understood that the principle of national reconstitution can only be applied to Russia as a general principle, applicable to all similar cases.

Moreover, the application of this principle presupposes two conditions :

1. — A real homogeneousness of the national fragment with the people towards which it gravitates;

2. — A veritable desire on the part of the members of the fragment to unite themselves with their kindred people.

The existence of these two conditions is, in certain cases,

so evident as to demand no verification. Other cases, on the contrary, are so complex that all immediate solutions are excluded. In the latter cases national reconstitution can only be affected as the result of a popular referendum. This should be prepared by means of a profound study of the region concerned, as well as of the technical machinery which should be used for obtaining an expression of the will of the people in question. All plebiscites must necessarily be surrounded by the most serious international guarantees, that would assure the free expression of the real wishes of the people.

According to the last Russian general census (of which a digest is attached), Bessarabia comprised 1,933,436 inhabitants, of whom 47 1/2 per cent were Moldavians and 27 1/4 per cent Russians, the remainder being distributed between Jews, Bulgarians, Germans, Tziganes, etc.

The population of Bessarabia is, therefore, in no way homogeneous, and the Moldavians are in the preponderance only in certain region as shown in the attached table. The desire of the Bessarabian population to unite itself with Roumania has not been manifested in conformity with the conditions expressed above. The Roumanians were called into Bessarabia by the "Sfatul Tzerii", which began by proclaiming Bessarabia as forming part of the Russian Federation, called on the Roumanians for help only for the purpose of protecting themselves against the danger of bolshevism and the agrarian anarchy which was gaining ground in the country. General Presan, Chief of the General Staff at Roumanian Headquarters (January 12, 1918) and later on General Popesco (February 27, 1918), solemnly declared in proclamations distributed throughout the whole country, that the Roumanian troops had entered Bessarabia solely for the purpose of re-establishing order, and that they would leave the province when that object had been attained. Shortly afterwards, however, the Sfatul Tzerii, whose membership had been renewed, voted first for union with Roumania, and then for definite annexation. The two votes in question were recorded during an excessively troublous period and during the military occupation of the country,

NATIONAL STATISTICS

Showing the distribution of nationalities in the Government of Bessarabia (taken from the official figures of the Pan-Russian Census of 1897).

DISTRICTS	Area in Square Versts.	Total Population.	Russians.	Poles.	Germans.	Armenians	Greeks.	Taiganes.	Turks.	Jews.	Moldavians	Bulgarians
Akernann.	7.285	265,247	96,458 36,36 %	302 0,11 %	45,589 16,36 %	625 0,23 %	105 0,04 %	1.127 0,42 %	10.581 3,91 %	12.280 4,63 %	45.441 16,38 %	56.541 21,31 %
Bender	5.598	194,915	59,670 30,55 %	1.247 0,64 %	5,615 2,88 %	101 0,05 %	119 0,06 %	848 0,43 %	27.576 14,15 %	16,645 8,54 %	87.984 45,14 %	14.835 7,61 %
Beltsy.	4.871	211,448	58,545 27,68 %	1.429 0,68 %	2,145 1,01 %	196 0,09 %	108 0,05 %	1.546 0,73 %	11 — %	27,252 12,89 %	140.201 66,37 %	51 0,01 %
Ismail.	8.128	244,274	78,573 32,08 %	545 0,22 %	4,781 1,95 %	175 0,07 %	4.799 0,74 %	1.121 0,46 %	17,725 7,25 %	11,715 4,79 %	95,495 39,09 %	50,587 20,71 %
Orgheief.	3.632	213,478	17,595 8,24 %	573 0,25 %	218 — %	185 — %	145 — %	1.609 0,70 %	8 — %	26,880 12,49 %	166,218 77,86 %	98 — %
Soroki	4.010	218,861	45,772 20,91 %	1,742 0,8 %	1,038 0,48 %	155 0,06 %	60 0,03 %	452 0,21 %	— %	51,160 23,37 %	158,551 72,51 %	50 — %
Khotin	3.502	507,532	185,109 36,48 %	2,192 0,4 %	670 — %	17 — %	15 — %	1,080 0,21 %	22 — %	47,950 9,45 %	73,503 14,48 %	10 — %
Kichinev.	3.272	279,657	58,621 21,00 %	5,666 2,03 %	2,552 0,91 %	607 — %	586 — %	1,825 0,65 %	69 — %	54,486 19,48 %	175,926 62,90 %	1,095 — %

with all the consequences that such a state of things would entail. Neither Russia nor the League of Nations can then regard the vote of the Sfatul Tzerii, obtained in such circumstances, as a real expression of the popular will, especially in view of the fact that the Sfatul Tzerii itself, in view of the conditions that prevailed at the time of its constitution, was far from being an assembly that was really qualified to express its opinion on such questions.

The Russian Political Conference ventures to express the opinion that, in all justice, no definite decision concerning the future of Bessarabia ought to be taken at the present moment. No revision of the international status of this province should be effected except on the basis of the general principles set forth in this memorial. At the same time these principles should be taken into consideration also in the event of the possible establishment in Bessarabia of a provisional régime corresponding to the necessities of the moment.

Signed :

PRINCE LYOFF, SAZONOFF,

N. W. TCHAIKOVSKY, B. MAKLAKOFF.

APPENDIX No. 37

**Statement of M. Maklakoff, Russian Ambassador,
to the Peace Conference.**

Paris, July 2, 1919.

I. — From the formal point of view we are of opinion that no part of the territory constituting the Russian State can be detached from it without its consent, and that this consent cannot be replaced by that of a third party, even if that third party were the Peace Conference itself. At bottom, we are of opinion that no reason can justify the annexation of Bessarabia by Roumania. Roumania came into the war on certain conditions, none of which was based on the annexation of Bessarabia. Russia, on the other hand, was never defeated by

Roumania, so that Roumania cannot argue that it has any right to Bessarabia by reason of conquest. The only argument that can be invoked, therefore, is that which is based on the right of every nationality to determine its own fate.

Now we do not admit that this right is absolute, or that it can by itself justify the separation of a nation from the State of which it forms part; but we agree that there may be special cases in which this principle may be invoked. When a new state is formed from the union of all the several fragments of the same nationality, it might perhaps be an act of great foresight on the part of a neighbouring State who happened to be the master of one of these fragments, not to oppose the plainly expressed will of such a fragment to be united to the common country. If such had been the case with Bessarabia, Russia would have been sufficiently great to have acted in this way. And if we protest formally against the annexation of Bessarabia by Roumania it is because Bessarabia is in no way Roumanian ethnographically and because it has no wish whatever to be united to Roumania.

It must not be forgotten, in the first place, that the union of Bessarabia with Russia was never due to any act of violence against Roumania. Bessarabia was united to Russia in 1812. at which period Roumania had not come into existence and Bessarabia formed merely a portion of the Danubian province of Moldavia, which, like Wallachia, was then under Turkish domination. For many years Russia protected and befriended these provinces against Turkey. In 1812 Bessarabia was completely liberated from Turkey and united with Russia. Her union with Russia, therefore, was in no way an act of violence against Roumania but an act of liberation, on the contrary, from Turkey.

In 1856, at the Congress of Paris, Russia, defeated as the result of the Crimean War, received back the towns and territories conquered by the Allies in the Crimea only as compensation for the cession of that portion of Bessarabia which bordered the Danube. Only a small portion of Bessarabia was in these circumstances ceded to the victorious Powers and retroceded by them partly to Moldavia, which was then a

Turkish province, and partly direct to Turkey, At the Congress of Berlin, 1878, there was a desire to efface the concessions extorted from Russia by the Congress of Paris; Roumania was recognised as independent, but only on condition that she gave back to Russia that portion of Bessarabia which had been detached from Russia by the Congress of Paris; in exchange she was given territory of a much greater extent in the Dobroudja, which gave her access to the sea. This arrangement was accepted by Roumania. It will be seen from this that Russia has never used force for the purpose of wresting anything whatever from Roumania.

II. — It must be repeated once more that, ethnographically speaking, Bessarabia is in no way Roumanian. In 1812 Bessarabia comprised only 300 000 inhabitants; she has to-day two and a half millions. The Roumanian portion of the people consists of less than fifty per cent. In the eight districts composing Bessarabia there are four, it is true, in which the absolute majority of the population is Roumanian, or rather Moldavian; but in the remainder the Roumanians are in the minority, and in one of the districts, in the north of the province, the population of Russian nationality has an absolute majority. The figures are taken from the 1897 census, which is no doubt some time ago, but they have the advantage of being reliable. It results from these figures that, if the right to determine the future of the country depended on majorities and not on minorities, the four districts in which the Moldavians have the majority would alone have the right, strictly speaking, to claim to be annexed to Roumania.

III. — In order to ascertain if these Bessarabian districts ought really to be incorporated with Roumania there should be a plebiscite of the entire population. At bottom we are fully persuaded that such a plebiscite is superfluous, and that it would give an immense majority against Roumania; but in order to quiet any scruples the Peace Conference may entertain, and in order to make better understood our claim that our view of the situation is the correct one, Russia would probably consent to this test and would have accepted a plebiscite — on condition, nevertheless, that it were honest and

fair, carried out in normal conditions and presided over by impartial Powers. What we protest against with all our strength is the pretext that the decrees of the Sfatul Tzerii should be accepted as a substitute for a plebiscite. If a substitute for a plebiscite were required it should be sought for elsewhere than in the Sfatul Tzerii. Municipal elections based on universal suffrage took place throughout Bessarabia immediately after the Revolution. These assemblies would have been qualified to represent the population. Now these assemblies not only did not ask for annexation to Roumania but, on the contrary, they sent us deputations to protest against annexation to Roumania. The Roumanians, in order to provide themselves with a camouflaged plebiscite, made use of the Sfatul Tzerii, a body of an undoubted revolutionary character. Its origin is well known. At a period when revolutionary organizations were being formed all over Russia, such as the councils of workmen and soldiers, the Moldavian deserters conceived the idea of forming a similar organization in Bessarabia. They called together a quasi-representative congress of soldiers, which they called a military congress. This Congress usurped the right to elect the Sfatul Tzerii, which it endowed with the mission to govern the province. The Sfatul Tzerii was not, therefore, a Bessarabian legislative body, but a revolutionary organization which the Roumanians wished to make use of for the purpose of camouflaging the plebiscite desired by the population. In the same way and with the same object, the Germans made use of similar bodies in Lettonia and Lithuania.

But this same Sfatul Tzerii did not, in spite of everything, declare itself at first for Roumania. It voted for a Russian Federative Republic, and it was only after the entry into Bessarabia of the Roumanian troops — who had been called in for the purpose of re-establishing order and on the formal condition that they would evacuate the territory as soon as order was restored — that this body voted for annexation by Roumania. It was only in the presence and under the protection of these armies, and in the presence of the leader of the new Roumanian Government, M. Marghiloman, at the time of the

last offensive in the West, and after acts of violence had been committed by the Roumanians, who went so far as to shoot the recalcitrant members of this same Sfatul Tzerii, that that assembly voted the annexation of an autonomous Bessarabia to Roumania. This, however, was in no way sufficient for the Roumanians. Eight months later they made the same Assembly vote for unconditional annexation. Forty-six members only, (of whom eight voted against) — that is to say, a meagre minority of the 162 members of the Sfatul Tzerii, — took part in this vote. It was by the vote of these thirty-eight members that the annexation of Bessarabia to Roumania was decreed. This vote, Roumania wishes to convince the Peace Conference, was equivalent to a plebiscite.

I have only, in conclusion, two observations to make. I wish to say that if, as a result of the Russian catastrophe, the Allies had lost the war and Roumania a portion of its territory, I should have been able to understand the desire of the latter, in order to remain a State, to recoup itself at the expense of Russia by annexing, in spite of their wishes, the Moldavian population of that Empire. But now that the Allies are victorious and that Roumania, in spite of having made a separate peace, nevertheless finds herself among the victors, whereas we do not, I do not see for what reason she insists upon benefiting herself at the expense of Russia, seeing that she is in a position to obtain all that she asked for as a condition of coming into the war.

In the second place I wish to say that if Roumania had been able to set up any right of any kind justifying her annexation of Bessarabia, we might have been able to discuss it, in spite of the wishes of the population. But what I do not understand is that Roumania pretends that she is acting in accordance with the wishes of the population of Bessarabia, and that she has had the courage to represent to you as the equivalent of a plebiscite an act of corruption and violence.

Memorial presented to the President of the Peace Conference by the Russian Delegation in Paris.

Paris, July 24, 1919.

To the President of the Peace Conference.

In a memorial presented to the Peace Conference on March 22, 1919, we had the honour to set forth the Russian point of view on the subject of Bessarabia. We believe that in that memorial we demonstrated that in all justice no definite decision concerning the future of Bessarabia should be taken so long as the Russian democracy is not in a condition to take part in the settlement of this question. We set forth at the same time certain general principles which we feel ought to be taken into account when the time shall come both for the future revision of the international status of this province as well as for the eventual establishment in Bessarabia of a provisional regime that shall correspond with the needs of the moment.

In a statement which he made to the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference on July 2, 1919, M. Maklakoff, the Russian Ambassador, indicated as the only equitable solution of the question the organization of a plebiscite in the four districts, or *ouyezds*, in which the majority of the population is Moldavian.

It is now clear, however, from information that has reached us from Bessarabia, that the Roumanian Government without awaiting the decisions of the Peace Conference, is already treating Bessarabia as a country that has been annexed. The information we have received, moreover, is confirmed by the official representative of Roumania in Paris, who has recently declared, in the columns of the « *Temps* » that « general elections, based on universal, direct and secret suffrage, must

take place in Bessarabia, as throughout the whole of Roumania, at a very early date. They will constitute the best form of plebiscite. »

The undersigned are compelled to offer a formal protest against this attitude of the Roumanian Government.

The votes of the Sfatul Tzerii, on which the Roumanian pretensions are based, are null and void, even if one does not take into consideration the arbitrary manner in which that body was composed. The votes placed on record by any assembly, whether revolutionary or not, must, in fact, in order to have any value whatever, be surrounded by guarantees ensuring their complete independence. Now the votes of the Sfatul Tzerii in regard to the union of Bessarabia with Roumania were entirely lacking of these guarantees.

The Sfatul Tzerii began, on December 2, 1917, by declaring Bessarabia to be « a Moldavian Democratic Republic, forming part of the Russian Unified Federal Democratic Republic. » It afterwards, on January 24, 1918, a few days before the entry of the Roumanian troops, proclaimed the « Free and Independent Popular Moldavian Republic », while leaving to a Constituent Assembly the task of determining definitely the relations between Bessarabia and other countries.

It was only under the influence of the most obvious violence that the Sfatul Tzerii, some two months later, on March 27, 1918, voted for the union of Bessarabia with Roumania, on the basis of an autonomy, and then in November 28, 1918, even renounced this autonomy.

The Roumanian Government, knowing that the sentiments of the Moldavian population were hostile to annexation, installed in Bessarabia a veritable regime of terror. All the institutions existing in the country, such as the municipalities and the elective zemstvos, the courts, etc., were abolished and replaced by Roumanian institutions; all partisans of Russia were persecuted. When the supplementary elections for the Sfatul Tzerii took place, in January 1918, four delegates who had been elected by the Peasants' Assembly for the express purpose of protesting against the violence of the Roumanian officials were shot without any form of trial (Pantzir, Vranoff, Tchou-

matchenko and Mme. Grinfeld). The Act of March 27, proclaiming the union between Roumania and autonomous Bessarabia was voted in the presence of the Roumanian military authorities, the hall in which the Sfatul Tzerii met being surrounded by Roumanian troops. The same pressure was exercised on the occasion of the second vote, which proclaimed union pure and simple.

This Act of Annexation was voted by thirty-eight deputies out of the Sfatul Tzerii's total membership of 162, of whom only forty-six were present. Roumanian soldiers, with fixed bayonets, were present in the hall in which the vote was taken.

It is obvious that not only was the vote in favour of the annexation of Bessarabia to Roumania, as pronounced by the Sfatul Tzerii, illegal from the point of view of international law, but that from the political point of view also a vote obtained in such conditions could have no value except in the eyes of those who have imposed it by force.

In these circumstances the extension to Bessarabia of the Parliamentary elections prescribed by the Roumanian Government is a manifest violation of the rights of peoples to dispose of themselves. This violation takes on a form which is all the more serious inasmuch as voting has been declared *obligatory*. It is evident that this forced participation, far from constituting the « best plebiscite », can only constitute a triple attempt against the rights: (1) of Bessarabia, which is deprived of its liberty of self-determination; (2) of Russia whose consent has not been asked for, and (3) of the Peace Conference, whose decisions will thereby find themselves prejudged by an arbitrary and one-sided act.

The undersigned have therefore the honour to draw the attention of the Peace Conference to the state of things set forth above, and to insist on the necessity for a plebiscite—limited to the four districts of Bessarabia and organized in conditions that will guarantee perfect impartiality—to be taken as soon as order shall have been re-established in Russia. In the meantime a provisional regime should be installed in Bessarabia through the medium of the Peace Conference—a

regime that shall provide for the abrogation of all the decrees and all the measures of the Roumanian Government that tend to modify the situation in favour of Roumania; in the first place, the decrees ordering the inhabitants of Bessarabia to take part in the elections for the Roumanian Parliament, the decree abolishing the zemstvos and municipalities, the decree which declares all inhabitants of Bessarabia Roumanian subjects, the decree which orders the expropriation of the property of all landowners who have not accepted the Roumanian nationality, etc. A Commission nominated by the Peace Conference should be sent into Bessarabia without delay, for the purpose of assuring the proper working of this provisional regime and to undertake the surveillance, in the future, of the impartial application of the plebiscite in the four districts in which the population is in the majority Moldavian.

(Signed) : Prince LYOFF, SAZONOFF.

N. W. TCHAIKOVSKY, MAKLAKOFF.

APPENDIX No. 39

Memorial from the Russian Delegation in Paris to the Peace Conference.

Paris, September 25, 1919.

To the President of the Peace Conference.

Having seen the memoir addressed to the Peace Conference on September 9, by the Roumanian Government, the Russian Delegates at Paris believe it to be their duty to deal with two passages therein which treat of territories forming part of Russia.

The Roumanian memoir appears to suggest that the only obstacle in the way of the pretended "rights" of Roumania over the frontier of the Dniester and over Bessarabia lies in the fact that Russia was one of the parties to the treaty of

alliance of 1916. Further on the memoir reproves the Supreme Council for having mentioned, in its communication to Admiral Koltchak, the "Roumanian parts of Bessarabia," which expression, the Roumanians suggest, implies a belief in the existence of parts which are not Roumanian "in this province which has been reunited to the Kingdom in its integrity by the will of its population and as a just and natural reparation of the act of violence committed in 1812 by the Russian authorities."

In this connection the Russian Delegates feel compelled to make the following observations :

1. — Russia is convinced that to-day, no less than in 1916, the Allied and Associated Powers will not dispose of any of her territories without consulting her and without her consent, even were it for the purpose of applying the principle, which is recognised moreover by Russia herself, of the right of peoples to determine their own future.

2. — It is absolutely incorrect that the population of Bessarabia has manifested its desire to be united to Roumania. The undersigned have previously had occasion to set forth in detail to the Peace Conference the circumstances in which the Roumanian occupation of this province was brought about and the proofs of the nullity of the votes registered by an assembly called the "Sfatul Tzerii," which had no right whatever to claim to represent the Bessarabian people. We have also, on many occasions, drawn the attention of the Allied and Associated Powers to the constant complaints that this population has never ceased to raise against the arbitrary conduct of the Roumanian authorities installed in Bessarabia and the vexations of all kinds which they are inflicting on the population.

3. — The Russian Delegates, in accord with the representatives of the Bessarabian population in Paris, and in view of the real aspirations of that population, did not hesitate to accept the idea of consulting, by means of a plebiscite, the population of those districts of Bessarabia in which the Moldavians are in the majority and might therefore be supposed to be in favour of union with their Roumanian

neighbours. So far as we are aware, however, the Roumanian Delegates to the Peace Conference by no means welcomed this proposal to submit to an impartial test the aspirations which they attribute to the people of the districts in question.

4. — Lastly, if it should be found necessary to revise the titles to proprietorship held by certain States for more than a century past in regard to various provinces, a great many disputed questions may be able to be raised. We are rather surprised, for instance, to note that the Roumanians, in their memoir, complain that Russia liberated the Bessarabians in 1812, and particularly also to observe that from this they infer the necessity for some kind of “reparation,” without stating precisely whether this reparation is due to Roumania or to the Bessarabian population. As a matter of fact Roumania did not exist in 1812, even in name; as to reparation being due to Bessarabia, it is difficult to believe that she asks for “reparation” for having been liberated from the Turkish yoke.

The Russian Delegates take this opportunity once more to confirm the declarations they have had the honour to make to the Peace Conference on previous occasions in regard to Bessarabia.

(Signed) : Prince LYOFF, MAKRAKOFF,
SAZONOFF, N. W. TCHAIKOVSKY, SAVINKOFF.

APPENDIX No. 40

**Note from the Russian Delegation in Paris
to the Peace Conference.**

Paris, November 15, 1919.

To the President of the Peace Conference,

Information received in Paris and confirmed by declarations made to the French Press by M. Tchegourean, a member of the Bucarest Cabinet, indicates that the Roumanian Government is at present causing legislative elections for the Roumanian Parliament to be held in Bessarabia.

In its memoir dated July 24 last the Russian Delegation in Paris laid before the Peace Conference the reasons why, in its opinion, such elections in a country that has not been annexed, but is merely provisionally occupied, ought to be considered as illegal.

The undersigned feel it to be their duty, therefore, to protest afresh against the arbitrary act of the Roumanian Government, and declare that even if, owing to the constraint which is imposed upon them, a portion of the population take part in the elections, this fact ought not to be called up against them later as a pre-judgment of the lot of the province in question.

(Signed) : Prince LVOFF, SAZONOFF,
N. W. TCHAIKOVSKY, MARLAKOFF, SAVINKOFF.

APPENDIX No. 41

The distribution of land in Bessarabia.

Extracts from the Official Statistics published by the Bessarabian Zemstvo for 1910¹.

The total area of Bessarabia amounts to 3,854,825 dessiatines, which is equivalent to about ten and a half million acres. This land is distributed as follows :

1. — “ Nadiel ” land, or land which was distributed to the peasants at the emancipation of the Russian serfs (serfdom never existed in Bessarabia) in 1861 (or over 5,000,000 acres)	1,864,023 (48,6 0/0)
2. — Private properties, acquired by inheritance or purchase ² , say 4,500,000 acres.	1,656,109 (43,2 0/0)
3. State, Convent or Church property (850,000 acres) :	514,692 (8,2 0/0)
Total	3,854,824 (100 0/0)

1. “ Bessarabian Statistics ”. Moguilansky, Kichinef, 1916.

2. Almost the whole of the forest and all the uncultivable land belonged to the great landowners or formed part of the property of the Church.

In the second of these two classifications the peasants figure as landowners for about 1,300.000 acres, or exactly. 483.998 dessiatines.

The greater part of the land included in the third classification is held in lease by the peasants, or. 200.000. dessiatines.

Of the 1.172.111 dessiatines belonging to the great landowners the area rented by and worked by the peasants is over. 400.000 dessiatines.

From these data it appears that the agricultural peasantry possess, either in " nadiel " or privately 60,85 0/0 (or over 6,450,000 acres) of the land in Bessarabia. 2.348.021 dessiatines.

The agricultural peasants exploit as farmers over 15 per cent (1,650,000 acres) 600.000 dessiatines.

Conclusion : Before the Russian revolution the Bessarabian peasants possessed or exploited 76 per cent. of the land in Bessarabia.

APPENDIX No. 42

Report by Bulgarian colonist.

On October 17, 1919, after the occupation of Bessarabia by the Roumanians, there took place in the town of Ismail, by order of the District Prefect, the election of a delegate to represent the town of Bolgrad. This delegate was to be sent to the Peace Conference in Paris, for the purpose of making the Conference acquainted with the public opinion of the ethnical minority represented by the Bulgarians in Bessarabia. In the case of this election the object was to know whether

the Bulgarians in the Ismail district wished Bessarabia to be annexed by Roumania or to remain united with Russia. The Prefect of the district declared that the election would have the same value as a plebiscite.

Without raising the question of the legality of such an act from the point of view of international law, I may be allowed, perhaps, in my quality as an eye-witness, to state the manner in which these elections were conducted and the methods used by the Roumanian administration on this occasion. The reader will thus be able to form his own conclusions as to how far these elections may be regarded as having been free. They were, as a matter of fact, a challenge against the human conscience.

This is what happened. In each Bulgarian village a number of the richer and more docile Bulgarian peasants were assembled (like cattle) at the mairie, or village town hall, by Roumanian gendarmes. The names of certain persons, who had been chosen in advance and were known to the Roumanian secret police, were proposed as men who should be elected to go to Ismail as delegates. At Ismail, it would be explained, these delegates from the villages would meet together for the purpose of electing the delegate who should go to Paris. The number of delegates varied in accordance with the number of suitable men (according to the opinion of the Roumanian police) each village could supply, and ranged from eight to fifteen. To these delegates the police "indicated" the name of the candidate for whom they would be expected to vote when they reached Ismail. This "candidate" was none other than an advocate named Titorof, who had been one of the first to take oath to the King of Roumania. The words "indicated" and "candidate" are placed in inverted commas, because all those who live in Bessarabia will understand what disobedience to such "indications" means: those who are guilty of such conduct are punished with flogging or sent to prison.

It was in this way that were organized the primary elections that took place in the villages prior to the 17th of October. The primary elections at Ismail took place on October 15, in

the Town Hall. The electors were informed of the date on the previous day, and about fifty put in an appearance. The Mayor, M. Naidenof, a notorious pro-Roumanian, announced that the candidates were Messrs. Borissof (a pro-Roumanian politician), Fitof (a lawyer who had taken the oath of allegiance a fortnight before) and Fetof. No discussion was permitted and the electors were told to sign voting papers for the three candidates in question. Half the electors left the place in indignation. Those who remained elected the three candidates named.

On the following day, in the offices of the " People's House " at Ismail, there took place the formal Assembly of Delegates. The total number present was about 200, who were surrounded by as many Roumanian secret police. The peasants had had time to get together and decided to put forward Dr. Marinof as their candidate. The Roumanian authorities soon realised that their candidate, M. Titorof, stood little chance of success, and that Marinof, who was a man of firm convictions and unlikely to give way to compromise, would prove a danger to them. Government agents were then sent out with instructions to spare no effort to discredit Marinof, and to urge the claims in his place of Fitof (who had, it will be remembered, taken oath to the King of Roumania). All who criticised Fitof were noted by the police, and the electors soon realised they were being *forced* to elect this man. When they became convinced of this, a portion of the electors returned home without having voted and Fitof was elected by those who remained.

On the following day and the day after, those electors who had gone away without voting were *brought back by force* to Ismail, by Roumanian police and gendarmes, and made to sign voting papers in favour of Fitof. Such were these " free " elections. I assert that Fitof is a creature of the Roumanians, and in no way represents the opinion of the majority of the Bulgarians in Bessarabia.

(Signed) : N. N.,

Citizen of Ismail.

**Report of the national Bulgarian Committee
in Odessa to the Bessarabian Liberation Committee.**

Every inhabitant of Bessarabia, no matter what his nationality may be, who has lived for no matter how short a time under Roumanian domination, knows that the rights of the man and of the citizen have been dragged in the dust by the armed hand of the Roumanian Government, and that the result of the arbitrary excesses of the Roumanians is that they have aroused the hatred of all nationalities in the province, without even excluding those belonging to the dominant nationality, the Moldavians. All Bessarabia has declared itself the enemy of the Roumanian Government and of those Bessarabians who have betrayed and sold their country.

The well-known pro-Roumanian Bessarabian, M. Alexandri, has himself characterised the Roumanian régime in these terms: " All Bessarabia is groaning, from one end to the other. The iniquities, the cynical outrages and the arbitrary treatment from which it is suffering have exceeded all imagination, The Tzarist régime was a paradise compared with this. "

In such circumstances, and while the Peace Conference is showing its doubts in regard to the statements made by the Roumanians with a view to prove that the people of Bessarabia are anxious to unite with Roumania, Bessarabian traitors are directing all their efforts to wresting from each of the various nationalities inhabiting Bessarabia documents attesting to the Roumanian sympathies.

Thus the Bessarabian Minister, Tchegourean, has promised the best known of the Bulgarian representatives a wide grant of autonomy for the Bulgarian colonists in Bessarabia, but on one sole condition : that all the Bulgarian colonists manifest their attachment and their fidelity to Roumania. " If, however ", said Tchegourean, " you refuse, I ought to remind you that the Roumanian soldiers are very hostile to the Bulgarians,

and that you risk being submitted to a census like the one that took place in the Dobroudja, where they have been counting the peoples' heads." (It may be remembered that during the Roumanian occupation of the Dobroudja a large number of Bulgarians were killed.)

Neither promises nor threats, however, proved sufficient to lead honest Bulgarian representatives to betray and sell their people.

The Bulgarians who inhabit Bessarabia came to Bessarabia nearly a hundred years ago, to escape from the Turkish yoke.

In Bessarabia they have always enjoyed the rights of Russian citizens, and they are imbued with Russian culture.

At the present moment, smothered under the Roumanian yoke, the Bulgarians of Bessarabia have proved their fidelity to Russia. The enormous majority of the intellectual class of Bulgarians have refused to take oath to the King of Roumania and have preferred to lose their places and to suffer actual material hardship. Thousands of officers and private soldiers of other nationalities, have left Bessarabia and gone into Russia, in the hope of being able to help in the work of causing the return of this province to Russia.

The latest news that has reached us from Bessarabia shows that a traitor has been found, in the person of the advocate Jean Theodorè Fitoff, who is to go to Paris for the purpose of declaring to the Peace Conference the desire of the Bessarabian Bulgarians to be united with Roumania.

The Roumanian authorities, by the use of violence and threats, have forced the delegates of the Bulgarian villages to go to Ismail and to sign before a notary a power of attorney giving Fitoff the right to speak in the name of all the Bulgarian colonists.

It must be clear to all those who have the least knowledge of the state of mind of the people of Bessarabia that this was an act of felony, which is customary with the Roumanian Government, but which could have only one object, namely, to instill with error the minds of the Peace Conference and the public opinion of the whole world.

The Bulgarians of Bessarabia, being placed in a situation in

which it is impossible for them to manifest their real sentiments and aspirations, the National Bulgarian Committee of Odessa, which has the right to speak in the name of the Bulgarians of Bessarabia and of all Southern Russia, considers it its duty to raise its voice in defence of Bulgarian nationality and to protest against the violence exercised against the will of the Bulgarian population of Bessarabia.

The National Committee declares that the Bulgarian population of Bessarabia ardently aspires to be reunited to its country, Russia.

(Signed) :

President of the Assembly of Bulgarian Bessarabians.

.

Deputy Mayor.

.

President of National Bulgarian Council in Odessa.

.

Secretary.

(Countersigned) :

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Secretary of the Bessarabian Liberation Committee.

APPENDIX No. 44

To the national Bulgarian Committee in Russia.

We, Bessarabian Russian officers of Bulgarian nationality, having learned that M. Jean Theodore Fitoff, barrister, of the town of Ismail, is going to Paris, with a mission to present to the Peace Conference, in the name of the Bessarabians of Bulgarian nationality, a petition demanding the union of Bessarabia with Roumania, desire to express our profound indignation at the treason of which M. Fitoff is guilty.

We declare that we acted in agreement with the wish of all the Bulgarian colonists in Bessarabia when we left Bessarabia after its occupation by the Roumanians, and that we entered

Russia proper in September, 1919, with the intention of doing our utmost to secure the restitution of our native land, Bessarabia, to Russia. For the action we thus took we have the blessing of our people.

We demand that the honour and dignity of Russian citizens of Bulgarian nationality shall be protected.

(Signed) : Here follow ten signatures, which were legalised in Odessa.

APPENDIX No. 45

Letter to the President of the Peace Conference (November 15, 1919)

Paris, November 15, 1919.

To the President of the Peace Conference, Paris,

Mr. President,

The Roumanian Press Bureau, through the medium of the "*Temps*" (November 8, 1919), as well as the *Radio* Telegraphic Agency (November 6). have published a statement declaring that the German colonists in Bessarabia, at a meeting held in the little town of Taroutino, which is their centre, have unanimously adopted a resolution approving of the union of Bessarabia with Roumania, and have elected two representatives to come to Paris, for the purpose of bringing this resolution to the knowledge of the Peace Conference.

The Bessarabian Delegation, which represents the whole of the population of the Province, without excepting the German colonists, protests in the most emphatic manner possible against the value, both juridical and moral, of such resolutions when adopted by so called public meetings in Bessarabia in the conditions which at present exist in that Province.

Bessarabia remains under a state of siege; the liberty of public meeting and of the press have been suppressed, and all

citizens have to submit to the arbitrary control of the Roumanian police and gendarmes.

In these conditions there can be no possibility of free expression on the part of any section whatever of the Bessarabian people, or of free election of representatives.

The resolution in question can only have been adopted under the threat of coercive measures by the Roumanian administration.

The Bessarabian Delegation believes that it is its duty to draw the attention of the Peace Conference to the afore-mentioned facts, in order that the members of this Conference may not be induced to give undue value to the resolution of the so-called representatives of the German colonists in Bessarabia, and that they may be able to assess their testimony at its proper value.

(Signed) : A. N. KROUPENSKY,
A. Ch. SCHMIDT,
Bessarabian Delegates.

APPENDIX No. 46

Compulsory naturalisation.

A Decree of the Bessarabian Directorate, dated February 1919, No. 7, and signed "Tchegourean", Member of the Bessarabian Directorate, Minister without portfolio for Bessarabia in the Roumanian Cabinet, runs as follows : —

" All those who, before 1914, had their habitual domicile in Bessarabia and were, generally speaking, recognised as Russian subjects, will now be considered as Roumanian citizens in Bessarabia. "

In none of the fourteen articles of this Decree is there one single word as to any right of option between Russian and Roumanian nationality.

Landed Proprietors expropriated unless they agree within 10 days to accept Roumanian citizenship.

Here is the kind of dilemma which was placed before the Bessarabian landowners : —

« To the Landowner X.—In conformity with the telegram from the Prefect of Khotin, based upon the decision of the Directorate, No. 5,795, the administration of the district directs you to furnish, within a period of ten days from this date, a declaration stating that you intend to become a Roumanian subject.

In the event of your not so doing your land will be confiscated. »

(Signed) : The President of the Lipcani Zemstvo.

The Secretary.

Expropriation of landed Proprietors.

Extract from the Newspaper *Bessarabia*, August 10, 1919.

The « Casa Nostra » informs those landowners who are at present absent from Bessarabia that they are granted a period not exceeding one month from the date of the present notice, in which to take the necessary steps to obtain nationalisation as Roumanian subjects, and to nominate a qualified agent to act on their behalf before the Land Expropriation Commission, if they are unable to attend before the Commission in person.

In the event of neither the proprietor nor his agent being present, expropriation measures will be taken in their absence.

The present notice is the last notification that will be issued.

Signed : Director.
Secretary.

N.-B. — The above notice, without speaking of its entire lack of juridical value, can have no real value from the fact that it is forbidden to send Bessarabian newspapers out of the country. In order that Bessarabians residing out of the country may be informed of the above measures, it would be necessary that such information should be printed in the great foreign newspapers, and all the more so in view of the fact that the majority of the Bessarabian landowners have been compelled to leave their native country and take refuge abroad.

APPENDIX No. 49

Declaration.

I, the undersigned..., landowner in the parish of..., county of..., district of..., in conformity with Article 5 of the law on agrarian reform, hereby declare that I acknowledge myself to be a Roumanian subject, and that I will submit to all the laws, decrees and ordinances of the Roumanian State, conformably to the requirements of the Constitution.

I further declare that I am the owner, in the said county and district, near the village of..., of a quantity of land measuring.... dessiatines (or.... acres), over which I desire to maintain the right of possession.

Signed..., day of..., in the year.....

Signed : ...

APPENDIX No. 50

Expropriation of Bessarabian Landowners.

Note sent to the Newspapers by the Bessarabian Delegates
in Paris, October 15, 1919.

The Bessarabian Delegates to the Peace Conference have received from Bessarabia copies of three decrees promulgated there by the Roumanian Government.

The first of these decrees declares that any person inhabiting the territory of Bessarabia becomes *ipso facto* a Roumanian subject.

The second grants a delay of 15 days to all Bessarabian landowners to take the oath of allegiance to the Crown of Roumania, under penalty of having his property confiscated to the State of Roumania.

The third decree relates to conscription, and renders military service in the Roumanian army compulsory on all persons of an age to serve.

After the indescribable methods which the Bucarest Government has so far employed for the purpose of roumanianising by force this Russian province, the Bessarabian Peace Delegates, who have come to the Peace Conference for the purpose of claiming the right which their country possesses to determine its own future by means of a plebiscite, under the control of the Great Powers, protest against these fresh abuses of power by the Roumanian Government.

The Peace Conference has never, down to the present, so far as our knowledge goes, acknowledged the right of Roumania to annex Bessarabia.

These Roumanian decrees are therefore premature and without legal value so far as the various Bessarabian nationalities whom we represent are concerned.

Signed : A.-N. KROUPENSKY,

Former President of the Bessarabian Zemstvo.

A. CH. SCHMIDT,

Former Mayor of Kichinef.

Bessarabian Delegates to the Peace Conference.

The Legislative elections in Bessarabia.

Extracts from some Bucarest newspapers.

I

From an article published by the « Dimineata, » of Bucarest (November 15, 1919), from a special correspondent at Kichinef:

« To-day, the last day of the elections, it is possible to realise the manner in which the elections have been carried out in the republic of M. Inkouletz. Propaganda has been rendered almost impossible for the opposition parties. As the only serious opposition in Kichinef was represented by the Democratic Socialists, all efforts have been directed against that party. M. Costin being the most dangerous candidate, the Peasants' Party decided not to give a single vote to this former Minister for the Interior.

« The revolutionary, Inkouletz, has acted towards the journal « Covântul », the organ of the Democratic Socialist party, like a veritable satrap. The newspaper, which should have appeared two days before the elections, was twice censured. On the first occasion the censure made certain excisions, which merely delayed the appearance of the paper. When 2,000 copies had been printed off, however, another censor appeared at the printing office, on the orders of Inkouletz, and again censured the journal. On this occasion the censor insisted that the « blanks » should be filled up, in order that nobody in the Kingdom might be able to criticise the liberty of the Press as it was practiced in Bessarabia on the eve of the elections. The editorial staff refused to obey this injunction, and the newspaper appeared after the elections, instead of before.

« A decree by M. Inkouletz has been promulgated forbidding anything of any kind to be written or printed against Messrs Tchegourean and Chalippa and against the Peasants' Party. It is also forbidden to mention the names of the traders who have robbed the public. It is evident that these

people have secret connections with the present governors of Bessarabia.

« No electoral propaganda of any kind is possible. One of the candidates of the Democratic Party who wished to hold a meeting with his electors in the Kichinef district, has been arrested at Nisporeni.

« On the other hand the whole of the administration is in the hands of the Peasants' Party. The agents of this Party are touring the villages, gathering together the peasants and, with the help of the gendarmes, forcing them to march through the villages in procession, shouting as they pass along the muddy streets : « Long live the Peasants' Party! » The number of abstentions throughout Bessarabia is enormous.

The pamphlets issued by M. Inkouletz, who arrogates to himself the title of university professor and « doctor, » have been printed at the cost of the Government, as if the Peasants' Party were an integral part of the State.

« M. Bârca, director of the Ministry of the Interior, at the last moment remembered that he had at his disposal a fund of 4 million lei (or \$ 800 000, at normal rate of exchange) for electoral expenses.

« The circulars in which he should have given the voters an explanation of the new method of elections, however, have not appeared until the elections were practically over. Nobody in Bessarabia knows what kind of electoral methods are being followed.

« In the Kichinef district only 44 000 electors out of a total of 230 000 were entered on the voting lists, owing to the neglect and incapacity of M. Bârca. »

II

From the « Epoca, » of Bucarest (the organ of M. Filipescu), of November 11, 1919 :

« Nowhere, during this electoral masquerade which has taken place throughout Roumania, has the parody been pushed further than in Bessarabia. Nowhere has brute force played such a preponderating role as on the other side of the Pruth

(in-Bessarabia) : votes for Government candidates were in that province torn from the electors under threat of the worst reprisals.

« Scarcely 25 per cent of the voting papers were distributed; 75 per cent were kept back by the administration and given to innumerable agents to be placed by them in the urns.

« In those places where the electors asked for voting papers the gendarmery got to work. The Government hired vehicles and drivers, and organized a regular service of transport between the villages and the voting places. The gendarmes carried off the voters by main force, loaded them in the vehicles and escorted them, on horseback and with fixed bayonets, to the polling-booth. Thanks to these methods the Government candidates secured a complete success.

« In order to appreciate what « freedom of elections » means in Bessarabia, all that is necessary is to glance over the lists of results, and note the form in which they are published. In these returns the Peasants' Party lists are actually called « official, » and the candidates themselves are spoken of as « official » candidates.

« We do not mention a word as to the special cases of abuse of power that have been perpetrated by the representatives of the administration.

« The invalidation of the Bessarabian elections must take place for the same reasons as the invalidation of the elections for the rest of the Kingdom. Such a measure is absolutely necessary. »

APPENDIX No. 52

Roumanian Government election propaganda in Bessarabia.

For the Roumanian Parliamentary elections at the end of 1919 M. J. Bratiano carried on his campaign — that is the campaign of the Government Party — in Bessarabia under the name of the Peasants' Party. This party received not only the support of the Government and its local

agents, but was openly protected in every possible way. This was so to such an extent, indeed, that no other party was allowed to be formed.

It must not be forgotten that during the elections the whole country was groaning under a state of siege. The Press was strictly muzzled, no election meeting, no form of political agitation was tolerated unless it was in the interest of the « Peasants' Party » — that is to say, for the benefit of a hundred or so of ringleaders who were protected by the Bratiano Ministry. To attain the object desired all methods were esteemed to be good.

This is the text of a proclamation with which the whole province was flooded, and which appeared on every wall :

« Brother Labourers,

« Vote only for the Peasants' Party list, and remember that the other two lists' represent the landlords, who are out to take back from you the land which has been transferred to the people who work it. The landlords are also hoping to make you pay the cost of all the damage the Revolution has made them suffer.

Signed : The Committee of the Peasants' Party. »

APPENDIX No. 53

The Bessarabian elections.

Protest to the Peace Conference from the Bessarabian Delegates
in Paris.

Paris, July 17, 1919.

To the President of the Peace Conference.

The question of Bessarabia has not yet been definitely settled by the Peace Conference, which is alone competent to come to a decision in this matter. At the last sitting of the Conference devoted to the Bessarabian question (July 2), we

1. As a matter of fact there was no list in existence except that of the Peasants' Party.

believed we were justified in the opinion that the representatives of the Great Powers, after having heard Messrs. Maklakoff and Bratiano, appeared to be inclined towards the application of a plebiscite.

Whether that be so or not, it is important to note that no solution has yet been adopted by the Conference. There has therefore so far been no *juridical* settlement of the Bessarabian question, and the Roumanian occupation of the province may be considered, from the legal point of view, as merely an occupation *de fait* and provisional.

We have therefore been extremely surprised to read in the « *Temps* » for July 13, a declaration by M. Antonesco, Roumanian Minister to France, who informs us, among other things, that « the general elections for the Roumanian Parliament must take place in Bessarabia, *as throughout Roumania*, at a very early date. » « These elections, » he added, « will constitute the best of plebiscites. »

As the representatives of Bessarabia, elected by universal suffrage, our duty is to protest to the Peace Conference, with all possible energy, against any attempt of the Roumanian Government to associate Bessarabia in any manner whatever with the governmental system of a country which is entirely foreign to her. The participation of Bessarabia in the Roumanian elections would constitute an act of illegality, tending to anticipate the decisions of the Peace Conference and to place it before a *juridical fait accompli*. Roumania hopes, in this way, to force the hands of the Conference and to incorporate Bessarabia without waiting for the sanction of the Great Allied Powers.

On the other hand, we cannot for one single moment admit that the elections for the Roumanian Parliament in Bessarabia could seriously be considered as the equivalent of that which the country demands, namely, a plebiscite organized under international control. Elections that will take place under the direction of Roumanian military officials while a state of siege exists throughout the whole country, while the right of public meeting and of association and the liberty of the Press are entirely suppressed, while arbitrary authority and terror-

rism reign everywhere in Bessarabia — such elections could only be a farce destined to throw dust into the eyes of Europe.

It is against this farce that we desire to raise our protest to-day. The proposed elections, imposed on Bessarabia by the Roumanian Government and controlled by it, would constitute an act of violence and hypocrisy which it is our duty to call to the attention of the Peace Conference, in order that their actual taking place may be prevented.

Signed : A. N. KROUPENSKY.

A. Ch. SCHMIDT.

Bessarabian Delegates to the Peace Conference.

APPENDIX No. 54

Conscripts called up to serve in the Roumanian Army.

Extract from the newspaper " Bessarabian News " No. 4, of December, 27, 1919.

« The conscripts belonging to the 1919 and 1920 classes in the Bender district have been called up for service in the Roumanian army. All the young men, who have been passed by the doctors as good for army service have received their military papers. A special commission will be organized for the examination of all those who are able to give good reasons for not having been able to come up when called upon, as well as for those whose names have not as yet appeared in the lists. »

Extract from the same newspaper, dated December 28, 1919.

« The results of the examinations of conscripts belonging to the Kichinef district who were called up for inspection between

November 25 and December 19, in connection with the classes for 1919 and 1920 are as follows.

Passed as good for service	620
Provisionally excused.	36
Permanently excused.	54
Foreigners	30
Total included in the lists	5,219 »

APPENDIX No. 55

Bessarabians called on to serve in the Roumanian Army.

Protest by the Bessarabian Delegates to the Peace Conference,

Paris, September 28, 1919.

To the President of the Peace Conference,

The Bessarabian Delegation has received information that the Roumanian Government has promulgated an ordinance in which the population of Bessarabia is informed that all the young men in the province are to be called upon during the present autumn for compulsory military service in the ranks of the Roumanian Army.

Confirmation of this new measure on the part of the Roumanian Government is given in the issue for August 10, 1919, of the newspaper « Bessarabia », published at Kichinef.

The introduction of compulsory military service into Bessarabia is a fresh proof of the contempt of the Roumanian Government for all international law and justice. Without waiting for the decisions of the Peace Conference, the Roumanian Government is already treating the citizens of this Russian province as if they were Roumanian subjects.

The Bessarabian Delegation affirms that the Roumanian ordinance of conscription in Bessarabia will be only a fresh act of arbitrary violence on the part of the Roumanian Government.

The Bessarabian Delegation protests energetically against the conduct of the Roumanian Government, and adjures the Peace Conference to intervene for the purpose of ensuring that the civic rights of the inhabitants of Bessarabia be respected.

(Signed) : A. N. KROUPENSKY,

A. Ch. SCHMIDT.

Bessarabian Delegates.

APPENDIX No. 56

**Report drawn up by the elected Representatives
of the peasants in four cantons of the district
of Khotin.**

Presented to the Odessa Committee for the Liberation
of Bessarabia.

February 11, 1919.

Towards the end of October, 1918, the Austrian troops which occupied the Khotin district and a portion of the Soroki district evacuated Bessarabia, and were replaced by Roumanians. With the Roumanians came representatives of civil power, in the person of a prefect named Croudou and several of his colleagues.

The population was immediately informed that the occupied territory had been definitely and « for ever » annexed to « Greater Roumania », the « Motherland », and that nothing could in future separate Bessarabia from Roumania.

At the same time orders were given for all signboards in the Russian language to be removed, and for all arms to be handed over to the Roumanian authorities. All infringement of the first order was punishable with fine and imprisonment; for infringements of the second the penalty was death.

The Prefect sent for the heads of all the zemstvo organizations, together with all officials of the Russian Government,

and announced to them that the annexation was an accomplished fact and that they must submit to his authority.

Orders to take an oath of fidelity to the King of Roumania was given to the judges, under threat of dismissal from office; but all of them refused to obey and had to relinquish their posts.

The clergy received orders to mention the name of the King and the Roumanian Royal Family, as well as the Roumanian Government, in all religious services. Few protests were made in connection with this order, for every priest knew that the Roumanians would submit to shameful corporal punishment all who dared to disobey, without distinction of sex or class.

The soldiers were encouraged by their officers to pillage openly. Under pretext of searching for hidden arms they carried out a multitude of domiciliary visits, during which they carried off everything that fell into their hands. They stole clothing, boots, cattle, wheat, bread and every kind of eatable. Any money they found also disappeared. Here are some examples.

During a house to house search in the village of Roukchine, the Roumanian soldiers broke open a casket belonging to a peasant woman named Paraskewa Coudelka and stole 120 roubles in gold and 800 roubles in paper. She complained to Major Mora, the commander of the detachment, but she never recovered her money.

The Roumanian gendarmes interfered in the private life of the village folk. They insisted on being boarded for nothing, and requisitioned horses and vehicles for their personal pleasure. Peasants were compelled to act as guards round the places where they lived, and to clean their boots, rooms and horses.

Each gendarme made it his business to visit the local school and to see that the schoolmaster gave lessons in the Roumanian language. He also visited the church, to ensure that the priest conducted the services in Roumanian and mentioned the Roumanian Royal Family in his prayers. The least protest was punished with thrashings with rods or whips. More energetic protesters were shot.

Here are some facts to illustrate the manner in which the Roumanian administration worked.

I. — In November 1918 a Rumanian soldier had been killed in the village of Mendikaoutzy, in the Khotin district. The assassin fled. For this murder every inhabitant of the village was punished. Every head of a family had to pay a sum of 3,000 roubles, under threat of having all his furniture sold.

All the priests in the neighbourhood, some forty in number, were ordered to be present at the funeral of the soldier who had been killed. During Divine Service the whole of the peasants were made to kneel down in the mud; rain was falling throughout the service. After the burial, all the priests and other personages who had been ordered to attend, were drawn up in two ranks, to witness the infliction of corporal punishment of the greater part of the village, who were beaten with rods. The Roumanian officer in charge of the proceedings then addressed the priests and schoolmasters, and said :

« Tell everybody in your parishes that peasants in every village in which a Roumanian soldier is killed will be punished in the same manner. » (Evidence given by the priest D. K.).

II. — The inhabitants of the village of Dinaoutzy, in the Khotin district, had the misfortune to displease the Roumanians. It was decided to send a punitive expedition into the village.

The officer in command of this expedition mistook the name of this village for that of another, called Dankaoutzy, and the inhabitants of the latter place were punished with the bastinado. After having beaten eighty of them the officer in charge called the peasants together and asked them if they had made up their minds to obey the Roumanian authorities in the future. Their replies showed the officer the blunder he had made, for no Roumanian orders had been received in the village, whose inhabitants were consequently guiltless of any offence. The officer, on realising his mistake, immediately went to the other village, Dinaoutzy, where he caused 285 persons to be beaten. (Evidence of the priest and many of inhabitants of the two places.)

III. — Some Roumanian soldiers, who were pillaging a wind-mill, were caught in the act by the peasants. They were dis-

armed and sent to Khotin, to the local commanding officer. One of the thieves, however, succeeded in escaping, and informed the officer in question that the peasants belonging to the village of Levintzy had beaten an innocent soldier. A punitive expedition was immediately sent into the village, several dozens of the villagers were beaten and thirty sent to prison.

It is impossible to lay complaints in regard to the infamies committed by the Roumanians, for they are always received with derision by the officials whose duty it is to receive such complaints, and in very many cases it is the plaintiff who is punished instead of the guilty.

All persons who are not supporters of the Roumanian occupation and of the roumanianisation of the country are persecuted without distinction of profession or class, even in districts where the people belonging to the Slav race represent ninety per cent of the population.

The savage system employed by the Roumanian administration, the peremptory declarations made by the Roumanians, to the effect that Bessarabia has been given to Roumania for ever, that it is even the desire of the Bessarabians themselves that this should be so, the reports put into circulation to the effect that the Allies who conquered the German coalition are supporting Roumania with all the weight of their authority in her desire to appropriate Bessarabia — all this renders the population uneasy as to its future.

On the one hand the people of Bessarabia know that the Allies have been victorious and that they intend to base the peace treaty on the right of peoples to decide of their own future; on the other hand they are afraid that the Great Powers, misled by the lies of the Roumanians and the forged documents which tend to prove the wish of Bessarabia to be united to Roumania, will permit Roumania to appropriate Bessarabia. The future looms before them both inextricable and tragic.

Northern Bessarabia, of which we are speaking, has had to endure, during the war, owing to its situation, several successive evacuations. During the winter of 1918, it suffered the horrors of Bolshevism. After this trial came the Roumanian

invasion, with all its cruelties, which proved unendurable, and the patience of the people came to an end. In desperation at seeing no one come to their help, the people rose in rebellion against the Roumanian yoke.

The insurrection broke out on January 5 and 6, 1919, in the neighbourhood of the railway station at Oknitza and the little towns of Ataki and Sekouriany. The Roumanians were driven out by armed force. During the night of January 9-10 a force consisting of some hundreds of peasants attempted to carry the bridge over the Dniester, near Khotin, to facilitate the transport of arms which had been obtained in Podolia. The Roumanian patrol, when they saw the insurgents coming, informed the adjacent Roumanian batteries, who opened withering fire upon them. The reports of the guns gave the signal to the whole district, and the entire population rose in revolt, armed some of them with rifles and the rest with scythes.

The few Roumanian soldiers and gendarmes who attempted to defend themselves were killed, and the rest made prisoners. By six o'clock on the morning of January 10 the town of Khotin and all the neighbouring villages were in the hands of the insurgents.

The National League, which then existed in Bessarabia, elected five of its members as a « Directorate », who assumed power. Military questions were taken charge of by a body of officers, who drew up a plan of campaign.

During these days the representatives of the surrounding villages poured into Khotin and announced that the rising was general, and that the Roumanians were being everywhere driven out.

In the villages the women devoted themselves to baking bread for the insurgents. The Directorate prohibited the sale of spirits, organized patrols and maintained perfect order. There was neither robbery nor pillaging. One thought alone inflamed the hearts of everybody: to drive the Roumanians out of Bessarabia once and for all.

The Roumanian officers, soldiers and civilians who had been made prisoners were imprisoned. The wives and children of

the civilian prisoners found a refuge in the hospital belonging to the Zemstvo. All were treated very humanely.

In the village of Grozintzy the insurgents accidentally captured two officers attired in an unknown uniform, who were in a motorcar. One of them spoke Russian and stated that they belonged to the British Military Mission, which was confirmed by documents he produced. They were taken to Khotin by an escort and placed at liberty.

The British officer, whose name was Maclaren, informed us that, after having visited Bukovina, on the orders of the British Legation at Bucarest, he had come into Bessarabia to obtain information as to the feelings of the inhabitants of the territory occupied by Roumania, and wished to see for himself if Bessarabia had been united to Roumania in accordance with its own wishes, as the Roumanians had proclaimed *urbi et orbi*, or if, on the contrary, the union had been brought about by force.

« So far », he said, « I have seen, and I can bear witness as to the sentiments of Bessarabia towards Roumania, and I realise that the people have suffered to such an extent that they have been driven to revolt ». These are the exact words used by this British officer.

The officers were taken to the prison where the Roumanian prisoners were confined. They were also taken into the village of Nedobaoutzy, where the Roumanians killed 55 people, men, women and children, and burnt eight houses before retreating.

The British officers saw for themselves the good treatment given to the Roumanian prisoners, and were able to verify the truth of the reports made to them as to the atrocities committed by the Roumanians at Nedobaoutzy. Minutes of all that had been seen by these officers were drawn up and a copy handed to them.

After five days the military activity of the insurgents had necessarily to decrease, and for several reasons. The first that was experienced was the insufficient supply of arms and munitions, which prevented many people from joining the combatant ranks. Roumanian agents circulated reports of the pending arrival of large Roumanian forces, and that the Roumanian

troops were supported by French and British forces and would repress the revolt severely, so that the only chance of securing a lightening of the punishment that would be inflicted would be to lay down arms and submit. Many of the peasants, discouraged by these statements, left the front.

The Roumanians, who were surrounded by the insurgents, were encamped on a height in the village of Kerstintzy, and their guns bombarded sometimes one village and sometimes another. Whenever they succeeded in repulsing the insurgents and carrying a village, the Roumanians first set some of the houses on fire and prevented the inhabitants from leaving them. They afterwards entered the rest of the houses and carried off everything they could find.

The slightest appeal or protest was punished by putting to death the whole family, not excepting the children. The Roumanians continued to burn the houses until reinforcements enabled the peasants to attack them again, and then they took flight. Murders and fires were much more numerous in the villages where the Roumanians succeeded in maintaining their hold.

A week after the Roumanians had been driven out from Khotin the efforts of the insurgents appreciably declined.

The Roumanians advanced in strength and made regular attacks. On January 20, after fighting desperately, the insurgents had to abandon Khotin and withdraw behind the Dniester.

Two days before the recapture of Khotin by the Roumanians the population, terrorised by the atrocities committed by the Roumanians, evacuated the villages, leaving behind all they possessed. Nearly 50,000 men sought refuge in Ukrainian territory, on the left bank of the Dniester.

In order to suppress the insurrection, the Roumanians practiced extraordinary cruelties. A priest, whose name it is inadvisable to mention here, witnessed an order given by the general to put down the rising at any cost, and to allow the soldiers to take anything they wanted from the villages. This order inflamed the passions of the soldiers, and their victory was not difficult.

We, the undersigned, can bear personal testimony to the following atrocious acts.

In the village of Doliniany, on the approach of the Roumanian forces, the priest, named B. Krokoss, who had remained in the place in answer to the appeal of the people, went out to meet the soldiers with his cross and the holy images, followed by the whole of the people, with manifestly peaceful intentions. The soldiers threw themselves on the priest and slaughtered him with their swords, and then opened fire on the crowd of villagers.

The daughter of Peter Kochnik, a peasant belonging to the village of Roukchine, was violated by some Roumanian soldiers. She declared that many of the women and girls of the village suffered the same outrage.

A Roumanian patrol discovered in the forest of Chiraoutzy some sixty women and children, who had taken refuge in the house of a forest guard. They set fire to the house, the whole of the people being burnt to death.

An old man of eighty, named Theodore Femouliak, of the village of Nedobaoutzy, had his arm cut off and was afterwards killed. In the same village the throat of a man named Basil Todossitchouk was cut, and a one-armed invalid, named Moses Cherbatoff met the same fate.

Only fifty houses out of 600 were left in the village of Nedobaoutzy. At Roukchine 500 houses were burnt down. Three-quarters of the village of Ataki was set on fire. A fine of 10,000 roubles was imposed on the village of Prigorodok, the Roumanians declaring that if this amount was not paid the whole village would be burnt.

We have been informed that the Director of the Public School at Khotin, M. Korobkin, was shot. We are also informed that on January 21 the commandant of Khotin called the people of the town together for the purpose of reading an order to them. The 500 persons who responded to the call were surrounded by soldiers and shot down with machine guns.

In the village of Nedobaoutzy 200 men, most of them aged, were shot. 200 men were also shot in the village of Roukchine and a large number at Kaplevka.

The following villages were more or less completely ravaged and looted : Ataki, Roukchine, Nedobaoutzy, Stavtchany, Doliniany, Kaplevka. The villages of Prigorodok, Tchepanossy, Zarojeny, Stalinechty, Anadoly, Darabany and Chiraoutzy suffered to a lesser degree.

The burial of the dead was forbidden. « Let the dogs eat them », said the Roumanians.

In every village the first thing ordered was that all the money should be handed over; then the clothing and the boots were taken. Women's dresses, linen, carpets and all the household articles were loaded on carts, to be sent into Roumania. In the town of Khotin the whole of the furniture was taken out of the houses, together with everything else found there, and sent to Roumania. It is reported that a fine of a million roubles was imposed on the town of Khotin.

Certain reports we have not been able to verify. To obtain such verification it is absolutely necessary to send an independent commission, and we ask that such a commission should be sent.

In the name of the whole population, we demand that the Roumanian troops should be ordered to leave the country. As long as they are here, many things will remain hidden, as the people do not dare to make independent statements, for fear of Roumanian vengeance.

In concluding, we are compelled to state that the misery and the calamities endured by the people are simply indescribable. We hope that, if only for reasons of charity and mercy, on which everything depends, everyone will do their utmost to prevent fresh calamities in the future.

We beg to state in the most categorical manner that the insurrection had nothing of a bolshevik character about it. Perfect order prevailed during the insurrection, as Mr. Maclaren, the British officer referred to, will testify. No violence was committed. Only the mayor of Khotin and the prior of the cathedral were arrested. Their arrest was insisted upon by the population of the town, who regarded them as being too anxious to please the Roumanians.

Bolshevism is impossible in Bessarabia, and especially in the

district of Khotin, because during the winter of 1917-18 the people saw only too clearly what Bolshevism represented, ever to be supporters of it.

We appeal to the representatives of the Powers of the Entente to be good enough to receive us, for the purpose of hearing our verbal report, for it is impossible for us to describe on paper the details of all the events that have occurred.

We should also like to hear the replies that may be given to us.

(Signed) : ...,

Representatives of the four cantons
of the District of Khotin.

Odessa, January 29/February 12, 1919.

The names of the signatories cannot be published for fear of reprisals that may be taken by the Roumanian authorities against their families.

APPENDIX No. 57

Some examples of Roumanian " Kultur "

1. — On January 9, the first day of the insurrection in the Khotin district, near the windmill at the village of Nedobaoutzy (on the line of retreat of a Roumanian detachment from Khotin) there lay the bodies of four peasants who had brought corn to the windmill. Two of the bodies had been transpierced by bayonets, and their bloodstained clothes were lying near them. The third, a man of about thirty, had been pierced through the neck; the toes had been cut from the feet, the hand mutilated by a bayonet, the clothes carried off. The fourth man, apparently about 65 years old, had had his eyes pierced and had been finished off with the bayonet.

2. — In the village of Nedobaoutzy itself, the owner of the third cottage on the northern side had been killed by a rifle shot, his wife with the bayonet, and their two children, a boy of six and a girl of four, with the butt end of a rifle.

3. — At the entrance to the same village, on the Khotin road, lay the body of a man of about forty, with an expression of horror in his open eyes. He had been unmentionably mutilated and his organ forced into his mouth.

4. — In the same village, at the turn of the road in the direction of Novoselitz, a little boy of about four years old was impaled on one of the stakes in the fence.

5. — In the village of Vladychna, the body of a woman of between 27 and 30, who had been killed by a blow from the butt end of a rifle on the base of the nose, lay on the floor of a cottage. She was without her skirt, two of her teeth had been broken off, and a sacred picture had been placed between her thighs. All along the road for a distance of two miles, and on the footpaths in the villages of Nedobaoutzy, Vladychna, Chiraoutzy and Zarojany, the bodies of 75 victims of all ages were counted, who had been massacred in the most ferocious manner. Some had been hacked into such small pieces that they had to be placed in sacks for burial.

6. — At Kozyriany the wife of the secretary of the commune was violated under the eyes of her husband, and the throats of both, together with those of their two children, were afterwards cut.

7. — In the village of Mikailovka the wife of a peasant who had taken flight was able to save her cottage from being destroyed by fire on consenting to kiss the hind-quarters of a Roumanian soldier.

8. — A few days before the insurrection two Roumanian cavalry soldiers returned to the village of Beloussovka, where they found a brother and sister in a cottage. One of the soldiers pressed his rifle against the brother, while the other violated the girl. They then reversed their parts, but the second soldier, seeing blood, was suddenly seized with disgust and relinquished a continuation of the outrage.

I was an eye-witness of the whole of these incidents except the last, and can certify to their authenticity.

(Signed) : ..., Lieutenant.

Testimony of the son of a Bessarabian Rabbi.

I. — The son of Zelman Liefchitz, head agent of the Kichinet Insurance Company, a student at the Kief Polytechnic Institute, at the end of the summer of 1919 was on his way back to Kief via Bender. At Bender the customs officers, while going through his baggage, discovered certain notes and memoranda, together with some engineer's drawings which the Roumanian gendarmes came to the conclusion were somewhat suspect. Liefchitz was arrested and taken to the police station, where, in spite of his protests that the papers discovered in his baggage were merely memoranda made in connection with his educational studies, he was completely undressed, searched and then flogged with guttapercha sticks, in order to extort from him a confession that he was a spy. Under this ill-treatment Liefchitz swooned. He was afterwards locked up by himself in a cell. For four days he was regularly beaten three or four times a day. On each occasion he lost consciousness and was brought to himself by having cold water thrown over him.

The father, having learnt that his son had been arrested, obtained permission for him to be removed to Kichinef. There he was held in prison for several days longer, and then, as his custodians were eventually convinced of his innocence, he was placed at liberty.

II. — In the Galanter family, consisting of a mother and son, living in Schmidt Street (Kichinef), two servants were arrested owing to the fact that they failed to produce satisfactory identification papers. The mother and son were also arrested at the same time as their domestics. At the police station both were ill-treated and struck several times. Then the son was undressed and beaten with indiarubber sticks, in order to extort a confession that he had harboured thieves.

During the infliction of this punishment the Public Prosec-

cutor of the local tribunal, who still occupies that post to-day, entered the room, accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel Bratesco. Both went up to the victim and struck him several times in the face shouting : « You are a bolshevik and a brigand ! » He was kept in prison for some days, and then placed at liberty, with apologies.

III. — The witness affirms under oath that several dozens of other victims, under similar circumstances, have died as a consequence of the ill-treatment inflicted on them.

IV. — In September 1919 the Jews elected a deputation, which was sent to interview the Governor, General Voitoiano, in order to persuade him to cause violence to be brought to an end in Bessarabia. Voitoiano replied, promising there should be no more violence, but the promise was not borne out by the facts.

This deputation was composed of the Rabbi Zirelsohn, Eugene Königschatz and Dr. Sloutzky.

Communicated on November 16, 1919.

(Signed) : ...

APPENDIX No. 59

Evidence of a Bessarabian Student.

September 20, 1919.

Dear Mr. KROUPENSKY,

Knowing that you are working to save Bessarabia from Roumanian domination, I am sending to you, as a Bessarabian, some instances showing how our country is being roumanianised.

Walking one day in the Alexander Street at Kichinef, I saw a young girl fainting. The cause of her fainting was as follows. A Roumanian officer (if I may give him such a title) went up to the girl and tore out of her hat the metal badge

indicating the school which she was attending. Overcome by such savage treatment, the girl fell down in a fainting fit.

Another chivalrous exploit was performed by the commandant of the Ungheny railway station on the person of my brother, a fourth form pupil of the Kichinef Public School. My brother was passing the main entrance to the station when he was seized by two gendarmes and dragged before the commandant, who tore off his cap, tore out the badge of the School and threw it on the ground. On my brother reminding the officer that the Roumanian orders forbade the wearing of uniform by officers but not by pupils of schools, the commandant struck the boy in the face and had him thrown out of the station by the gendarmes.

An old inhabitant of Beltzy, for declining to decorate himself with a Roumanian national ribbon, was shut up by the "authorities" in a wooden trunk. For three hours the gendarmes amused themselves by striking on the outside of the box with sticks. When he was at length released the unfortunate old man was unable to walk and had to be carried away.

The following is the manner in which some Bessarabian school-teachers were made to take the Roumanian oath of fidelity. The church was surrounded by gendarmes. For every two school-teachers there was one Roumanian secret police agent. The unhappy man who hesitated to enter the church was « kindly pushed in » with the help of blows from a riding-whip. It is to be regretted that many schoolmasters were thus forced to take the oath of allegiance, in order not to deprive their families of their only means of livelihood.

Nobody can obtain anything anywhere now without paying bribes. The wife of a fisherman at Ungheny, named Karpitsky, wished to sell her fish. She was arrested by the gendarmes, who insisted on being paid a bribe before they would allow her to sell. As the old woman refused, she was given a thrashing in the public street.

Two Moldavian peasants were each transporting a barrel of wine to the village of Voltchinetz, when some Roumanian gendarmes forced them to stop, under threat of firing on the barrels. After having extorted a hundred lei (nominally £4

or \$ 20) from them, the gendarmes allowed the peasants to go free. Nevertheless no permit is required from the Roumanian authorities to enable wine to be transported from one village to another.

Not wishing to place my relatives, who inhabit Bessarabia, in danger of Roumanian vengeance, I beg of you, Sir, not to divulge my name.

(Signed) : ...

Student at Kief University.

APPENDIX No. 60

Evidence of a Bessarabian Student.

Paris, September 28, 1919.

Monsieur Alexandre KROUPENSKY,
44, rue de Lisbonne, Paris,

Sir,

The present precarious political situation of Russia has enabled the Roumanian Government, as you are aware, to occupy Bessarabia. Knowing that as the representative of that province you are protecting its interests, I have the honour to send you some information for the purpose of showing :

1) The wishes and the state of mind of the Bessarabian people;

2) The measures for "roumanianisation" that are being taken by the Roumanian Government, who desire, at no matter what cost, to annex this province to Roumania.

Only a plebiscite can provide reliable information as to the real will of the Bessarabian people, but for my own part, as a Bessarabian, I declare that I should prefer to be a Russian citizen. Moreover, being in constant relation with the peasants, not only of my own village in the district of Beltzy, but also of the neighbouring towns and villages, I can certify that they all have the same desire : they all wish to be Russian citizens. I hear their opinions every day, and I have never heard one of

them express his "joy" at the annexation of Bessarabia by Roumania, as M. Bratiano has pretended to the Peace Conference.

The Roumanian Government, realising the bad situation in which it is, is trying to gain the sympathies of the Bessarabian population. The Bessarabians who are working for the union of Bessarabia with Roumania (and they are a very small number) have been bought by the Roumanian Government. Here are a few examples as to the manner in which the Roumanians treat the other inhabitants.

The people are made to undergo corporal punishment on the pretext that, being Bessarabian (and not Roumanian), they want to remain Russian.

a) My brother, aged sixteen, a college youth, on leaving home on July 12, 1919, after having gone some fifty yards, was arrested by some Roumanian soldiers who, urged on by a sergeant, struck him in the face. A Roumanian officer — Captain Rousso, of the 9th Calarach, 2nd. Company — arrived during this incident. After hearing the complaints of the lad, who was weeping, he shrugged his shoulders and said: "The men have done quite right," and walked on. Who incited these soldiers to strike my brother we have not been able to ascertain.

b) While passing through the town of Calarach in June 1919, I was arrested by some Roumanian gendarmes, on the pretext that I had no papers (although all my papers were in order). I was dragged under the care of two gendarmes to the police station, where I was released after giving fifty lei (£2, or \$10) to the inspector. While there I witnessed the following spectacle. A peasant, who was half naked, was tied to a tree and flogged by two gendarmes with a knotted cord that had been soaked in water. After two minutes of this punishment the man lost consciousness. The alleged reason for this savagery was that the man had refused to sell his fowls at the rate of 1 lei = 1 rouble, because the real rate of exchange was two lei to the rouble. The gendarmes belonged to the "Bessarabian Gendarmery Brigade" commanded by Colonel Racovitza, of the Calarach Company.

c) In July 1919 the Jew Baruch Jousim (surnamed Bouchno), living at Calarach, for having asked Zamfiresco, the booking-clerk at Pereval railway station for change, was laid hold of by some soldiers, on the orders of the booking-clerk, beaten, and shut up in the booking-clerk's fowlhouse — “ for having acted impertinently ” — and after being kept there for six hours was beaten a second time and set at liberty.

d) Jankel Fichmann, living at Cornechti, was struck in the face by some Roumanian soldiers while on his way back from Kichinef, on the pretext that ten boxes of matches had been found in his possession.

e) At Jassy, in the courtyard of the district offices of the Roumanian garrison (4, Cusa Voda Street), an inhabitant of Soroki district, a Little Russian by origin, was beaten on the belly with leather straps for having asked that his pass should be stamped as quickly as possible. According to the Roumanian regulations visas must be delivered within twenty-four hours, and he had been kept waiting three days. I have not been able to discover how the matter ended, or if the culprit was permanently disabled.

f) A Bessarabian at Soroki railway station, who had openly expressed his sympathy with the Ukrainian troops who were then crossing Roumania, on their way from the Cherson Government to Galicia, was dragged from his wagon by some Roumanian Gendarmes (who had been told by a spy of the words used by the man), shot without trial in front of his own wagon, and his body stripped. (This occurred at the end of April, 1919, during the night.)

I am in a position to produce witness in support of each of these statements. If these facts are not sufficient I may add that every day, *in the village where I live, alone*, the majority of the inhabitants who have the misfortune to meet Roumanians (at the railway station, in the post offices, in the markets, on the roads) are beaten without any pretext. Such a life is unendurable. All who have the means are taking flight and leaving Bessarabia.

At the risk of lengthening this letter, I wish to say a few words further on the Roumanian administration. The Rouma-

nian administration and police exist, in the true sense of the word, on brigandage. Soldiers threaten the inhabitants with death and blows from bludgeons, carry off foodstuffs and anything else that pleases them. On the roads they refuse to let people continue their journeys unless they give them money. Gendarmes, officers, sub-prefects and all kinds of officials do nothing unless they are bribed. The shortest journey costs more in bribes than in fares and other expenses. The harvests and forage crops are requisitioned from the peasants at prices five to ten times below the current market prices and afterwards resold by the police at the ordinary price.

I do not know if this "paternal guardianship" of the Roumanians will last much longer, but everybody is hoping that, at the end, the wish of the Bessarabians to be united to Russia will be taken into consideration. This hope keeps us alive, and enables us to suffer.

(Signed) : ...,

Student at Moscow University.

P. S. — I have just arrived in Paris. The latest information I have received from Bessarabia speaks of tortures to which the inhabitants of the country are made to submit by the Roumanian officials. They are also being forced to take part in the elections for the Roumanian Parliament, and to take oath to the King of Roumania.

APPENDIX No. 61

Coercive mesures exercised by the Roumanians against Bessarabian railway employees

(Bessarabian Press Bureau, Bulletin No. 50.
February 26, 1919.)

A delegation of Bessarabian railway employees has arrived at Odessa from Oknitza to ask for assistance and an intervention in favour of their comrades who remain in the province.

At the time of the insurrection in the Khotin¹ district, some detachments of insurgents reached as far as Oknitza, which had been abandoned by the Roumanians. When the Roumanians took the offensive, on the following day, the household furniture and other property belonging to the railway employees were, on the order of the commander of the insurgents, loaded on wagons, in order to give the railway men the opportunity of taking flight before the advancing Roumanians. At the last moment, however, it became necessary to use the only engine left in the station for the purpose of saving an armoured train, and the goods belonging to the railway employees had to be left behind.

When the Oknitza railway station was again occupied by the Roumanians, they took reprisals against the railway men and insisted on their taking the oath of allegiance (in writing) to the King of Roumania. In order to overcome all hesitation or resistance, the Roumanians arrested many of them, and removed them into the country, a few at a time. Here some of them were shot. Others were sent back to the railway station. For three days the families of the men were deprived of water.

About 200 of the employees subsequently took flight and found refuge in the Ukraine. Those who remained were then compelled to take oath to Roumania. The families of the fugitives remained behind, and these were, of course, persecuted.

It is curious to note that the Roumanians insisted on the employees giving an undertaking to serve for at least ten years.

The information furnished by the delegates who have arrived from Oknitza state that, approximately speaking, the Roumanians shot 100 of the railway men.

The delegates have addressed a petition to the Bessarabian delegation, urging that steps should be taken to protect and rescue the railway employees who remain in Oknitza, and also the families of the fugitives.

1. See appendix N° 56.

The use of the Roumanian language rendered compulsory in Bessarabia.

The following is the text of Ordinance No.22 (July 22, 1918) which was posted in every town and township and every market throughout Bessarabia :

“ I, Arthur Voitoiano, General in command of an Army Corps, Commissioner-General for Bessarabia, having taken under consideration Ordinance No.1918, issued by the Director of the Interior, by which it is ordered that all public notices posted up in the streets of Kichinef and other localities in Bessarabia, together with programmes for festivities and those for theatres, cinemas and other spectacles must be printed in the Roumanian language, or in both Roumanian and Russian, realise that this measure should be extended to cover all business signs belonging to manufacturers and tradesmen, private companies and members of the liberal professions, the badges worn by military and civil officials, as well as the tablets indicating street names and

I THEREFORE ORDER :

I. — All signboards, etc., used by manufacturers, tradespeople, the various private companies, persons belonging to the liberal professions, and military and civil officials throughout Bessarabia must be inscribed in the Roumanian language, and must be expressed in no foreign language also except in cases of patent necessity.

II. — A delay of two months from the date of the promulgation of this ordinance will be allowed for the carrying out of the order contained in the previous article of this Ordinance.

III. — The Ordinance No.1918 of the Director of the Interior is extended hereby to include all printed announcements; that is to say, not only to notices concerning festivities, thea-

tres, cinemas and all other spectacles, but also to notices concerning the meetings of the various philanthropic, political, commercial, charitable and other organizations.

IV. — All infringements of the present Ordinance will cause the offenders, in conformity with the Russian penal code, to be liable to the penalty of imprisonment or a fine of 6000 lei (£240 or \$1200).

Military and civilian officials whose duty it is to ensure the execution of the present Ordinance will be liable, in the event of failing to carry out the duty thereby incumbent upon them, to disciplinary measures.

V. — The administrative authorities and the police are made responsible for the execution of the present Ordinance.

Done at Kichinef, July 22, 1919.

(Signed) : VOITOIANO,

Commissioner-General for Bessarabia,
General commanding an Army Corps.

APPENDIX No. 63

Ordinance No. 2 issued by the Military Commandant of the Town of Khotin, November 8, 1918.

I. — The delivery of foodstuffs against receipts which have not been countersigned by the commander of a company, a battery or a squadron, and *visé* by the police commandant with the stamp of his office, is prohibited. Receipts and permits of this kind will alone be recognised as valid, and will alone entitle the holder to remuneration.

II. — Arms which must be given up include all kinds of arms : sporting guns, Russian and Austrian rifles, pistols, revolvers of all kinds, sabres, bayonets, knives, cartridges, powder, bombs, fuses and other war material, and not merely Austrian rifles, as the inhabitants of the Khotin district at first pretended to understand.

III. — The attention of the public is called to the fact that from November 15 onwards all inscriptions on shop fronts and signs in the Russian language must be replaced by others in the Roumanian language. All Russian inscriptions must be removed on the publication of this Ordinance.

IV. — The jurisdiction of the police and the militia forces must be suspended until the arrival of the Roumanian military and civil authorities. None of the other local authorities will be permitted to take any decisions without the permission of the Military Commandant.

No meeting of the members of the Council of the Zemstvo will be permitted except with the authority of the Commandant, as a result of which an officer must be present at all the deliberations of the Zemstvo.

Until further orders, therefore, all civil and military business concerning the police, administration and justice will be under the jurisdiction of the Roumanian military authorities alone.

V. — Austrian crowns are hereby declared without value. Kerensky, Odessa and Ukrainian roubles must not be circulated. Romanoff roubles and the Roumanian lei (at the rate of 1 lei 60 bani to the rouble) will alone be allowed to pass as current coin.

VI. — Games of cards are absolutely prohibited.

VII. — The importation into Bessarabia of foreign newspapers and reviews is forbidden. All local periodical publications are suppressed until further orders. All printing is prohibited, except so far as concerns registers and other printed matter necessary to the authorities.

VIII. — Taxpayers are ordered, in the public interest, to pay their town, district and zemstvo taxes regularly.

IX. — *No person has a right to express himself unfavourably in regard to the Roumanian army, no matter whether in his own house, in the streets, restaurants, cafés, schools or other public buildings. All conversation on the subject of Roumanian nationality is prohibited.*

X. — *All persons are compelled to manifest their respect for the Roumanian Army, and especially for its officers; for the Rou-*

manian Army has come to Bessarabia as a liberator and pacifying agent, and not as an enemy or violator.

XI. — In the interest of public order, all infringements of the present Ordinance will be punishable with imprisonment for a period varying from five days to three months, or fines of from 100 to 2.000 lei. If proof is available to show that an offender has preserved or concealed arms with a view to offering resistance to the Roumanian authorities, the penalty of death will be applied.

(Signed) : POPESCO,

Battalion Commander,
Commandant of the Town of Khotin.

November 8, 1918.

APPENDIX No. 64

Report sent to General Denikin, June, 1919.

We, the undersigned, Colonel ..., formerly in command of the ...th. Caucasian Tirailleur Regiment, a native from Komrat, in the district of Bender, Bessarabia ; and Colonel ..., formerly in command of the ...th. Infantry Regiment, a native of the town of Bender, duly accredited representatives of :

The Bessarabian Gagaouse inhabitants of the districts of Komrat, Tchatir-Lounga, Taraklia, Valeapergea and Bolgrad ;

The German colonists of the districts of Taroutino, Maloia-roslavetz, Fridenstal, Arcise and Volontirovka ;

The Alsacian colonists of the districts of Paris and Chabat ;

The Moldavian inhabitants of the districts of Gura-Galbino, Gantchechty, Varzarechty, Kainary, Krioulany, Peressetchna and Kornechty ;

The inhabitants of Russian nationality in the districts of Kaouchany, Petrovsk, Manzir and Bairamtcha ;

And of the inhabitants of the towns (without distinction of nationality) of Vilkovo, Kilia, Ismail, Reni, Cagoul, Leovo, Bolgrad, Akermann, Bender, Kichinef, Beltzy, Orgheief, Soroki and Khotin ; address to your Excellency, defender of the

Russian soil, our urgent prayer that you will help and save the unhappy people of the Russian province of Bessarabia, now oppressed by that insolent and cruel little nation, the Roumanians.

The people of Bessarabia realise that at this tragic moment, when all the strength of the Russian Volunteer Army is straining every effort for the reconstitution of Russia, one and indivisible, it is difficult to dwell upon the sufferings of unhappy little Bessarabia; but human patience has its limits and our cup of suffering is filled to the brim.

Words fail us to describe the horrors of the tyranny under which this Russian province, which the Roumanians have seized upon, is suffering.

The furious hatred for all that is Russian has become all the more savage as the attachment of the people to Russia has grown and strengthened.

Pillage of the property belonging to the Russian State and the Zemstvos, and to private persons is naked and unashamed, not only under the cover of the orders of the Roumanian Government and of arbitrary requisitions, but also at the caprice of the first Roumanian who happens to come along. The pillaged and stolen goods are being sent into Roumania. Every possible means is being used to compel Russian officers to enter the Roumanian Army.

Such are the methods that are being employed by the conquerors of Bessarabia.

Woe to those who, in obedience to their patriotism or obeying a sentiment of honour and dignity as Russian citizens, protest if only by words against these shameful doings. Insults, blows, imprisonment, tortures and executions have become methods adopted as a matter of course every day.

Bolshevik justice has been far outdone by the savagery which now reigns in this province which is so deeply attached to the Motherland.

The clergy, the members of the teaching profession, railway employees, doctors, nurses are persecuted, flogged and imprisoned for refusing to recognise the "Roumanian Motherland."

Father Syboff, the priest of the village of Komrat, was dragged out of his church, insulted and sent to prison for having conducted service in the Slav language.

On the personal order of the local military commander, Lieut.-Colonel of the 28th Roumanian Division, the same method was applied in the case of Father Gabriel, priest of the village of Petrechty, *during the saying of the liturgy*.

The head-master of the Bender Public School, M. Ivanovski, for having refused, together with the whole of his staff, to take oath to the King of Roumania, was placed in irons in a cell. He was afterwards, under the threats that the gendarmes would flog him with their riding whips if he refused, compelled to sweep the school courtyard before the eyes of his pupils.

For the same reason (refusal to take the oath) Madame K., the directrice of the Public School for girls at Ismail, was flogged with gun barrels in the police station of the “ *Sigurantza* ”. Many of the 4th and 3rd form pupils at the Public School for boys in the same town were thrashed throughout an entire week.

A large number of peasants, either for refusing to give up their wheat or for refusing to take oath to the King of Roumania, have been made to suffer corporal punishment or have been shot. These have in every case been accused of bolshevism.

Three peasants of good position in the village of Dizguindjé were shot for having refused to give up the remainder of their wheat. Three peasants of the village of Tomaia were shot for having refused to pay the wine tax in advance. In another village in the same district of Bender twenty peasants were shot for refusing to transport requisitioned wheat. When their families proceeded to bury the victims, four were found to be still living, although very seriously wounded. These managed to drag themselves to the village, where they were admitted to the hospital. When the local gendarmes heard of the fact they took the wounded men out of the village and finished them.

In July, 1918, the peasants belonging to the village of Fricatzeya, in the Ismail district, were called on to go up for registration. They failed to obey this order. A punitive

expedition was sent into the village, which was submitted to machine gun fire until the young men who were wanted for registration were handed over. The whole of the young men were taken into the town of Reni and shot.

Every inhabitant who fails to hand over his possessions to a Roumanian or who protests against arbitrary treatment or violence, is accused of bolshevism and declared an outlaw.

The same treatment is applied to officers who refuse to serve in the Roumanian army; they are declared to be bolsheviks and outlawed. There were over 5,000 Russian officers in Bessarabia. These were registered, and were ordered to accept Roumanian nationality and enter the Roumanian army or the Roumanian police. Many betrayed their country and accepted, for fear of persecution. The great majority, however, supported their sufferings with courage. Happy are those who, after superhuman efforts, have succeeded in escaping and joining the Russian army. Many have perished owing to their fidelity to their country; many others are rotting in Roumanian prisons and awaiting the day when their brethren will come to their rescue.

More than 150 Russian officers were brought into Komrat from the neighbouring villages of Tchekmeydan, Tomaia, and Kirsovo in the Bender district, from Leovo and Cagoul in the Ismail district. Among these were Captains Gheorghiou, Sarioglu and Stankof, Lieutenants Kyssa, Topal, Tehelak, Dontchef, Bokoianoff and others. These officers were imprisoned in the cellars, where they were flogged on the faces, legs and arms with guttapercha rods. Their hands were crushed between the jambs of doors, pins were forced under their fingernails, and other tortures were inflicted upon them. During the night, when they were sleeping, they had kicks showered upon them.

Lieutenants Kyssa and Topal and others among them died as the result of the tortures they suffered. Others are still lying in prison at Bender, suffering from hunger.

In March, 1919, Colonels Nicolas Alexeieff, Lissanevitch and Artuck were arrested and imprisoned in a cellar, where they were flogged every day by their soldier gaolers.

One day Colonel Lissanevitch complained to the Roumanian lieutenant on duty, that he was hungry. The only reply he received was a blow in the face. All three colonels were shot, without any form of trial, on May 21.

If by good luck an officer succeeds in obtaining permission to rejoin the Russian army, he is escorted by gendarmes and accompanied by volleys of abuse and contempt until he reaches the frontier.

These methods of treating Russian officers are applied throughout the whole of Bessarabia.

The wheat is now ready for harvest, but people refuse to cart it or to thresh it, in order to prevent it from being carried off, as it was last year, by the Roumanians. Everything has been left in the fields, in the hope of the speedy arrival of the Russian army.

The only thing that sustains the unhappy Bessarabians in their tears and misery is that a reconstructed Russia and its army will not forget them.

If it is impossible, for the moment, to send armed forces to liberate the country from the hated usurpers, it is urgently necessary that proclamations should be sent to the inhabitants, counselling them to moderation and calm and assuring them that the leaders of the Russian army have not forgotten them and will come to deliver them from the Roumanian yoke.

Without this it will be impossible to prevent partial risings, which will be ruthlessly suppressed by the Roumanians and will again drench the soil with the blood of those of its sons who are faithful to their country.

In order to save Bessarabia from the influence and the development of Bolshevism, and prevent it from gaining a hold in this richly endowed land which has not yet been contaminated, the work of restoring Bessarabia to her Motherland must be taken in hand by you.

We add to this report two proposals for systematic action, and the information necessary for their carrying out.

(Signed) : ..., Colonel.
..., Colonel.

Order forbidding Russians to wear Russian uniforms.

Extract from the newspaper « Free-Thought » published at Kichinef, January 16, 1919.

NOTICE

Conformably to the orders of the General Commanding the 5th. Roumanian Army Corps, the public is informed that the following regulations will become operative from January 12 :

I. — All officers, surgeons, administrative officials and private soldiers of all formations of the Russian Army who may be in Kichinef for any reason, or who reside in the town, must remove from their uniforms all distinctions that may recall the uniform of the Russian Army : buttons, buttonholes, plumes, caps, fur caps with gold or other braids, cockades, military trousers of all colours, shoulder-straps, badges and all emblems of rank of no matter what kind they may be.

II. — All uniform distinctions must be removed even in the case of officers and employees who have special permission to continue to wear them.

III. — All persons infringing this order will be arrested and placed upon trial.

(Signed) : ROBESCU, Colonel,

Commandant of the Town.

BRELESCU, Lieut.-Colonel,

Prefect of Police.

Correspondence between the representative of
the Russian Red Cross in Roumania and the head
of the Roumanian sanitary service.

I

INTRODUCTION

Bucarest, October 10, 1919.

To M. A. Kroupensky.

Sir,

Having been since the month of May last the Deputy Chief Officer of the Russian Red Cross organization in Roumania, and having the duty of superintending the liquidation of our assets in Roumania and the transfer of the same to Russia, I have once more had occasion to observe that you are regarded here as a veritable terror.

It has struck me that you might find it interesting to read the two letters enclosed. These letters formed part of a correspondence which I have exchanged with the Roumanian Sanitary Organisation in Bessarabia in regard to the Kichinef section of the Red Cross (known as « the Guerbovetzkaia »). You may make what use you like of them.

I am glad to be able to add that, in the struggle to save our property from Roumanian greediness we have come off the victors. They have obtained *none* of the property of the Russian Red Cross. The Kichinef section, with all its materials will be embarked on shipboard at Galatz and sent to Novorossisk, to be incorporated in the Volunteer Army.

All the intrigues of the Roumanian authorities with the object of appropriating what does not belong to them form the subject of a voluminous collection of papers, which are now in the hands of the Central Red Cross Committee at Geneva, and may be made public when a fitting opportunity arrives.

Yours, etc.

(Signed) : A. KAZNAKOF.

II

(Translated from the Roumanian).

From the Medical Superintendent of the Roumanian Sanitary Service in Bessarabia to the Superintendent of the Russian Red Cross Hospital at Kichinef.

July 18. 1919.

Bessarabian sanitary inspection service. No. 2,546.

To the Guerbovetz Hospital, Kichinef.

I have the honour to bring to your attention that, after having considered in detail the organization of your hospital, we have come to the conclusion that it remains exactly in the same situation as it was during the period when the Russians still dominated Bessarabia, that it is still entirely Russian in character, and is even now in communication with the Russian organizations. These conclusions, to give only a few details, are based on the following facts :

1. — The Russian archbishops, Plato and Seraphim, the ex-Russian Governor Harusine and his wife, as well as a Russian Princess and the Kroupensky family are still honorary members of your organization.

2. — It is stated that your hospital belongs to the community of the Sisters of Charity of the Russian Red Cross Society, in spite of your having previously stated that it did not belong to the Russian Red Cross (because in that case you would have been forbidden to continue your work, for there exists only one Red Cross in Roumania which is the Roumanian Red Cross.)

So far as your staff is concerned, in spite of the fact that you have no means of support and very few paying patients, you maintain, however, fifteen Sisters of Charity, which is a proof that the name of Sisters' hospital is well merited as regards this institution. Of these fifteen Sisters of Charity seven do not belong to Bessarabia at all, and of those who do three have

no knowledge of the Roumanian language, while two know very little of it.

3. — As to the remainder of your staff, eleven of them do not know Roumanian at all, six know very little and only seven know it well.

4. — In spite of your having a much larger staff than you need, you possess practically none of the ressources which are indispensable for the maintenance of the hospital. You cannot rely upon subscriptions from members, because nobody pays any, as the report shows. Neither can you count on obtaining funds by means of collections or lotteries, because the law only allows such means to be employed on behalf of the Roumanian Red Cross.

5. — At the same time it is evident, as your own reports show, that the existence of the Hospital has not been rendered possible in consequence of funds furnished by the Russian Red Cross, as this would not be permitted under any pretext.

6. — I also wish to point out to you that certain members of your staff are not only suspected of engaging in foreign propaganda, but are also well known to the authorities. The superior authorities have informed us that « the Guerbovetz community at Kichinef is a nest of subversive sentiments and anti-Roumanian propaganda. »

In view of your desire that your hospital shall continue its work, and at the same time to avoid the annoying consequences that would result if rigorous measures were taken against it by the competent authorities, we have the honour to propose to you two solutions that would guarantee you against such measures. It is for you to choose which of these alternatives would prove most suitable to you, with the knowledge that it will not be possible for you to avoid adopting one or the other of them :

I. — That your hospital shall be completely embodied in the Roumanian Red Cross organization, while at the same time preserving its autonomy as a Bessarabian section, but also providing for the entry of new members and incorporating yourselves with the Kichinef branch of the Roumanian Red Cross.

In this case you will have the right of obtaining the means of existence.

II. — That you enter into close relationship with the Bessarabian Sanitary Inspection Service, which will be prepared to accord material assistance to you, on condition that it is made fully acquainted with all that goes on in this hospital and has the right to nominate the Medical Superintendent of the hospital, a Superintendent Sister of Charity, and a Controller, and also to roumanianise the institution.

At the same time, I must reiterate that we have received from the superior authorities the order to replace your staff, as soon as possible, by a purely Roumanian personnel (the organization of the hospital remaining the same as before), and to nominate to the post of director of the hospital a doctor of high standing and energy (in order that the hospital be well looked after and that it suffers in no way from the change in the personnel).

As you will realise, these orders have been given in such a way that the hospital will in no way be disorganized by the modifications introduced and nothing can be said against the measures that have been taken, which in no way disorganize the institution but, on the contrary, safeguard the national interests.

In thus informing you I have the honour to ask you to be good enough to let me know within a week from the date of this letter which of the two solutions you accept.

At the expiration of a week from this date we shall have the right to take such steps as may seem necessary.

(Signed) : Dr. VICOL,

Surgeon General,
Medical Inspector for Bessarabia.

III

(Translated from the Russian.)

Reply from the Delegate of the Russian Red Cross at Kichinef.

July 25, 1919.

To the Medical Inspector for Bessarabia. No. 538/205.

In reply to your No. 2,546.

The Curator's Council of the Guerbovetz Community of the Sisters of Charity of the Russian Red Cross Association has submitted to me your letter No. 2,546 dated July 18, 1919.

The questions dealt with in your letter do not come under the jurisdiction of the Committee of this Community or of its Curator's Council.

As the representative of the Central Committee of the Russian Red Cross Society in Roumania, I have the honour to reply to you as follows :

I. — The Guerbovetz Community of the Sisters of Charity of the Russian Society of the Red Cross is a Russian institution, as its name indicates; consequently the Community has, and always has had, an essentially Russian character.

II. — This Community has always strictly conformed to the regulations of the Russian Red Cross Society, as well as to the usual rules of the Sisters of Charity Communities of the same Society.

III. — These regulations define the limits of the activity of the Community, of its Committee and of its Curator's Council. The two bodies of regulations specify exactly the nature of the questions subject to discussion by the Committee of Community and of its Curator's Council (Articles 17 and 24 of the Community Regulations).

IV. — The Central Committee of the Russian Red Cross Society reserves all its rights :

(a). To sanction the regulations of the Communities of the Sisters of Charity (Article 48 of the Regulations of the Society),

as well as to direct the activity of the Communities (Article 16).

(b). To manage the capital of the committees of the communities (Articles 84 and 89 of the same Regulations).

(c). To control the accountancy department of the Committee of the Community (Articles 91 and 92).

(d). To sanction the plans of the Committee concerning the development or the retrenchment of the activity of the Community (Article 71).

(e). To confirm the title of honorary members of the Committee in respect of the persons elected by the Committee (Articles 14 of the Regulations of the Society and 14 of the Regulations of the Committee).

(f). To safeguard the interest of the Society (Article 48 of the Regulations of the Society).

V. — In view of the cessation, even provisional, of the activity of the Society, or even of the Committee itself, all the capital, as well as all the propriety, realty and personal, belonging to the Committee of the Community, pass immediately into the hands of the Central Committee of the Russian Society of the Red Cross (Article 69 of the Regulations of the Society, and Article 81 of that of the Community).

I do not feel myself in a position to enter into any discussion on the points dealt with in your letter No. 2,546, in which you touch on matters that exclusively concern the Central Committee (Paragraphe 1 to 5), neither can I deal with your accusation asserting that the staff of the hospital constitute « a nest of subversive sentiments and anti-Roumanian propaganda. » Not only do you mention no name or fact in support of this accusation, but you do not even give the name of the authorities from which this statement emanates.

I can only deal with the two proposals made in the form of an ultimatum, as to which you ask for a reply from the Community.

In view of the fact that the Curator's Council of the Guerbovetz Community of Sisters of Charity, at a meeting on July 21, came to a unanimous decision that it is not competent to decide such questions, which rest with the Central Committee of the Society, or with such person or persons as may be the holder

of its power of attorney, I have the honour, in my individual capacity as the representative of the Central Committee of the Russian Red Cross Society, to inform you that the Russian Red Cross Society in Roumania regards both your propositions as unacceptable, and that the form of an ultimatum in which they are put forward, as well as the threats which accompany them (severe measures in case of refusal) are offensive to the dignity of the Russian Red Cross Society.

Such an attitude in regard to the Russian Red Cross Society is all the more regrettable in view of the fact that the said Society, according to the testimony of the Roumanian Red Cross Society, has in the past given unlimited assistance to Roumania, and that the Queen of Roumania condescended, two months ago, to inform me of her appreciation in the most flattering terms of the work of the Russian Red Cross Society in the interest of Roumania.

I am persuaded that the Roumanian Red Cross, which has so often taken upon itself the defence of our rights (which are the same as those enjoyed by all Red Cross societies), has had nothing to do with the putting forward of your propositions, neither as regards the form in which they are drafted nor the threats which accompany them.

To come back to the practical question of the future of the Guerbovetz Community of Sisters of Charity, I have the honour to inform you that, if the Roumanian Red Cross so desire, I shall be ready to exchange with it ideas as to a possible arrangement, in virtue of which the Guerbovetz Community may pass provisionally under the management of the Roumanian Red Cross; but the Community would remain, it must be understood, an institution belonging to the Russian Red Cross and would continue to work under the regulations of that Society and in the same conditions as those in which the other institutions of the Russian Red Cross have worked for years past at Salonica, Villefranche and Constantinople.

The right to settle definitely the future of the Community would belong, in such a case, to the Central Committee of the Russian Society of the Red Cross, of which the Guerbovetz Community forms an integral part.

If, on the other hand, the presence in Roumania of this Russian institution, belonging to the Russian Red Cross, is considered as undesirable, the Community will be dispersed. Its capital and its property would pass, in virtue of the regulations under which it exists, into the hands of the Central Committee, and would be sent by me into Russia.

The staff of the Community would also leave for Russia.

In conclusion, I have the honour to call your attention to the fact that the inviolability of the personnel of the Community and of its property is guaranteed by the Geneva Convention, as well as by that of the Hague, which have both been signed by the Government of the Kingdom of Roumania.

I shall be glad if you will be good enough to communicate the decision you will take to my address, which is the Russian Legation at Bucarest.

(Signed) : A. KAZNAKOV,

Deputy-Delegate

on behalf of the Plenipotentiary-Delegate
of the Russian Society of the Red Cross
in Roumania.

(Countersigned) : E. FISCHER.

Secretary to the Delegate.

APPENDIX No. 67

**Extract from the minutes of the sitting of the
Roumanian Chamber on February 10, 1920.**

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M. Basile Stroesco : The situation in Bessarabia has become alarming. The population is oppressed in a savage fashion by the local authorities. Justice is practiced only summarily. The Ministers themselves give the example of complete indifference in regard to the abuses that are being committed. Liberty has been completely suppressed by the military *régime* which reigns in Bessarabia. I am compelled to state with regret that the situation *was better under the old Russian régime.* (*Interruptions.*)

The *Speaker* (*M. Iorga*) : Notwithstanding all the respect I have for you, it is impossible for me to allow you to say such things. (*Frantic applause.*)

M. Stroesco attempts to continue his speech, but is prevented by protests and interruptions.

The *Speaker* : You are insulting all the past and the future of the nation. I cannot allow you to continue. (*Prolonged applause.*)

M. Stroesco attempts to continue. The tumult increases, especially from the Liberal benches. The *Speaker* tries in vain to restore order. The noise continues. Disputes between deputies become tempestuous. The *Speaker* orders the sitting to be suspended.

APPENDIX No. 68

From the Bucarest newspaper "*Adeverul*" of February, 12, 1920.

Save Bessarabia!

A Cry of Protest from the Roumanian Patriot Stroesco.

Liberals raise a terrible scandal in the Chamber of Deputies.

The scene that occurred yesterday in the Chamber of Deputies will be useful, we hope, for the well-being of Bessarabia.

Bessarabian deputies have spoken almost daily in the Chamber since the opening of Parliament. Some of them are intellectuals, and some are workmen — humble representatives of the province which has recently been united to Roumania, or else their leaders and directors, who have recently arrived among us from the other side of the Pruth. All sound the alarm and speak of the bad management of affairs in Bessarabia and the wretched composition of the administrative staff. Bessarabia is administered in a barbarous manner, and the officials there are behaving like brigands.

This is what is announced from the tribune of the Chamber by peasants and men like Tchegoureane, who declare that Bessarabia is enduring a *régime* of robbery and brigandage.

None of these protests ever obtain a reply, and when M. Inkouletz, "the Regent of Bessarabia," condescends to speak, he refers only to things that took place in Bessarabia at the time of its occupation. He never mentions the present situation of a province which, by the voice of its representatives, calls loudly for order and a stoppage of arbitrary rule.

Yesterday Basile Stroesco appeared at the tribune — that sincere Bessarabian patriot who presided with so much dignity and wisdom at the opening of Parliament. Basile Stroesco is the symbol of the national idea. For the past three months he has followed with calm the debates in the Chamber. During the Christmas recess he went to Bessarabia, in order to ascertain if the incessant complaints of the Bessarabian deputies were well founded.

He brought back the profound conviction that things are going badly there and that it would be dangerous to conceal the truth. He decided therefore to make use of his rights as a deputy and say boldly that Bessarabia is in danger.

Basile Stroesco is not an experienced parliamentarian, and what he said in the Chamber yesterday he said on his own initiative; in spite of certain insinuations to the contrary, his action was free from all foreign influence, for if he had been inspired by our politicians it is probable that this venerable patriot would have presented in a different form the complaints which his deep indignation caused him to bring forward.

What, then, did the venerable old man say? He only repeated what the Bessarabian deputies, with M. Tchegoureane at their head, are telling us every day. He told us without hesitating and without sparing his language. He flagellated without mercy the savage and dishonest exploits of the administration we have bestowed on Bessarabia.

He protested against the deceitful masquerade organized under pretext of fighting bolshevism. He protested against the system of illegality instituted by Messrs. Chalippa and Inkouletz, a system which will not tend to fortify our national union, but may certainly place in danger the best interests of our country.

No doubt an experienced parliamentarian would have protested less vehemently, but old Stroesco is ignorant of the tricks of our politicians. He went up to the tribune with the pure arguments of a man who has devoted his life to the public good and to national work; of a man who would have acted in the same way at the period when the renegade Bessarabians, under the Tzarist *régime*, were killing and hanging, and our newly hatched patriots did not dare show a sign of life.

What happened yesterday?

A number of the disciples of Bratiano, liberalising ruffians, always ready to misrepresent the ideas of honest and conscientious men, assailed the veteran with the grossest and silliest insults, and raised a tumult which lasted a full quarter of an hour.

Three Socialists and a few Bessarabians attempted to defend Stroesco, but the Speaker also went into the enemy's camp.

M. Jorga considers all questions connected with the newly united province as particularly delicate. Thinking he is acting wisely, and inspired by an absurd diplomacy, he endeavours to stifle the voices of all those who believe that national unity will be more solidly welded by remedying evils than by hiding them.

Deprived of the protection of the Speaker, assailed by the Bratianists who never lose a chance of fishing in troubled waters, threatened by gestures and shouts, the veteran Stroesco remained mute and overcome. M. Marghiloman mounted furtively to the tribune and suggested to the Speaker that Stroesco should be refused a hearing. This advice was followed. Stroesco left not only the tribune but also the Chamber.

Amid indescribable noise the sitting was suspended.

During the suspension scuffles took place between Bessarabians and Bratianists, and disorder was even caused in the public galleries by Bratianist *agents provocateurs*.

The Minister Inkouletz was sent for, but before he arrived the Bessarabian deputy Tchegoureane was called on by the Speaker — the same deputy who, barely a couple of months ago, went to the tribune and proclaimed in a strident voice that in Bessarabia robbery and brigandage went on without ceasing.

Yesterday, however, M. Tchegoureane, seeing that protests coming from Bessarabia were badly received, forced himself to attenuate the facts and to try and persuade his hearers that nobody in Bessarabia manifests hostile sentiments towards the Mother Country.

“ There is no question of such sentiments, ” said M. Tchegoureane ; “ on the contrary, all the *communiqués* received insist on the sincere loyalty which reigns in Bessarabia. The Bessarabians only ask that the existing evils shall be remedied, in order that the union of the province with Roumania may be rendered more solid. ”

Finally, M. Inkouletz was compelled to speak. He tried to ridicule the advanced age of M. Stroesco, whose statements, he insinuated, could only be explained by his utter lack of conscience, “ for this man, ” Inkouletz added, “ has manifestly spoken under the influence of Kichinef café gossip. ”

Speaking as if he believed all he said, but with a good deal of hypocrisy, Inkouletz sometimes brandished the phantom of the national danger, sometimes frightened his hearers by pictures of Bessarabian treachery, “ for, ” said he, “ the number of renegades is legion. ”

He concluded by asserting that Stroesco was only an arrow fired from the bow of the great Bessarabian landowners, who were weeping for Tzarist Russia, and that there was consequently only one solution : that Stroesco and all those who were dissatisfied with the present situation had only to withdraw to the other side of the Dniester and join the bolsheviks.

This is the way in which Inkouletz expressed himself in regard to the great Roumanian patriot whose whole life has been filled with acts of the purest patriotism ! Stroesco has been driven from the tribune of the Chamber, but Inkouletz, still dissatisfied, suggests that he shall be banished to the other side of the Dniester !

This “ satrap ” did not breathe a word as to the brigandages which, under his own protection, flourished in Bessarabia. He begged the question and was silent as to the real causes of Bessarabian indignation. All he troubled to tell us was about the military operations directed against Bolshevism.

Nobody, moreover, since the opening of Parliament, has protested against the things which took place *before* the union of Bessarabia with Roumania. All the protests we have heard are in regard to events *since* we went into Bessarabia, — with, as a matter of fact, Mr. Inkouletz at the head of our administration !

There is no need, however, to confuse the facts, in order to shake off responsibility. The present system of administration in Bessarabia is driving the Bessarabians to despair. They are ceaselessly telling us from the tribune of the Chamber that such a *régime* is unendurable : and that is the truth.

APPENDIX No. 69

**Report received by the Bessarabian Delegation
in Paris on March 25, 1920¹.**

On February 7 Odessa fell into the hands of the Bolsheviki. Shortly afterwards detachments of the Russian Volunteer Army and the first parties of civilian fugitives reached the banks of the Dniester, at Tiraspol, and in the neighbourhood of the town of Ovidiopol.

It was at this moment that it became clear that the Roumanian Government had given orders that none of the fugitives were to be allowed to cross on to the right bank of the Dniester. Exceptions were made in the case of subjects of the Allied Powers and for Poles, Greeks, Serbs and Bessarabians.

The units under General Bredoff, who had come from Tiraspol, and consisted of about 3,000 men, as well as a detachment of the Volunteer Army, who had reached the neighbourhood of the town of Ovidiopol, under the command of General Vassilief and Colonels Stessel and Mamontoff, were not authorised to cross the Dniester. No Russian civilian refugee was able to obtain permission to cross into Bessarabia.

1. The truth of every word of this report is guaranteed by the Delegation.

When, pushed forward by despair, the crowd of fugitives nevertheless attempted to cross the frozen river, the Roumanians opened fire upon the unfortunate people. The Roumanian newspapers "*Presa Capitalei*" and "*Renastirea Rumăna*" confirm this detail.

Among the fugitives who were making their way from Odessa to Ovidiopol were nearly 400 cadets, belonging to the Odessa Cadet Corps — boys of from 12 to 14 years of age, who were accompanied by their school teachers.

The Rumanian Prefect at Akermann and several Roumanian officers, who belonged to the commission which had the special duty of superintending at Ovidiopol the granting of permits to foreign fugitives, took pity on these youths and decided, on their own responsibility, to allow them to pass over to Akermann.

The cadets crossed the river and began to take up their quarters in Akermann, but the same evening the local authorities received from Kichinef, from General Popovici, the commander of the Roumanian forces in Bessarabia, telegraphic orders to send back on to the left bank of the river immediately all cadets who had reached Bessarabian territory. General Popovici moreover ordered all those who had helped the cadets to cross the river into Bessarabia to be placed on trial.

We understand that the Russian Minister at Bucarest made every effort to persuade the Roumanian Government to withdraw the order issued by General Popovici and allow the cadets to come back to Bessarabia.

We are informed that the King and Queen of Roumania were told what had happened. The King gave orders that the unhappy youths should be recalled from the left bank of the Dniester and given shelter at Akermann. The transmission of the order, however, was delayed, and when it arrived the cadets had left Ovidiopol.

Over 200 of them had returned to Odessa, with their teachers. The others, over 100 in number, joined a detachment of Volunteers who were at Ovidiopol, under the orders of General Vassilief, and who set off towards the north, hoping to reach the Polish front.

If the news which has reached us is correct, this detachment was surrounded by the Bolcheviks about thirty-eight miles from Ovidiopol and completely annihilated. The cadets, however, who were marching in the rear of the detachment, managed to escape and succeeded in crossing the frozen Dniester and reaching the Bessarabian village of Raskaitzy. Misfortune still awaited them, however, for the Roumanian forces, taking them for Bolsheviks, opened fire on the village, killing several of them and wounding many more, before the mistake was discovered.

Eventually the order was received from Kichinef to send the youths to Akermann and give them hospitality there.

We have also received news of another tragic story which occurred on the Roumanian bank of the Danube.

M. Skadovsky, the former Marshal of the Nobility of the Tauride, and his wife, and one of the members of the Falzfein family and his wife (the family who, in 1917, at the moment when it was a question of evacuating the whole of Roumania, offered the hospitality of their château at « Ascania Nova » to the Roumanian sovereigns as a residence), together with three young girls and their governess and three officers — eleven people in all — fled from Odessa in the sailing yacht “*Astra*”; in the hope of reaching the Bulgarian port of Varna.

The yacht was towed by the steamer “*Lydia*”. A storm broke the cable which attached the yacht to the steamer, but after having been for a long time at the mercy of the seas, the yacht eventually reached the mouth of the St. George arm of the Danube, quite close to the Roumanian bank of the river.

The yacht had sprung a leak and water was entering rapidly. Fortunately the boats were in good condition and the passengers had every possibility of being saved, especially as some of the river fishermen were ready to come to their assistance.

The Roumanian patrol, however, which was on duty in the neighbourhood, categorically refused to allow the passengers to land, on the excuse that they had received strict orders to the contrary.

The wretched passengers from the yacht, drenched by the waves and without food of any kind, and frozen in a tempe-

rature of twelve degrees below zero, probably committed suicide, for they were found dead in the cabin, which was half filled with water.

(Signed) :

APPENDIX No. 70

Extracted from “ *New Russia* ”, March 25 1920 :

Bessarabia and the Supreme Council.

It is only from the English newspapers — which alone have published the full text — that we have been able to learn the exact wording of the latest decision of the Supreme Council on the Bessarabian question.

This decision is of the highest importance, and affects very seriously not only the political and juridical interests of a population of nearly three million people, but also their rights as men in such a manner as to demand very close analysis.

We shall be glad, at the same time, to take advantage of the opportunity for the purpose of submitting our opinion on the value of the arguments set forth by the Supreme Council in coming to their decision, and of the conclusions to be drawn from this diplomatic act.

Let me first, however, recall to the reader certain historic facts, which cannot but be known to the Allied Powers.

Bessarabia has belonged to Russia since 1812. This possession has been recognised and ratified by various international acts, including the Treaty of Bucarest of 1812, the Treaty of Paris of 1856 and the Treaty of Berlin of 1878. *The last-named treaty confirmed the rights of Russia over the whole territory of Bessarabia, and bore the signatures of the plenipotentiaries of France, Great Britain, Russia, Italy, Turkey, Germany and Austria.*

Now that this has been set forth, let us return to the new Act by which the Supreme Council has made a gift of Bessa-

rabia to the Roumanians. Here is the exact text of the decision of the Supreme Council, as handed to the Roumanian Prime Minister :

“ The principal Allied Powers have hitherto found themselves unable to make any decision on the Bessarabian question, both because they considered it a part of the general Roumanian question of which difficulties with the former Roumanian Government had impeded a settlement, and because they had hoped that it would be found possible to bring about a friendly arrangement between Roumania and Russia.

“ There appears to the principal Allied Powers no reason any further to delay a settlement. The Roumanian Government have shown proof of their desire to settle in the interest of Roumania and Europe generally the outstanding questions at issue and have submitted to the ruling of the Supreme Council on the question of the withdrawal of their troops from Hungary, relying on the assurance of the principal Allied Powers. The Allied Governments, moreover, feel that in the best interest both of Roumania and the neighbouring countries, the Bessarabian question should no longer be left undecided.

“ After taking into full consideration the aspirations of the whole population of Bessarabia and the Moldavian character of that region from the geographical and ethnographical points of view, as well as the historic and economic arguments, the principal Allied Powers pronounce themselves, therefore, in favour of the reunion of Bessarabia with Roumania, which reunion has now been formally declared by the Bessarabian representatives, and are desirous to conclude a treaty in recognition of this as soon as the conditions stated have been carried out. They consider that in this reunion the general and particular interests of Bessarabia should be safeguarded, more especially as regards its relations with the neighbouring countries, and that the rights of minorities in it should be guaranteed on the same terms as those residing in other parts of the Roumanian Kingdom.

“ The principal Allied Powers reserve the right to refer any future difficulties that might arise from either of these two questions to the arbitration of the League of Nations. »

The principal Allied Powers, therefore, found it impossible to settle the Bessarabian question so long as the Government of Roumania remained in the hands of the Bratiano Cabinet, who, in Roumanian questions in general, caused difficulties for the Allies. That is to say, that if the Bratiano Ministry had been more conciliating and had not created the difficulties which they are charged with having made, Bessarabia would have been given to Roumania several months ago, as prize for its good conduct.

The second reason for the delay which has occurred in settling the Bessarabian question was the hope cherished by the Allied Powers that the difficulty might be solved by a friendly agreement between Russia and Roumania.

Now, however, the Allied Powers do not wish to delay any longer the definite settlement of the Bessarabian question.

We can only come to the conclusion that the attitude of M. Vaida-Voivode in regard to the Powers has merited their approval and that the prize has been awarded to him.

We may, however, suggest that, without discussing the attitude of M. Vaida-Voivode, Bessarabia is not exactly a *res nullius* and that there can be no possible justification for making use of it as a good conduct prize for the Roumanian Prime Minister.

The second reason for the delay which has occurred appears to me to be still less well founded. What, in fact, does the Supreme Council mean when it speaks of Russia? Of a Russia qualified to settle the Bessarabian question by "a friendly agreement" with Roumania?

Such a Russia must in any case be a Russia recognised by Roumania, or at least by the Allied Powers. Would this be the Russia of Koltchak or Denikine? Neither the one nor the other of those Russias, however, was recognised either by the Allied Powers or by Roumania.

Still less could it be a question of the Russia of Lenin, towards which, until very recently, the Great Allied Powers maintained a frankly hostile attitude and which is still in a state of war with Roumania.

What Russia does the Supreme Council mean, then?

It is vain to seek a reply to this question in the text of the decision of the Supreme Council.

We are able to affirm however — and the documents prove it — that the representatives of the government of Admiral Koltchak and General Denikine have throughout supported the aspirations of the Bessarabian people, who, through the medium of their delegates at Paris, have all along proposed that the question should be settled amicably by means of a plebiscite. Several memorials to this effect have been submitted to the Peace Conference. Again, the Russian Ambassador, M. Maklakoff, when asked by the Peace Conference to come before them and explain Russia's position in the matter, very eloquently opposed the inequitable attitude of Roumania and strongly supported our idea that the matter should be settled by means of a plebiscite. It would be impossible for Russia to have been more conciliating. What more "friendly" arrangement could the Supreme Council have hoped for?

All that has happened gives us the fullest possible right to insist that the reasons given by the Supreme Council are not the real reasons that have delayed the settlement by them of the Bessarabian question. The reasons they give are only of the "*ersatz*" variety which we absolutely refuse to accept. Their real reasons for having delayed the settlement of the question are quite different, and we have no hesitation in setting them forth.

The delay that has occurred was due, in the first place, to the presence in the Supreme Council of the American delegates, who always showed themselves firmly opposed to the imperialistic tendencies of the Roumanians and to their insatiable appetite for annexing other people's territory. The Americans, as a matter of fact, were not represented in the meetings of the Supreme Council in London and *it was only because of their absence that it became possible to secure the indispensable unanimity in favour of Roumanian claims.*

In the second place, for reasons which it would be useless to enumerate, Russia is to-day still weaker than she appeared a few months ago. From the Allied point of view she has become a unit — if it is possible to employ such a word —

that is absolutely negligible. The statement issued by the Supreme Council, moreover, informs us that the Roumanian Government has given proofs of its desire to have the questions, which are still in suspense, settled in the interests of both Roumania and of Europe in general. There is therefore no more any question of Russia, whose interests no longer interest anybody.

The text of the decision of the Supreme Council allows it easily to be guessed that the spirit of conciliation of which Roumania has given evidence has been shown by the fact that she has agreed to withdraw her troops from Hungary.

The Supreme Council seems to have forgotten that not further than a few months ago this withdrawall was demanded by the Allied Powers through the medium of a note which was nothing less than a categoric ultimatum!

Nevertheless the humble spirit of obedience which has after all these months been shown by Roumania appears to have given her the right to a reward "in the interest both of Roumania and of the neighbouring countries". The text does not indicate what countries are referred to. Is it possible that Hungary is meant?

"After having taken into consideration the aspirations of the whole of the population of Bessarabia", the Supreme Council tells us, "and the Moldavian character of that region from the geographical and ethnological points of view, as well as the historic and economic arguments, the principal Allied Powers pronounce themselves in favour of the reunion of Bessarabia with Roumania, *which reunion has been formally proclaimed by the Bessarabian representatives*, and are desirous of concluding a treaty in recognition of this, as soon as the conditions stated have been carried out".

This is an argument which is by no means likely to satisfy the conscience of the public and which is based on reasons which in no way correspond with the facts. The decision of the Supreme Council in no way conforms with the aspirations of the Bessarabian people, and it is in spite of those aspirations and in direct contradiction with them that the Supreme Council has given Bessarabia to Roumania.

We know beyond all question that the Allied Governments are perfectly well informed as to the sentiments of hatred that the Bessarabian people feel towards the Roumanians. As a matter of fact, if the Bessarabians had had any leanings whatever towards " reunion " with Roumania, there could have been no objection whatever to the proposal repeatedly made to the Supreme Council by the Bessarabian delegates in Paris, and supported by the whole of the Russian parties, urging that the question should be settled amicably by means of a plebiscite. It must be evident to all, however, that such a settlement would have deprived Roumania of the reward she asked for.

What does the Supreme Council mean by talking about « the Moldavian character » of Bessarabia « from the geographical and ethnological points of view? »

No mountain range separates Bessarabia from Russia. The only line of separation is marked by the River Dniester. In what way does the Dniester represent, from the geographical point of view, a more natural frontier than the Pruth? We absolutely fail to see how.

Eastern Moldavia, Bessarabia and the Russian governments of Podolia and Cherson are in general flat regions and their geographical character, from the point of view which is of interest in the present controversy, presents no difference. As to ethnological characteristics of the country, the only possible reliable information is that which is to be obtained from the official statistical tables covering the period between 1865 and 1897. These tables bring down the Moldavian population to 47.8 per cent of the whole. This is the figure which, failing proof to the contrary, must be accepted by the Supreme Council as setting forth the facts.

The relative value of the ethnological argument becomes still less when — as the Supreme Council is fully aware — the whole of these 47.8 per cent of Moldavians, notwithstanding the fact that they belong to the Moldavian race, refuse to agree to become Roumanian unless the Supreme Council forces them to become so.

What are the economic arguments to which the Supreme

Council refers? It is obvious, of course, that Roumania is economically interested in securing possession of any of the naturally rich provinces belonging to her neighbours, whether it be Bessarabia, the Banat, Bukovina or even the whole Hungary.

It is equally evident, however, that if, when they refer to economic arguments, the Supreme Council refer to the interests of Bessarabia herself, which form the key of the whole question, they are talking about quite a different thing. Bessarabia, from the economic point of view, has always been linked with Odessa. Odessa is its natural outlet, its great port for exports. Any settlement that will have a tendency to separate Bessarabia from Odessa would be extremely prejudicial to Bessarabia.

And this prejudice, there can be no shadow of doubt, would be immediately felt by the economic interests of the Allied Powers.

This, however, is wandering away from our immediate object. Let us continue our analysis of the Supreme Council's decision.

In putting forward a claim that its decision is in accordance with the historic point of view, the Supreme Council is risking itself on very slippery ground, and advancing an argument which it will find extremely difficult to maintain — if, indeed, it really wished the world to take such an argument seriously.

Historic rights are apparently only invoked when it is a question of bringing about the dismemberment of a Russia which has been reduced to impotence. In other cases the Supreme Council prefers to ignore them. It would be wiser to leave history out of the question, and only lack of space prevents us from insisting on the point.

The most surprising of the arguments cited by the Supreme Council, however, is that in which they make use of the excuse that the Roumanian Parliament has itself voted in favour of the union of Bessarabia with « the Mother Country » — « *a vote in which the Bessarabians Representatives took part* », for it is this term which is made use of by the Supreme Council.

These « Bessarabian Representatives » were elected — or, to use the proper expression, were nominated — by the Rouma-

nian Government in November, 1919 : that is to say considerably before the decision of the Supreme Council and at a period when Bessarabia was still regarded by the Allied Powers merely as a Russian province temporarily occupied by the Roumanian troops.

At this very period the Russian subjects in Bessarabia were arbitrarily forced by the Roumanian gendarmery to take part in the Pan-Roumanian Parliamentary elections.

The Roumanian opposition newspapers, including those directed by General Averesco and M. Take Jonesco — to quote only some of those in Roumania itself — have thrown a sufficient amount of light on the nature of these « elections » in Bessarabia¹. They have told us that the Bessarabian peoples were led to the voting places *manu militari* by the Roumanian gendarmes, and made to deposit in the electoral urns voting papers that had been prepared in advance by Roumanian agents; that in some of the constituencies as large a proportion as seventy-five per cent of the voting papers were handed in, not by the electors themselves, but by Roumanian agents specially told off for this sort of business.

It has been, therefore, the seventy-five « deputies » who were elected by such means who have been able to convince the Supreme Council of the fervent desire of Bessarabia to be united to Roumania. This is what the Supreme Council refers to, when it mentions, as one of the reasons for its decision, that a vote in favour of « the reunion of Bessarabia with Roumania » has « now been formally declared by the Bessarabian representatives. »

It is absolutely impossible for any rational mind to respect such an argument. It becomes all the more impossible when we know absolutely that the Allied Governments were completely informed as to the manner in which the elections were jerry-mandered in Bessarabia.

Yet it is for these reasons alone, and under the influence of these arguments alone that the Supreme Council have decided to make a present of Bessarabia to Roumania!

1. See appendix No. 51.

The Supreme Council further informs the world that its decision must be accepted as final. It reserves the right, however, « to refer any future difficulties that may arise to the arbitration of the League of Nations », in the event of Roumania's failing to safeguard the interests of Bessarabia, more especially in regard to her relations with her neighbours, or if Roumania fails to respect the rights of racial minorities in Bessarabia.

And this is all! The document is not long, but it is big with the probability of terrible consequences for Europe as a whole.

The Supreme Council, in proclaiming this unjust decision, has ignored the whole of the Bessarabians who desire to remain faithful to their own country, which is Russia. It has forgotten the interests of all those who refuse to become Roumanian subjects. No right of option has been accorded to these people, no period has been fixed during which they may be able to wind up their affairs and leave the country if they do not wish to fall under the Roumanian yoke.

In this the Supreme Council has shown that it is animated with far less of humanitarian feeling than either Russia or Turkey, both of which, however bitter their quarrels may have been, have always embodied in their peace treaties, whenever sessions or annexations of territories have been involved, clauses stipulating that all those whose consciences refused to accept a change of nationality should be given ample time and complete protection, while winding up their affairs prior to emigrating, in order to continue to live under the flag under which they were born and which they revered as the symbol of their Motherland.

The Supreme Council has handed over Bessarabians into the « kindly hands » of their Roumanian persecutors, unconditionally and completely, in full and entire proprietorship. No stipulations have been inserted in any treaty for their protection. *The Supreme Council has sold them like human cattle.*

And this thing has been done in the full day of the twentieth century, after a peace that has been « inspired by the principles of justice and freedom ».

The whole thing is revolting.

A very well-known and highly-placed diplomatist belonging to one of the Principal Allied Powers, in the course of conversation with an eminent Russian statesman, confessed frankly that all the laws of morality, of justice and of right were on the side of Russia and Bessarabia and against the violence that has been done them by the Supreme Council, « It is unnecessary for you to tell me anything », he said. « I am fully acquainted with the whole of the circumstances and you are only preaching to the converted. I am entirely in agreement in advance with everything you can say, but what can we do? We are unable to do otherwise. This is one of those things we have inherited from Clemenceau ».

It is M. Clemenceau, then, who is guilty!

The British, the French and the Italians are merely the heirs of M. Clemenceau, and do not even enjoy the right of examining this inheritance. They have, moreover, to pay to the last farthing the liabilities incurred by their predecessor, and in order to do so they are giving away what does not belong to them and what they have inherited from nobody.

A week or two ago a Roumanian patriot who is celebrated in Roumania, M. Stroesco, himself a Bessarabian, quite a honest man in spite of his accepting to be « elected » by the Roumanian Government as one of the Bessarabian deputies, endeavoured to bring before the Chamber at Bucarest certain information in regard to the barbarous system of administration introduced into Bessarabia by the Roumanian Government. He had no sooner begun to speak, however, than he was stopped¹ by the President of the Chamber, M. Jorga, who feared the effect any disclosures he might make would have at the very moment when M. Vaida-Voivode was insisting in London on the love the Bessarabians bore to Roumania. The freedom which Bessarabians enjoy in Bessarabia may be judged from the liberty enjoyed by their deputies in the Roumanian Parliament.

It is generally understood that the fall of the Vaida-Voivode Cabinet may be expected in the near future. Its fate was

1. See appendix No. 67.

decided upon some time ago, but its overthrow was postponed until Bessarabia has been definitely allotted to Roumania. The duty of forming a new Cabinet will be entrusted to General Averesco. If General Averesco has not undergone a complete change of ideas and opinions, he will decline to accept power except on the understanding that a fresh general election shall take place. These new elections must be free from interference, and from intervention by detachments of gendarmes.

In such an event one of two things will happen, so far as Bessarabia is concerned. Either the Bessarabians, considering themselves as Russians, will embark on a policy of obstruction and refuse to return deputies to the Roumanian Parliament, or they will elect as their deputies uncompromising enemies of the union with Roumania, who will insist, on behalf of their constituents, that a plebiscite shall be taken to decide whether Bessarabia shall in future be Russian or Roumanian.

When that takes place the Supreme Council will be enlightened as to the real aspirations of the Bessarabian representatives.

In any case, whether fresh elections take place or whether they do not, we can declare solemnly that neither Bessarabia nor Russia will ever recognise either the legality or the validity of the decision of the Supreme Council, and that they will henceforward consider themselves as absolutely free and independent in whatever they may do.

The Principal Allied Powers are forewarned, and will be well advised to draw the conclusions which speak for themselves.

A. N. KROUPENSKY.

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