The Passport Question

SOME RECENT EXPRESSIONS OF THE AMERICAN PRESS

The American Jewish Committee
356 Second Avenue
New York
THE PASSPORT QUESTION.

All parties are made up of American citizens and certainly no American citizen can assent to a discrimination between our citizens on the part of a foreign Government. In refusing to honor passports issued by the United States Government to American citizens of the Jewish faith Russia makes such a discrimination and, though repeatedly urged and requested through a long series of years to remove it, she has never consented to do so.

It is to be hoped that when Russia understands that there is no difference of opinion in this country as to the intolerable discrimination she imposes, she will cease violating her treaty with us. Americans desire that their friendly relations with Russia shall continue, and the necessity of abrogating the treaty would be avoided if this offensive discrimination were to cease. It is difficult to see any good reason for Russia's tenacity on the point. Her control over the behavior of any American citizen of whatever race or faith sojourning within her borders would be undisputed, and if the conduct of any American admitted should give rise to complaint or apprehension, the remedy open to her would be the same as it would be to any nation by the exercise of its police powers.

It is not because Americans of the Jewish faith have any overwhelming desire to visit Russia in large numbers that the removal of the restriction is demanded, it is because it is discriminatory, that it makes distinctions between our citizens which our Government must not longer permit. That is not a permissible construction of any treaty, and it is amazing that Russia should insist upon keeping up the discrimination.
THE JEW AND THE FLAG.

It cannot be that the cool minds in the Russian government realize the danger in their attitude toward the American citizen who is a Jew. Can we express it, in all its splendid power that it has here, and not seem to Russia extravagant in language? The root idea of this republic is absolute equality before the law. There is no other doctrine, in all our constitutional concept, that is comparable with this one doctrine. It is our life nerve. It is our very heart-beat.

Therefore the flag protects every law-abiding American the wide world over. The flag knows no Jew. It only knows the American citizen. The flag never reasons beyond that. Is he an American citizen? On every sea, as on every home village green, the flag means the same. Are we understood?

To understand us is a momentous thing. To understand us means taking account of our national spirit, of which it may not become us to boast. Yet the world pretty well understands it now—except possibly Russia. To understand us one needs to count our resources of every kind which are pledged to the maintenance of our national doctrine to the last.

In other words, we indignantly, not to say angrily, protest against Russia's distinction as to religious belief between American citizens. Such distinction we do not ourselves make at the ballot box. Nor will we brook it made wherever our American citizen travels under the flag.

The flag was carried by Jews on many a bloody field. But we did not know them as Jews. These soldiers of our cause were more. They were our brothers. There was a wide and varied brotherhood. The consecration seemed to rise higher than church steeples, higher than incense from any altar. It was the American spirit, like
the sky over us. And, like the eternal sky, it lives.

Quite likely our language will seem the utterance of excitement. On the contrary, it is the coldest possible. It may be necessary for that great nation, whose friendship we have always had, to look us anew in the face and read us. While the republic lives it recoils, as from a snake, at the sight of anything contrary to absolute equality of rights and freedom of conscience among us or about us, before the law, under the flag.


RUSSIA'S INSULT TO THE JEWISH AMERICAN CITIZEN.

It would seem that all American citizens, whether native born or foreign born, and of whatever religious faith, must experience a sympathetic response to the address delivered by Mr. Louis Marshall, and to the resolution presented by ex-Attorney-General Simon W. Rosendale, at the closing session of the Hebrew Union last Thursday morning.

If we are native Americans, it is well enough for us sometimes to be distinctly conscious of having originated in the United States. And if we are Gentiles, it is eminently proper for us, on occasion, to realize that fact very definitely.

But there are times when neither national distinctions nor religious distinctions ought to intrude; and the present is one of those times, in view of the violation of treaty rights which every American citizen of Hebrew blood suffers on attempting to enter upon Russian territory.

By treaty engagement, made almost three-quarters of a century ago, every American citizen is entitled to live in Russia and to do business
there; and yet, for nearly half of that time, our Hebrew citizens have been undiscriminatingly denied that right.

And what we ought all of us to remember is that every individual instance of such denial has been a breach of treaty and a cold-blooded insult to the American Government. Our protests have availed nothing. The dishonor nationally put upon us by Russia continues.

The demand made by the above-mentioned resolution is none too exacting, that our Government be urged to terminate existing treaties with Russia till they can be replaced under such conditions and under such guarantees as shall comport with the dignity of the American people.

And it is not only to the Hebrews as citizens, but to them also as men that the insult is done. In dishonoring their manhood a stigma is put upon manhood in general, and thus an affront committed upon the whole of us. In the blow that is dealt upon them we are all struck, and thirty years is a good while for us to lie under the lash of a semi-barbarian country.

In allowing ourselves thus to be defrauded of treaty rights our country is sacrificing some of the grounds of its self-respect. By right, all citizens stand on an equality before the government, but the government practically denies that equality when it insists that our treaty with Russia shall be observed with respect to Gentiles and not with respect to Hebrews.

The Hebrews have a righteous grievance, and all of us Gentiles ought to feel that fact with so keen an intensity as to make their cause our own cause and stand with them in their effort to induce the President and Congress to take some action that shall be no milder, at any rate, than that which is called for by Mr. Rosendale's resolution.
THE VIOLATED TREATY.

Russia must respect American passports and cease violating a treaty which she has signed. If she will not there is no option but to denounce and terminate the treaty. Indeed, it is already morally at an end, for one of its essential provisions is set at naught under circumstances of great insult to this country. Our State Department, by neglecting to act, places us not merely in the attitude of failing to defend guaranteed rights, but of acquiescing in the work of one of the great principles on which our government is founded.

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Secretary Evarts, as far back as 1881, said in a note to the American minister at St. Petersburg: "We ask treaty treatment for our aggrieved citizens, not because they are Jews, but because they are Americans." Our government has no official knowledge of what is the religion of any one of its citizens. They are all of one class. Either all are admissible under the treaty or none. The treaty does not read that Russia may pick and choose in an arbitrary way. In self-respect this country must withdraw from treaty relations with Russia, and it is agreeable to note that resolutions terminating the treaty have been introduced into congress.

THE RUSSIAN TREATIES: PASSPORTS.

The House Committee on Foreign Affairs has voted unanimously to report favorably a joint resolution offered by Mr. Herbert Parsons, of New York State, for the abrogation of the treaty.
of 1832 between the United States and Russia. That treaty contains the following article:

“There shall be between the territories of the high contracting parties a reciprocal liberty of commerce and navigation. The inhabitants of their respective states shall mutually have liberty to enter the ports, places, and rivers of the territories of each party wherever foreign commerce is permitted. They shall be at liberty to sojourn and reside in all parts whatsoever of said territories in order to attend to their affairs, and they shall enjoy to that effect the same security and protection as natives of the country wherein they reside, on condition of their submitting to the laws and ordinances there prevailing, and particularly to the regulations in force concerning commerce.”

This clause in the treaty is systematically set at naught by Russia. It is part of her settled policy not to admit within her territory Jews or missionaries, either Protestant or Roman Catholic. When a passport is presented from the United States, the holder is asked as to his religious belief, and if it appears that he is either Jew or missionary, he is refused admission. So established is this rule that our State Department, in issuing passports, is accustomed to advise the holder that it may prove valueless to him. We do not question the right of Russia to exclude any persons who are obnoxious to her without giving any account of her action to other countries—a right which the United States claims and continually exercises by her immigration laws. But she has no right to contract to receive American citizens and then refuse to fulfill her contract. On this subject The Outlook agrees heartily with Mr. Parsons, who is reported as saying:

“I do not wish the Committee to understand that I appeal for the termination of the treaty on the ground alone that it discriminates against some people on account of their religion. I make the appeal on the ground that it discriminates against some American citizens, and that each American
citizen, no matter what his religion is, has as much right to the protection of our laws, and as much right to the protection of our treaties abroad, as any other American citizen, and we should not enter into or any longer retain a treaty that does not secure to all American citizens equal treatment."


**AMERICAN JEWS AND RUSSIA.**

The protest of the Jews against the exclusion of American citizens of that race who wish to enter Russia comes to a head to-day. It is a matter that will now have to be taken up seriously.

Diplomatic correspondence between Washington and St. Petersburg on this matter has gone on almost continually since 1867. But nothing has come of it.

*Yet when the Government of the United States issues a passport to an American citizen who is a Jew it has to tell him frankly it will be worthless so far as getting him into Russia is concerned.*

The Russian interpretation of the treaty is remarkable. That Government says American citizens are permitted to come in "on condition of their submitting to the laws and ordinances there prevailing." And the laws and ordinances there prevailing are that Jews cannot come in! They hold the treaty fully performed by granting entry to any American who will submit to a law forbidding him to be a Jew!

This is simply trifling with the dignity of the Government of the United States.

The matter was fully considered, and in no extravagant temper, at the Council of the Union of
American Hebrew Congregations in New York last January. The members were careful to make their protest not as Jews, but as American citizens. The native American is excluded by Russia exactly the same as a naturalized American. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that all Christian missionaries are likewise excluded. What they ask, all other means failing, is that the Russian treaty be "denounced," as the technical term is, that notice be given of the termination of the treaty. Its terms provide for its termination on one year's notice.

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Our State Department has declined to do this, thinking it better to try to get a new treaty with Russia that shall specifically admit all American citizens. There are no signs whatever, so far as the public has been informed, that this plan is going to be successful.

Backed up by platform declarations of both parties, and by pledges given in public speeches by Mr. Taft while a candidate that he would "make every effort," the Jewish citizens are now making their protest so plain it cannot be disregarded.

The American passport should mean the same thing to every American citizen the world over. Unless that is so, American citizenship will cease to be the highest status attainable for any human being.


MALTREATMENT OF THE JEWS.

It would be a just treatment of Russia should the United States abrogate its treaty and treat that country as a barbaric outlaw nation. Its injustice to its own Jewish subjects is a blot on civilization; its brutality to the Americanized, naturalized Jews is a crime against a sister nation.
RUSSIA BREAKS TREATY.

It is nearly eighty years since we entered into treaty with Russia to honor passports issued by either government to the other and yet during all that time the Russian government has almost never honored a passport issued by our government to American citizens of the Israelitish race. All the reciprocal rights of travel and residence under the treaty are observed faithfully in all cases except with reference to the Jews.

The fact is brought to public attention with special force because of a discussion started in New York, following, however, a resolution introduced in Congress last session by Mr. Sulzer, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, calling on the President to give notice of intention to terminate the treaty because Russia deliberately refuses to observe it.

The action of Congressman Sulzer has prompted a study of the subject on the part of James Creelman, the well known author and newspaper writer, who is discussing it in a series of letters to the New York Evening Mail.

The News is confident that Chairman Sulzer will go as far as it is possible to go in behalf of the observance of the treaty, and the way to bring it about, in his judgment, is to announce our intention to abrogate it entirely and see if in that way the Russian government will not come to its senses. The United States cannot afford to have any class of citizens treated in such way and least of all cannot afford any longer to stand by and witness in silence the humiliation, the oppression, the injustice visited upon American citizens in great numbers merely because they are Jews. It is certain that Chairman Sulzer may be depended upon to make a fight to a finish on that subject.
RUSSIA AND THE JEWS.

Hopeless are the inconsistencies of a nation which has adopted a public policy of cruelty and oppression. Russia by reason of its treatment of its Jewish subjects has for thirty years come in conflict with the express provisions of its treaty with America. A Russian Jew in Russia has no rights that Russia is bound to respect. Other nations have no right to advise Russia as to her treatment of her subjects. The United States did so once, after a peculiarly horrible government massacre, but it was by subterfuge.

But an American citizen has rights even in Russia. By the plain terms of the treaties now existing between the two nations an American bearing the proper passports has a perfect right to be in Russia and to enjoy there the same security and protection as the Russians themselves. Administration after administration has demanded that Russia live up to the terms of this contract, which is faithfully observed by the United States, but Russia politely and persistently refuses. American merchants, manufacturers, builders, scholars have been denied admission to Russia. "No man," said Louis Marshall in an address to the United Hebrew congregations yesterday, "who professes to be a Jew, however eloquent in true Americanism his life has been, can venture within the walls which Russia has erected against the outside world." He pictures the American nation standing at the door of Russia hat in hand, pleading that it shall recognize and perform its contract.

But herein lies the dilemma for Russia. If American citizens of Jewish descent were permitted to live in safety in Russia, how could Russia continue its historic policy of robbing, exil-
ing and murdering its Jewish subjects? It would complicate matters very uncomfortably.

The end of Russian defiance of her contract with the United States means reform of Russian atrocities toward the Jews of Russia. When one comes, both come. And both are coming.


**AMERICAN RIGHTS MUST BE ENFORCED.**

It is gratifying to find that the *Inquirer*'s opinion as to the inadmissibility of arbitration in the matter of Russia's persistent violation of the treaty of 1832 is not only approved by those immediately concerned, but is also accepted by no less able and influential a member of the United States Senate than the senior Senator from Pennsylvania. In replying to the delegation which addressed him upon the subject, Mr. Penrose expressed an unreserved recognition of the substantial character of the grievance which had been exhibited, and declared that as soon as Congress reconvenes he would take appropriate action for its abatement.

He concurred in the argument that Russia should either grant equal rights under the treaty, as it is in honor bound to do to all citizens of this republic, or that the treaty itself should be denounced. His thought was that the diplomatic word chopping which has been going on so long over this perfectly simple question should now cease and that Russia should be notified once for all that this country's patience is at an end and that the discrimination practiced against particular citizens of this republic will be no more endured. After that, in default of a satisfactory response, the abrogation of the treaty should at once follow.
There can be no disputing the justice, the soundness or the propriety of that position. Russia's procedure is absolutely indefensible. It violates the fundamental provisions of a treaty whereby the citizens of the United States and the subjects of the Czar are guaranteed the rights of residence and travel and the equal protection of the laws within the respective jurisdiction of its signatories. This country has loyally fulfilled its part of the agreement. Russians coming here have been admitted without any discrimination on the same terms as any other immigrants. Whenever they may have been excluded, it has been for some specific reason of general applicability prescribed by law, and as residents they have enjoyed the same protection which all receive.

Russia, on the other hand, has undertaken to say that while some American citizens shall be treated as the convention of 1832 provides, others shall not, and this odious distinction is not only a gross injustice to those whom it personally affects, but is an insult to the United States Government which ought long ago to have been effectually resented and repressed. It is quite intolerable that any foreign government should differentiate between our citizens or deny in any case the rights which citizenship confers. This thing has been allowed to go on thus long because the situation has not been well understood. Now that public sentiment has at last been aroused, that it will be quickly stopped is a safe prediction.


RUSSIA'S INSULT TO AMERICA.

Senator Penrose is specific and emphatic in his promise to take up with the President and Secretary of State immediately after Congress meets the question of the abrogation of our treaty with
Russia. He thinks that final notice should be served on Russia that the United States will no longer tolerate discriminations against American citizens on account of their religious creed, and he declares that, unless she agrees to treat our passports as every other civilized nation does, he will use all his influence to have our treaty with Russia denounced.

Representative Sulzer, chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, has made the same specific promise; in fact, he has gone further by actually introducing a bill in Congress to denounce the treaty, and promises to bring it up as soon as Congress convenes and push it to passage.

Other leading Senators, both Democratic and Republican, have expressed themselves in terms equally emphatic with Senator Penrose, and influential members of the House are in the same attitude.

For nearly sixty years the Department of State has dawdled with this question. Russian diplomacy, with customary duplicity and shrewd intrigue, has deterred from time to time any positive action, and the half-hearted measures of Secretaries Root and Knox have encouraged the Russians to think that their course would not be seriously combated. President Taft, prior to his election, gave definite assurance that the promise set out in the Republican national platform on this subject would be strictly adhered to by him, but three years elapsed with the same fruitless negotiations and indefinite measures which have marked our diplomacy in this relation for a half century.

Within the past year the conscience of the nation has been aroused to such degree that it is felt that the time for temporizing is past. National religious bodies, among them the Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Baptists, Methodists and other denominations, civic associations and sociological organizations have joined with our most eminent publicists, jurists, philanthropists and
patriots in the insistent demand that Russia must at once either recognize the great seal of the United States attached to a passport, regardless of the religious belief of the holder, or we shall no longer continue friendly commercial relations with her by treaty.

This is eminently right. If Russia arrogates to herself the right to construe her treaties in a manner different from any other civilized nation, if she persists in disregarding the dignity of American citizenship, if she compels a religious test which is forbidden in our own Constitution and discriminates between American citizens regardless of their ancestry and antecedents solely on account of their religious faith, she removes herself from the category of nations which we should recognize as civilized, and should officially be treated by us as barbarous and subject alone to the operations of international law. No other course would be in keeping with our own sense of justice or right. We cannot permit our passports to be disregarded, nor can we permit our citizens to be insulted and humiliated and retain our own self-respect or regard for the fundamental spirit of our national institutions.


**PASSPORTS IN RUSSIA ONCE MORE.**

Often in recent years *The Post* has adverted to the ignoring by Russia of American passports issued to Jewish citizens. True, administrations of both partisan complexions have sought to remedy the strange violation of its treaty stipulations by the czar's autocracy, but it is not unfair to demand that our State Department seize this current time when the Dominion of the Bear is not as puissant as formerly. Its prestige has departed and its vaunted supremacy been exposed. In
Chicago, the other night, Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, a prominent Hebrew, told how our late minister to Turkey, Oscar S. Straus, resigned his place because, when desiring to visit St. Petersburg, the Russian Government inscribed on his permit, "To the Jew, Oscar Straus." In these days when racial and religious prejudices are flickering to extinction few are left who will not as Americans resent any such gross insult and needless affix. That permit should have been entitled, "to Oscar Straus, an American citizen."

Russia refused to retreat from its position, and the State Department was absolved from further endeavors in the particular premises because Mr. Straus quit his Turkish post. What aggravates this incident is that England allows no discrimination, and Jews from Germany are admitted into Russia about like other citizens. The animosity is toward this nation because Russian emigrants flee from the czar’s oppressions to our asylum. This treatment of Russian Jews visiting again their native land is a slight on the United States. If the Jew lies about his religion he is received. But is not an American passport a voucher of citizenship? Under the treaty of 1832 the reciprocal rights of sojourn were stipulated. It is not a matter of favor, but of right, that American passports, without inquiry into religious affiliations, should be honored.

How can it be brought about? By having the State Department relax its assiduity in aiding Honduran financing and assuming protectorates over Nicaraguan presidencies, and devoting attention at this opportune hour to bringing the czar to a stern realization of the dignity and power of the United States. And if that method fails there is no need of jingo war. We severed diplomatic relations with Nicaragua on a doubtful pretense. They can be severed with Russia on this most patent reason. Such action by America would keep longer in the pillory of international sentiment the rule of the czar, and bring the desired result.
The United States, ever since 1832, has had treaty with the Russian Empire.

There is no exception in the treaty warranting any exclusion of the Jews, and yet for thirty years Russia has closed her doors to American citizens professing that faith. It doesn't matter whether they are native born or naturalized. They may be descendants of Revolutionary or Colonial stock, but they are treated as undesirables and may not have free access to the czar's domains. If a great-grandson of the Philadelphian, Haym Salomon, who impoverished himself and left his family without an estate because of his love of liberty and his devotion to the United States, should reach a Russian Government port harbor or attempt to cross a Russian frontier his passport would not be recognized.

All of this is to the shame of the American Government, for, in the language of Louis Marshall, who spoke to the Hebrew congregations recently in New York, "the finding of a proper remedy against this degradation is not a Jewish but an American question." Is it possible that in latter-day deification of "dollar diplomacy" we have overlooked the older and better sort, which throws the flag and its protection around our citizens in every part of the world?

The treaty of 1832, under which freedom of travel was granted between the United States
and Russia, especially guaranteed to the subjects of both countries the treaty right “to sojourn and reside in all parts of the said territories,” with all the rights and protection of the cities of the country where they are, without any exception as to race and creed. For half a century these rights were respected. But for the past thirty years the Russian Government has undertaken to make an exception not in the treaty, by denying to a particular race the right to enter Russia and virtually tearing up the passports issued by the United States.

We do not think the resolution of the Jewish Council asking abrogation of the Russian treaty and suspension of diplomatic relations with Russia, if she will not respect the rights of our citizens, is at all extreme. If the treaty obligations are binding on the United States but not on Russia, the thing is entirely too one-sided and we had better have no treaty at all.


RUSSIA AND THE HEBREWS.

Now that Senator Penrose has taken up the complaint of American Hebrews that their rights under the treaty of 1832 are not respected by the Russian government, there is at last a prospect of fitting action by Congress upon this matter. The injustice wrought is apparent and indefensible. The hostility of the Russian government to the Hebrew race is no concern of this nation and is not considered, directly or indirectly, in the treaty, which guarantees the safety and fair treatment of American citizens on Russian soil. Discrimination against American Hebrews who visit Russia is, therefore, a violation of this convention and Congress is warranted, as Senator Penrose suggests, in denouncing the treaty unless Russia
assures equal rights to all our citizens. The Pennsylvania senator purposes taking up the matter with President Taft and Secretary Knox and it is to be presumed that a vigorous recommendation to Congress will follow.


A QUESTION OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP.

The legislature has pursued an eminently just and proper course in urging congress to take due action on Russia's gross discrimination against American citizens of the Jewish race. Resolutions to this effect were unanimously adopted last week by the house and senate. They voice the sentiment, not only of Georgians, but of all good Americans throughout the union.

The policy of the Russian government in this matter is one of the anachronisms and disgraces of modern times. By every other nation on the globe the American passport is accepted at its face value. Russia, however, arbitrarily refuses to recognize such passports in the hands of a Jewish citizen.

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Such a policy is in violation of the treaty between the United States and Russia adopted in 1832 wherein it is declared that citizens of the respective countries "shall be at liberty to sojourn and reside in all parts whatsoever of said territories, in order to attend to their affairs, and they shall enjoy, to that effect, the same security and protection as natives of the country wherein they reside, on condition of their submitting to the laws and ordinances there prevailing and particularly to the regulations in force concerning commerce."
For long years the United States has tried in vain to secure from Russia a fair compliance with the terms of this treaty. There have been divers negotiations and diplomatic conferences, but to no avail. Our nation's only alternative, therefore, is to abrogate this treaty forthwith or else secure a definite promise from the Russian government that its unjust discriminations shall cease. This is the course which the resolution recently adopted by the Georgia legislature urges congress to pursue. This issue is not one of a religion or race, but solely of the rights of American citizenship.


ARE OUR PASSPORTS MEANINGLESS?

Ultimately, public sentiment must compel the American congress either to abrogate the treaty entered into with Russia in 1832 relative to the rights of the citizens of either government when in the territorial jurisdiction of the other; or to insist that whenever an American citizen, regardless of his nationality or religious beliefs, is given a passport from his government, that passport shall be respected by the government of Russia in the same degree in which the United States respect the credentials of Russian citizens coming here.

Russia has put her own construction upon the treaty of 1832, a construction under which she denies to the Jew who is an American citizen the rights of sojourn that are guaranteed to Americans, simply because he is a Jew, and because Russia imposes upon those of the Jewish faith, resident within her borders, class restrictions which are not put upon the rest of her citizens. This manifest injustice which the United States government could terminate forthwith, if they would act, is brought prominently to public at-
Attention by the recent action of the general assembly of Georgia in adopting, by unanimous vote, a resolution calling upon Georgia's senators and representatives in congress to demand either the abrogation of the treaty, or that Russia be required to accord equal treatment to all American citizens sojourning temporarily in that country, regardless of their religious faith.

Russia has no more inherent right to discriminate against the American Jew than have the United States to pass an act denying the right of landing in American ports to residents of St. Petersburg.

It would be well for other state legislatures to follow Georgia's example. Possibly it would ultimately awake the national government to effective action in a matter that so intimately concerns a large and respected class of its citizens.


AMERICANS BARRIED OUT OF RUSSIA.

The largely attended meeting held in New York last Sunday to protest against Russia's action in prohibiting a certain class of American citizens from entering that country demonstrates that a serious question is to be kept prominently before the American people.

In violation of the treaty of 1832, Russia refuses entry to American citizens of Jewish birth, even though they be duly identified by passports issued by this government. For some reason or other the numerous instances wherein Russia has mistreated these citizens have been passively regarded by the United States. Various Secre-
taries of State have contented themselves with merely inviting the attention of the Russian government in a formal manner to the unfair discrimination.

Either the treaty ought to be sacredly observed by Russia or it ought to be abrogated. An American citizen armed with a passport should not be denied admittance to the territory of any nation with which we are on terms of good will.

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The Georgia legislature has memorialized congress to abrogate the treaty of 1832 between the United States and Russia, because of Russia's flagrant disregard of it in the case of the Jewish citizens of this country.

The United States has lived up to both the letter and spirit of this treaty. So did Russia for nearly thirty years, but about the year 1860 it embarked upon its course of Jewish oppression, restricting members of that race to residence in certain districts only and to certain occupations, and subjecting them to all sorts of persecutions and oppressions revolting to modern sense of justice.

And now, notwithstanding the plain language of the treaty, and notwithstanding the fact that Jewish citizens of this country traveling in Russia may hold passports issued by the United States government under the solemn agreement, Russia subjects them to the same humiliating restrictions as it does its own Jewish citizens.

An American passport in the hands of anyone else is a guaranty of safety and protection in
every foreign country. But in Russia, in the hands of a Jew, it is waste paper—dishonored because of the holder's religious belief.

This situation is repugnant to the sacred principle of religious liberty upon which our government is founded, and, besides, it is in direct violation of a contract made and kept by us in good faith.

Russia breaks it openly and persistently. Out of self-respect and because of the insult its breach is to the sanctity of American citizenship, this country should revoke it.

A resolution to this effect is now pending in congress. It should be passed, that Russia and its barbarities may be thus rebuked in the eyes of the civilized world.


RUSSIA AND TREATIES.

An effort will undoubtedly be made before the present Congress, either now or at the regular session, to abrogate the treaty of 1832 with Russia. Russia has contended that under the clause of this treaty which states that "citizens of either party shall have the right to travel and sojourn on condition of their submitting to the laws and ordinances there prevailing" she is justified in treating American Jews just as she treats Russian Jews, and in applying to them the same restrictions. Under that construction American citizens who happened to be of the Jewish faith have been subjected to outrageous treatment in Russia and the protests of our Government have been without avail. Congressman Parsons at the last session of Congress introduced a joint resolution providing for the abrogation of the treaty, but it failed of passage. This Government is on record as refusing to recognize any distinctions
between citizens on account of religious belief, and this was understood at the time the treaty with Russia was made. If Russia thought otherwise, it may be as well to make a new treaty, for there was never any meeting of minds such as is necessary in contract or treaty.

In the matter of the treaty, made years ago and violated ever since, we have a remedy at hand. We can abrogate the old treaty and make a new one about which there need be no misunderstanding, and that is exactly what we ought to do.

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In the Wheeling, W. Va., "Intelligencer,"
March 20, 1911.

A SOLEMN TREATY VIOLATED.

In 1832 the governments of the United States and Russia entered into a treaty.

This treaty assures to the inhabitants of the United States and of Russia mutual liberty to enter the ports, places and rivers of the territories of each party wherever foreign commerce is permitted. Its application is not limited to any particular class or people. It does not say that only inhabitants of the United States who are residents east of the Mississippi river, or only people of a particular faith or creed shall be admitted into Russia. No distinctions whatever are made. Its application is general and universal to the citizens of this country. In spite of this fact the Russian Government has for more than forty years absolutely refused to extend the benefits of this treaty to an American citizen of Jewish birth. The American Jew may be a descendant of one who came over with Columbus. He may trace his ancestry back to the Jews who settled in New York in 1665. His forefathers may have fought and shed their blood in the
American Revolution. Yet this treaty and his American citizenship are no protection to him when he essays to enter a Russian port to do business in a Russian city or to travel over Russian territory. For over thirty years successive American administrations have called the attention of the Russian Government to this violation of the solemn treaty obligation, and for over thirty years they have been flouted with contempt and scorn.

It would appear that the time has come for the government of the United States to assert its independence and character. If American citizenship means anything, it means that its rights and privileges, its duties and responsibilities, its opportunities and benefits are open to all citizens, regardless of race or creed, and without submission to a humiliation as profound as any insult can be to American honor, we cannot continue to allow the broad and just rights of American citizens to be disregarded by any other country with which we have treaty obligations.

But this question is more than a Jewish question. It is an American question. It is the duty of the Government of the United States to act, and not the duty of Hebrew societies. If the treaty of 1832 is not to be observed in its entirety in the letter and in the spirit, then the time has come for us to annul that treaty and to suspend friendly relations with a country whose superstition and barbarity deny to a whole race of civilized men the ordinary courtesies and amenities of civilized life.

Editorial in the Chicago "Examiner," June 30, 1911.

A QUESTION OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP.

Russian diplomats and consuls in the United States have a habit of questioning American citizens who contemplate visiting Russia as to
whether or not they are Jews. If the applicant for an official Russian visa to his American passport happens to worship God in a synagogue the Russian diplomat or consul to whom he applies in Washington or any other American town will give him to understand that people who worship God after that particular manner are not welcome in Russia, and that an American passport is waste paper there for American citizens who are Jews.

This assumption that the Russian government need pay no respect to an American passport unless that government pleases to approve of an American’s lineage and religion is an assumption that has ruled Russian policy for thirty years.

It is high time to correct it. The Russian government should be told that it is mistaken about the meaning of American citizenship.

Now, it happens that this peculiar Russian procedure is in direct violation of the Russian-American treaty of 1832.

Therefore, the abrogation and “denunciation” of that much-violated treaty is a convenient way of calling the attention of the Russian government to its mistake.

The Sulzer resolution demanding the abrogation of the Russian treaty should be indorsed by Congress. And the President should thereupon promptly denounce the violated pact in such terms as will not fail to penetrate the sodden consciousness of the Russian cabinet.


RUSSIA AND AMERICAN JEWS.

In defiance of her treaty with the United States Russia continues to refuse admittance to American citizens of the Jewish faith. It has long been impossible for American Jews, a large propor-
tion of whom claim Russia as their birthplace, to re-enter their native land even on a brief visit to relations. There has been considerable agitation of late to have our Government take steps to enforce the provisions of the agreement and compel Russia to cease discriminating against American citizens of good character on account of their religious beliefs. The report is, however, that the State Department is reluctant to take any steps which might disturb business relations with Russia. If this is true, dollar diplomacy would seem to have reached a new low level.


**AMERICAN PASSPORTS IN RUSSIA.**

Apparently even the Russian authorities are beginning to feel the resentment that has been directed at them from all parts of the civilized world over their refusal to recognize and respect passports of other nations when issued to their Jewish citizens. For years Russia has either ignored these protests or given evasive answers to them, but a recent editorial in the *Novoe Vremya* of St. Petersburg, usually recognized as an inspired organ of the government, urges the Russian government to recognize all American passports, even those issued to Jewish citizens.

Every American Secretary of State for years has protested against the refusal of the Russian government to permit its representatives to vise passports presented by American citizens of the Jewish faith. The Russo-American treaty of 1832 specifically guaranteed to the citizens of each country as considerate treatment in the other as that country gives to the citizens of the other in it. Russia has persistently violated the spirit and letter of that treaty.

Recently there has been a strong agitation in
favor of the abrogation of that treaty and Russia probably has taken the hint. While commercial interests might be injured by the abrogation of the treaty there should be little delay in taking even that drastic course if Russia does not carry out the passport right provided for in it.

*Editorial in the Galesburg, Ill., “Mail,” March 30, 1911.*

RUSSIA DISCRIMINATES AGAINST U. S. CITIZENS.

Perhaps the United States has no right to interfere in behalf of any sect, but when the tyrannies of a nation affect American citizens then is it time to protest.

The Jews are not the only people discriminated against in Russia. The clergy of all denominations are discriminated against. Catholic priests in general are prohibited from entering Russia. The result of this discrimination is that it affects many American citizens who wish to go into Russia. The rights of all American citizens should be the same. The call for the termination by this country of the treaty with Russia is justified.


RUSSIA'S CONSTANT INSULT.

In 1908, in a speech delivered at Brooklyn, William H. Taft made use of the following language:

"Nothing, if I am elected President, will give me greater pleasure than to devise ways and
means to make the American passport respected
the world over."

Knowing the facts and familiar with numerous
individual instances there is no doubt Mr. Taft
meant every word he said, and yet there rests
the stain upon the honor of the United States
that its passport, issued by its Department of
State and bearing the Great Seal, is dishonored,
rejected and arbitrarily disregarded by Russia,
when the American citizen who presents it hap-
pens to be a Jew. Though the treaty solemnly
covenanted between this nation and Russia, guar-
antees the broadest rights and the fullest liberty
to the American citizen, yet that citizen, if he be
at the same time a Jew, dare not venture upon
Russian territory. The credentials which the
United States Government supply for his safety
and honor, become worthless paper when it is
discovered that he is a Jew and are figuratively
torn into shreds and defiantly cast into his face.

More than that. With treaty provisions so
plain, Russia has persisted in the practice of re-
quiring its consuls in the United States to inter-
rogate American citizens as to their race and
religious faith and to deny to Jews the authenti-
cation of passports or legal documents for use in
Russia. The Russian Government has thus
broken its compact, flouted its obligations and
ignored a series of protests voiced by every Presi-
dent of the United States for the past thirty-five
years.

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In connection with humanity generally we have
a long account against Russia. A treaty that is
constantly dishonored had better be abrogated.
Our present diplomatic relations with the czar's
government are a mockery in this respect.
RUSSIA AND THE JEW.

A movement is afoot to stir Congress and the President to force Russia to give equal recognition to all citizens of the United States. When Russia discriminates against an American Jew she is discriminating against a citizen of the United States. She is not the judge of our citizenship, and when she presumes to insult one citizen, she insults the Nation.

That point should be sharply impressed upon her in such a way that she will not care to incur our hostility.

Russia may reply that from us who maltreat our own negro citizens such protest comes with poor grace. The reply, however, is illogical. Russia has no concern with our negro citizens. If we were insisting that Russia treat her own Jews better, such a reply would be pertinent. But we are not concerning ourselves with Russia's treatment of her own citizens, but with Russia's treatment of some of our citizens. If Russia is bound to treat our citizens generally with justice, she is bound so to treat any of our citizens for whom we vouch. A Jew, armed with an American passport, is entitled to the full privilege of his American citizenship.

For her own sake, moreover, Russia ought to listen to reason. She pays dearly for her persecution of the Jews. The defeat in Manchuria was part of the price. The Jewish international bankers who financed Japan, realized at Port Arthur upon some of the blood debt Russia owes their race. The Jews in America are not a helpless lot. They are powerful themselves and have powerful connections. The enmity of men like Jacob Schiff, and all that such enmity represents, is to be respected even by the Great White Czar.
It is an unconscionable long time we have to wait before anything is done about the Russian passport situation. As long ago as 1881 Secretary Blaine addressed the American ambassador at St. Petersburg on the subject, saying:

"I need hardly enlarge on the point that the government of the United States concludes its treaties with foreign states for the equal protection of all classes of American citizens. It can make absolutely no discrimination between them, whatever be their origin or creed. So that they abide by the laws, at home or abroad, it must give them due protection and expect like protection for them. Any unfriendly or discriminatory act against them on the part of a foreign power with which we are at peace would call for our earnest remonstrance, whether a treaty existed or not."

Since then resolutions have been passed by our congress in 1882, 1883, 1884, 1886, 1892, 1894, 1897, 1902, 1904, 1908 and 1909.

In 1904 Secretary of State John Hay cabled to Ambassador McCormick to transmit to Count Lamsdorf the Russian minister of foreign affairs, the resolution unanimously adopted by the house committee on foreign affairs.

During the past thirty years one secretary of state after another endeavored to make it clear to Russia that she was breaking the treaty with the United States by discriminating against American citizens on account of their religious belief.

Russia puts off action by making assertion that there is action. A commission is said to be making an enquiry and is to report ways and means
etc., but Mr. Herman Bernstein, who has made an investigation, says this is a fiction, and that there is no such commission. There is also the claim made that the question is international, seeing that Russia applies her restrictions impartially to certain people, whether they are citizens of the United States, of France, Germany or any other country.

Of course, this does not answer our demand in the slightest. What we say is that our passport duly signed by our secretary of state, should be good at its face value when borne by the citizen in whose favor it is issued, and should be recognized by every nation with which we have a treaty of amity, and friendship; and that if that passport is contemptuously regarded and the holder of it refused recognition by any nation the United States ought to denounce the treaty with that nation. There is no use maintaining relations said to be friendly and amicable with a nation that treats our official documents with disdain.

*Editorial in the Chattanooga, Tenn., “Times,” July 9, 1911.*

**THE AMERICAN PASSPORT.**

The issue is one not alone affecting the American Jews; it appeals to the pride and patriotic self-respect of every American citizen. We are in the habit of boasting that every American citizen may go wherever the stars and stripes is recognized, command the respect that is its due and enjoy the protection it affords wherever it floats. But here are American citizens, foremost in the business, professions, financial and journalistic life of the country, who, because of their religion, are treated with contumelious partiality by a supposedly friendly country, and that, too, in defiance of a solemn treaty agreement not to
do so. Not only that, but the Washington administration complacently permits this outrageous violation of a solemn compact without even the perfunctory pretense of a diplomatic investigation.

Mr. James Creelman, the well-known newspaper correspondent, recently contributed two important papers on this subject, which were published in the New York Evening Mail and which have served not alone to arouse the Jews, but many leading American citizens, who realize that the issue touches the dignity, honor and validity of American citizenship.

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Mr. Creelman says:

"The Russian embassy at Washington and the Russian consuls in every part of the United States continue to refuse to vise American passports unless the citizens to whom they are issued announce their religion, and to reject all passports carried by Jews even though their American ancestry should stretch back to colonial days; this in a country whose constitution and laws forbid religious tests of any kind.

"The utmost that the Russian representative at Washington would say was that his government would press legislation before the douma at St. Petersburg, and that it was possible that some revision of the Russian passport regulations might result."

It is one of those inconceivable monstrosities in our public life that Washington, with full knowledge of the contemptuous treatment this treaty has been and is receiving, should be satisfied with "Maybe-we-will-consider-it" attitude of the Russian government. Pobiedonostseff, the procurator of the holy synod, said once to Mr. Creelman: "We Russians know the Jews well. They will never be taken seriously in the United States. The passport question is an academic matter which amuses our diplomats!" An American passport issued with all the authority of 90,000-000 of sovereign people and under the solemn
terms of a treaty right simply amuses Russian diplomats and apparently affords President Taft no serious concern!

A resolution introduced in the house of representatives by Mr. Sulzer, of New York, is now pending. It demands the abrogation of the treaty of 1832, not by way of reprisal or revenge upon a cruel and cowardly nation, but to preserve the dignity and self-respect of the American people and to notify the world that citizenship under the American flag is not a mockery of manhood rights, but that its integrity makes the whole nation one.

Editorial in the Los Angeles, Cal., "Express," October 17, 1911.

RUSSIA AND THE AMERICAN JEW.

There is something extremely exasperating in Russia's open, flagrant and persistent mistreatment of American Jews in that country in defiance of treaty stipulation and repeated protest from our government.

These protests have been so frequently interposed and so frequently disregarded by Russia without any disastrous effect to her, that there is reason to suspect that she now regards them as a mere formality by which we allay the complaints of our Jewish population at home.

The treaty of 1832 has been so habitually violated as to afford the American Jew every reason to complain, not alone of bad faith shown by Russia, but of a weak and timid course on the part of our own country respecting the right of the Jewish race to protection in foreign hands.

It is more or less humiliating for an American to have to admit that his home government has been either insincere or pitifully weak in the treatment of an international question involving the rights of American citizens abroad.
Every right under the treaty of 1832 should be insisted upon or the treaty should be repudiated. If it is not binding upon Russia it cannot be binding upon us. If Russia is to continue to receive the benefits of the treaty, let her be forced to recognize and honor the obligations it imposes on her. Our right to abrogate the treaty of 1832 is unquestioned.


RUSSIA TOYS WITH AMERICA.

The bill to abrogate our treaty with Russia which is now before Congress and which grows out of Russia's failure to admit Jews bearing an American passport, is causing considerable of a storm in political circles.

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There are two considerations that appeal to the American mind, Gentile as well as Jewish. The first is that we have a national dignity that ought to be conserved, and which we ought to be desperately unwilling to have any other nation on the face of the globe fool with.

And for thirty years Russia has been fooling with it in violation of a treaty, made with us three-quarters of a century ago, and in spite of repeated protests made to her by our Government.

Distinct evidences of self-respect may be worth, to us, as much as dreadnaughts, considered as means of national security, and perhaps more.

The second consideration is that here is an opportunity to placard Russia before the world as a government that is not to be trusted, that persistently violates its national pledge, that lies outside the pale of peoples that conform themselves to the requirements of twentieth century civilization; that honor is a commodity that is not
indigenous to that country, and that has not yet been brought in by importation.

We brag of having become a world power. Very good, but there is a moral power that it is incumbent upon us, nationally, to exercise as well as a power possible to be made available by shot, shell and gunboats.

*Editorial in the Helena, Mont., “Independent,” April 22, 1911.*

**BAD FAITH OF RUSSIA.**

The resolution offered in the house of representatives by Mr. Sulzer, of New York, providing for the abrogation of the treaty of 1832 between the United States and Russia, unless the latter country concedes to those of the Jewish faith the same passport rights that are extended to American citizens, native or naturalized, should be adopted. The Russian government is not only doing an injustice to the American Jews, but it is insulting the honor and dignity of this country. The treaty provides that all Americans, regardless of religious proclivities, shall have entrance into that country when properly credited with passport authority. To refuse admission to Jews under these circumstances is committing an act that this nation cannot overlook. Whatever contention Russia may have with the Jewish citizens of that country does not warrant it in taking the action it does in excluding Jews who are citizens of the United States, when coming to that country, bringing passports, which under the treaty grants to them the same privileges that are extended to other American citizens who are not Jews.
THE JEWISH PASSPORT QUESTION.

The Ministerial association of Helena a few weeks ago passed the following resolutions concerning the discrimination practiced by the Russian Government with reference to American citizens of Jewish blood, whether native or naturalized, and they have been sent to The Tribune for publication:

"Whereas, the treaty made by our Government with Russia in 1832 provided for all our citizens the right of sojourn and residence in any part of Russian territory with the safety and security guaranteed in return by the United States to citizens of Russia desirous so to sojourn or reside within our borders provided that said people conform to the laws of the respective lands where they then be, and

"Whereas, Russia misconstrues the said treaty in a manner to discriminate against a part of our citizenship, namely, those of the Jewish faith on the ground of race and belief, a reason utterly offensive to justice and liberty-loving Americans, a people dedicated to the proposition that all men are equal and fired with the passion of equal justice to all men irrespective of race or creed, and

"Whereas, Russia prides herself in being a Christian country, and devoted follower of the Prince of Love and Peace, and

"Whereas, the treatment accorded the Russian Jew by said government is not only un-Christian, but inhuman, barbarous, uncivilized, and medieval; be it therefore

"Resolved, That this, our Helena Ministers' Association strongly protest against Russia's affront to American citizens, in its unwarranted construction of our treaty, and that we hereby pray the representatives of our State at Washington to support the resolution introduced by Congressman Sulzer to the effect that said treaty be
abrogated unless fulfilled by Russia both in spirit and in letter; be it furthermore

"Resolved, That we solemnly protest against the unjust, cruel, and inhuman persecution which the lawless forces of Russia practice against the race of the Lord whom they profess to follow, and that we express our deepest and sincerest sympathy with our Jewish brethren of Russia, in their trials; furthermore be it

"Resolved, That accredited copies of these resolutions be sent to our representatives at Washington, to the President of the United States, and to our press."

Some time ago, Mr. Straus, a member of the Cabinet at Washington, was refused a passport to travel in Russia when it was applied for in regular routine because he was a Jew. It is true that the Russian Government afterwards offered to make a special exception in his favor, which Mr. Straus very properly declined. It would seem that this government in the exercise of its duty of protecting its citizens from insult and odious discrimination based on bigotry and race prejudice might at least make its resentment felt in this matter, and the Sulzer bill deserves support.

Editorial in the Seattle, Wash., "Post-Intelligencer,"
April 15, 1911.

DENOUNCING A TREATY.

Resolutions have been introduced separately into each house of Congress at the present session directing the President to denounce the treaty of 1832 with Russia, because of Russia's persistent passport discriminations against Jews who are American citizens.

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The Russian government has refused flatly to abide by the terms of the treaty, and it is there-
fore quite proper that it should be denounced. The language of the treaty is to the direct effect that the inhabitants of each country shall be permitted to sojourn and reside in all parts of the territories of the other. While the United States does extend all privileges to the inhabitants of Russia which are given to the citizens of any other country, Russia steadfastly refuses to grant the privileges of passports and entry to American citizens of the Jewish blood. Nor is the discrimination against American citizens confined exclusively to Jews. Restrictions are likewise imposed upon the Roman Catholic clergy and upon the ministers of other denominations.

Russia has steadfastly refused the repeated requests made by this country for modification of her passport policy to accord with the express terms of the treaty, and the treaty is, therefore, treated as a dead letter by Russia. The treaty should, therefore, be abrogated by this country for the distinct breach of its terms.


**RUSSIA AND AMERICAN JEWS.**

Meeting in the Astor Hotel, in New York, the Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations indignantly renewed its protest at the outrages committed by Russia against American Jews.

The meeting not only passed a resolution asking that the Government of the United States enforce the treaties, but it issued an appeal to the newspapers of the country to present the questions involved.

The request is made because of a belief that the facts are not generally understood—and that there is a misapprehension as to the momentous questions involved, relating (i) to the integrity
of American citizenship, (2) to Russia's attitude toward the American passport, and (3) to its disregard of its treaty obligations to our country.

Against Russia is the accusation that the Empire has persistently violated the treaty of 1832. Since the execution of that instrument the Government of the Czar has been under obligation to accord to American citizens, without distinction, the liberty to sojourn and reside in all parts of Russian territory and to guarantee to them security and protection.

The Hebrew Congregation rightly takes the ground that the finding of a remedy against this persistent degradation is not a Jewish but an American question; and the method of applying that remedy is clearly pointed out.

Conditions do not mean that America, which has sacredly observed its part of the compact with Russia, should go to war with that country. But it is within the power of the United States to end all treaty relations with the Government of the Czar; and that undoubtedly is the course which ought to be followed to bring Russia to time.

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THE AMERICAN JEW AND RUSSIA.

The United States has a treaty with Russia one of whose provisions is that our citizens shall have the right of free ingress and egress and the protection of law while visiting Russia, if presenting proper passports. As is well known, that provision has been constantly defied, scorned and cast aside in the case of our Jewish American citizens. The American of Jewish blood or religion may more immediately feel the wrong; but he is a poor American who is unconscious and
unindignant at the fact. It is not because of the wounded few that you and I who are not Jews should be interested; but we have a pact, a treaty with Russia, and Russia flouts that pact when she will. An American citizen armed with proper passports, vouched for in character by some governor of a great state and the high officials of our national government will be rudely repulsed on the frontier of Russia, or later, if he has chanced to enter, insultingly arrested and expelled. And all this happens despite our treaty with the land of the Czar.

Had we no treaty with Russia we could not protest; or, had we a treaty that definitely excluded Jewish Americans from its protection, doubtless we should tear it to pieces in a week. But we have a treaty which gives certain privileges to Russian citizens in the United States and similar rights to American citizens in Russia, and we are either too cowardly or too careless to enforce it.

The condition is grotesquely humiliating; it is so unlike us to tolerate it for a moment; nothing so unlike American manliness in affairs that touch the national life occurs in our history.

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The condition is galling; it is intolerable; but more intolerable for you and me, non-Jews, than for him. Let us remove the condition or make it impossible. We have ideas and hearts and voices; Washington will hear when Americans speak.


STRONG DEMAND TO ASSERT DIGNITY.

Fifteen legislatures are recorded as favorable to Congressional action that will terminate the intolerable conditions in Russia which make it
impossible for a part of the citizenship of America to enjoy the rights guaranteed in the most formal and explicit terms by treaty when attempting to enter the dominions of the czar. Nine have passed resolutions or memorials specifically demanding the abrogation or termination of the treaty of commerce and navigation between this country and Russia, adopted in 1832, and the substitution for it of a treaty which shall secure equal rights of admission for all Americans regardless of their religious faith.

Public opinion is stern and strong in demanding that the dignity of the country be upheld. It is insisted that Russia shall be treated like any other country which disregards its obligations. Because that insistence has not been advanced, and we have been content with a mild and hesitating remonstrance the outrages have been continued. A short time ago, apparently in an effort to allay American agitation, it was stated that the barriers were to be removed. It appears that no steps have been taken to bring about a change; that American confidence was imposed on.

For a generation American protests have been met by similar trickery, deceit and evasion. Several times in the last few years the national house of representatives has voiced in ringing tones its denunciation of the treatment of our citizens, but the resolutions have been met with silence and contempt. The time has come for more vigorous action. Let us abrogate our treaty, which has stood since 1832, and let Russia understand that we are no longer to be trifled with.


UNJUST DISCRIMINATION.

Representative Sulzer, chairman of the house committee on foreign affairs, has introduced a joint resolution similar to one that failed of en-
actment in the late congress, directing the president to terminate the present treaty with Russia, which was entered into nearly 80 years ago, because of the construction put upon it by the Russian government in discriminating against American citizens of the Jewish race who are denied entrance into Russian territory and freedom of travel therein, although this is accorded to other people.

Russia justifies such action by virtue of a clause in the treaty which provides that the citizens of either country shall have the right to reside and do business in the other providing they conform to the laws of such country. Under the law of Russia Jews are excluded from the empire, and so long as the government there maintains the stand it has been taking with respect to honoring passports issued by the state department here to American citizens of Jewish lineage, the United States is obliged to occupy a position that, if not actually humiliating, does not comport with the dignity of the nation.

Rather than tolerate such conditions and acquiesce in having any class of its citizens submit to such treatment because of reasons based entirely on racial and religious grounds, the abrogation of the treaty is being urged. And the circumstances certainly warrant such extreme action if this practice on the part of Russia is to be continued.


**A REASONABLE PROTEST.**

Representatives of the three leading Jewish organizations of the country have taken up with President Taft, Secretary Nagel and the State department the question whether the United States treaty with Russia should not be abro-
gated because of Russia's refusal to honor passports in the hands of American Jews. Regardless of race or creed, it is a big question. This nation guarantees protection to its citizens at home and abroad, respects its promises under treaties and expects like treatment from those with whom it deals. There is no citizen more proud of the land of his birth or his adoption than the American citizen. We believe in life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, each man according to his preferences and beliefs, so long as the laws are not transgressed. We respect the rights of travelers from abroad on our shores, honor their credentials and extend them every reasonable courtesy. We have a right to expect as much in return, particularly where an agreement has been formally ratified as has been the case with Russia. Discrimination against a certain class or a certain race is contrary to the American idea of the square deal. The United States guarantees protection to all its citizens, whether they or their parents were born in Germany, Sweden, France, Ireland, Russia or any other country and whether they are members of the Protestant church, the Roman Catholic church, Jews or of no religious inclination. It has been said, and probably can be easily proved, that passports issued by the State department of the United States have been dishonored, rejected and arbitrarily disregarded by the Russian government whenever the citizens presenting them happen to be Jews.*** A treaty exists between this country and Russia; it has existed since 1832. It ought to be respected or abrogated. To ignore it with respect to one class and observe it with respect to all others is unjust and tends to breed contempt for all treaties.
AMERICAN JEWS AND RUSSIA.

The interpretation which the Russian authorities put upon the existing treaty between Russia and the United States excludes from the czar's dominions Americans who are Jews. The treaty was agreed upon in 1832. It provides that inhabitants of either state may enter the other, live there and attend to their affairs, "on condition of their submitting to the laws and ordinances there prevailing." The Russian laws and ordinances shut out Jews and make the treaty of no earthly use even to American-born Jews. Since 1867 our state department has been trying to make Russia act decently in this matter, but without success. The department still issues passports to American citizens, but it knows and is obliged to admit to applicants that if they are Jews the papers will do no good in Russia.

This is a pretty humiliating situation for this great country to be in. If any nation refuses to admit its citizens, regardless of their race, color or previous condition of servitude, relations with that nation should be broken off. That has been frequently suggested to meet the conditions imposed by Russia, even so recently as the last session of congress, when a resolution to denounce the treaty was offered but not adopted. The state department doesn't want to go to that extreme till every effort has been made to induce Russia to let our Jews in. That Russia will consent there is little reason for believing.

SHOULD TERMINATE TREATY.

Demand has been made upon President Taft and the state department to stop Russia from
discriminating against American citizens of Jewish lineage in the matter of freedom of travel through the empire. Representative Sulzer, chairman of the house committee on foreign affairs also has introduced into the house a joint resolution directing the president to terminate the treaty with Russia for this reason.

For the maintenance of the honor of the country and our determination that no American citizens be the subject of unfair treatment abroad, this treaty should be terminated immediately unless Russia is willing to assure the national government that immediate orders will be given to put a stop to this practice. We have discussed this unfair treatment before because at the last session resolutions of a similar nature were introduced and failed of passage. This present resolution should be passed quickly, for there is absolutely no reason in this unfairness on the part of the Czar's government.


THE JEWS' TREATY RIGHTS.

One of the standing reflections upon the diplomacy of the United States is the attitude Russia is allowed to maintain toward American Jews. The passport this country issues to such Jews who desire to travel in Russia are ignored. They are turned back at the frontier and made to feel that the power of their country, America, is a negligible power.

But the Jews are not the only class of American citizens who are discriminated against by Russia. American Catholic priests in general are prohibited from entering Russia. The clergy of all denominations are discriminated against and that has not been a recent matter. The first case of
discrimination against an American clergyman occurred some 27 years ago.

In order to make it possible for American Jews and Americans of every class to hold up their heads when they visit Russia, Congressman Parsons of New York is advocating the termination of the treaty with Russia until such time as she agrees to treat all American citizens alike.

As the congressman said in urging the abrogation of the treaty:

"Mr. Chairman, I do not wish the committee to understand that I appeal for the termination of the treaty on the ground that Russia discriminates against the Jews, or Catholic or Protestant clergy. I make the appeal on the grounds that Russia, in violation of and by misconstruction of the treaty, discriminates against some American citizens, and that each American citizen, no matter what his religion, has as much right to the protection of our laws here and as much right to protection under our treaties abroad as any other American citizen, and that we should not enter into or any longer retain a treaty that does not secure to all American citizens equal treatment, without regard to their religious beliefs."