

Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1918, Russia, Volume II, Chapter 6 (Finland)
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CHAPTER VI

FINLAND

Indefinite Relations with the Russian Provisional Government—Autonomy Law Passed by the Diet, July 18, 1917—Dissolution of the Diet; Elections of October 2, 1917—Labor Disturbances in Protest against Bourgeois Control

File No. 861.00/399

The Consul at Petrograd (Winship) to the Secretary of State

No. 314

PETROGRAD, June 2, 1917.

[Received June 26.]

SIR: I have the honor to report that in the first days following the revolution, the Temporary Government in consultation with Finnish representatives issued a decree abrogating all the encroachments on Finnish constitutional rights made by the old régime in recent years. It was held that the suzerain rights over Finland had passed from the Grand Duke of Finland, Nicholas II, Emperor of Russia, to the Temporary Government, together with all other rights held by Nicholas II in general. It was understood that these rights of the Temporary Government would be handed by it to the Constitutional Assembly. This was accepted by all Finns during the first weeks of the revolution.

The first public expression of a different attitude on the part of the Finns was shown in a speech made by the Social Democrat Tokoi, vice president of the Finnish Senate, who indicated that a certain current of opinion in Finland considered the question of Finland's future connection to Russia an open question.¹

Soon it was more prominently and unambiguously stated publicly that the Russian revolution had destroyed the juridical bond between Finland and Russia which had existed only in the person of Nicholas II. This opinion denies that the Temporary Government has inherited any rights of sovereignty regarding Finland and, consequently, that the Finnish question will not be within the jurisdiction of the Russian Constitutional Convention, that the relations of Russia and Finland can only be established by the will of the Finnish people itself and by international treaty. Some partisans of this view declare that Finland's relations to Russia ought never to be of a federal nature as this will injure Finland in the interests of Russia.

¹ See also the Consul's despatch No. 297, Apr. 30, vol. I, p. 34.

In this connection two clear lines of opinion among the Russian socialists have appeared. The moderate socialists, those now taking part in the government or not openly inimical to any socialist participation in government in a *bourgeois* state, take the attitude of the Temporary Government, whereas the irreconcilable Maximalist socialists, now opposing the Temporary Government in Russia, entirely favor immediate and complete Finnish independence.

The immediate aspect of the question rests on the mode of confirmation of laws passed by the Finnish Seim. The Temporary Government claims a right to pass finally on these laws that was formerly held by Nicholas as Grand Duke of Finland. The particular case in hand is the confirmation of the law regarding the regulation of food supplies and trading rights of Russian subjects in Finland recently adopted by the Seim. During the debates the Finnish Social Democrats and the Swedish party took a decided stand in favor of complete and immediate independence; namely, that the Russian Temporary Government has no right to pass on these laws. The Seim eventually adopted a resolution stating that the two laws under consideration should be confirmed by the Temporary Government but that the Seim's consent must not be taken as a precedent, the Seim reserving its right to a later and final decision.

Since this the influential Swedish organ in Helsingfors, *Hufvudstadsbladet*, states that the immediate and complete autonomy of Finland in regard to all internal affairs is the present minimum demand of all Finnish political parties, but that eventually full independence will be necessary to the Finns.

The Temporary Government [is] now deliberating two questions raised by the Finns: first, that Finland should be given the full parliamentary system, namely, that administrative officials now appointed by the Temporary Government should be responsible to the Seim and Senate; and, secondly, that there should be a supreme administrative court. Finns are now, according to the well-informed *Rech* of this city, negotiating with the Temporary Government in regard to these two demands, and are insisting that nothing whatever be made public regarding the nature or progress of these negotiations. They further demand that when their demands are granted, this grant should be made not only by Russia but should be further guaranteed by other powers. The *Rech's* source further stated that the Finns will give no direct answer to the Temporary Government queries regarding the status of the Jews in Finland. The restrictions on Jews in Finland in regard to carrying on trade, being witnesses in legal proceedings, and marrying without special permit have not yet been abolished.

While in Helsingfors, Minister of War Kerensky spoke as follows:

We will do this (end the war) and will pay no attention to what governments and people do who do not understand magnanimity. It shows, comrades, how careful one must be and how often other people try to reap ugly profits from the simplicity and open-heartedness of the Russian people. And here in Finland (raising his voice) we must be especially careful because not only the Germans alone may misunderstand our magnanimity and love as weakness. The revolution is creative strength and let no one think that the Russian revolutionary people is weaker than the old Tsarism, and that it need not be taken into account.

This speech aroused much comment in the Helsingfors press. The *Hufvudstadsbladet* says that Russia must not forget that all Finnish parties are united on the question of Finland's relations to Russia, and the *Svenska Tidningen* declares that the Russian Temporary Government is preparing to commit its first violation of the principle it proclaimed itself, that every nation has the right to determine its own future.

It was reported here recently that the Finnish Social-Democrats, then attending the Socialist conference at Stockholm, declared that Russian-Finnish relations should be included in the competency of the international socialist conferences and should also be handled by the official and general peace conference at the end of the war.

It is significant that the Swedish parties in Finland are leading this movement for immediate Finnish independence, and are being seconded in Russia particularly by the *New Life*, the Social Democrat Maximalist paper in Petrograd, which published the attempt to prove that the Entente Allies had made greater preparations for the war than the Central powers (see despatch No. 310 of May 29¹) and is attacking the coalition Temporary Government and the present movement in Russia for an aggressive forward movement at the front. This same *New Life* also received the secret letter from the Bulgarian envoy in Berlin mentioned in despatch No. 315 of June 5.¹

The strike movement in Finland is very large. It is stated that the strikes of hired farm laborers are particularly serious. There is a movement of the farm interests in all political parties to unite in a single party in defense of their interests and in the interests of the country at large, threatened by a serious diminution of the scanty Finnish breadstuffs crops this season.

So long as Russia refuses or is unable to send flour to Finland no steps will be taken to relieve the rate of exchange. The Bank of Finland has reduced the exchange on the ruble to 194 rubles for 100 marks.

¹ Not printed.

The present shortage of export from Russia to Finland has caused hardship in Finland which, since the war, is dependent to a large extent on Russia for cereals. If the shortage continues it may increase the growing Finnish dissatisfaction with the Russian revolutionary government.

I have [etc.]

NORTH WINSHIP

File No. 861.00/397

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, June 23, 1917.

[Received June 24, 1 a. m.]

480. Swedish telegram bureau publishes telegram from Helsingfors via Petrograd to-day that congress Finnish Social Democratic Party has adopted resolution demanding Finland be made independent republic and Russia be forbidden have troops there after war. Economic relations with Russia to be same as with other nations, establishment independent Finland to be decided by international agreement, otherwise insufficient guarantees for liberty.

MORRIS

File No. 861.00/509

The Consul at Petrograd (Winship) to the Secretary of State

[Extract]

No. 352

PETROGRAD, July 31, 1917.

[Received September 14.]

SIR: I have the honor to refer to despatch No. 314 of June 2, 1917, on the revolutionary movement in Petrograd as affecting Finland. In that despatch it was stated that the first understanding of the mutual relations between Russia and Finland after the fall of the old régime was that the powers held by Nicholas II as Grand Duke of Finland passed, on his abdication, to the Russian Temporary Government which held them in custody to be handed over to the Russian Constitutional Convention. It was stated that this idea was first held both in Russia and in Finland, but that as time went on a Finnish movement gained strength, asserting that with the abdication of Nicholas II his rights over Finland did not pass to the Russian Temporary Government but reverted to the Finnish people.

As the Temporary Government in Petrograd has been growing weaker and weaker in the last months, especially during June and early July, under the influence of the pro-German Maximalist social-

ist propaganda, the Finnish separatist movement has been increasing in strength. This movement took form in the draft of a law declaring the Seim, the Finnish popular assembly, the supreme authority in the land, except as regards military matters and foreign affairs, which were left within the competence of the Russian Temporary Government.

This law has now been passed. It is expected that its immediate consequences, from the Finnish point of view, will be the abolishment of the Russian governor general in Helsingfors, the ending of the responsibility to Russian authority of the governors of the provinces in Finland, the recall of the Finnish government's representative in Petrograd, and the abolition of the Finnish Senate's responsibility to the Russian Government. The Senate is to be responsible to the Seim only.

The following translation of the report of the Seim debates that appeared in the Petrograd papers gives a picture of the conditions under which the law establishing the supreme right of the Seim was adopted by that body. . . .

The text of the law is as follows:¹

After the end of the monarch's rights in Finland, may the following be in force, according to the will of the Seim in Finland:

1. The Finnish Seim declares, confirms and enforces all Finnish laws not excluding those affecting national economics, taxation and customs duties. The decision of the Seim is final in all other Finnish affairs that were formerly decided by the Emperor and Grand Duke on the basis of existing laws. The present law does not affect matters of foreign policy, military legislation or military control.

2. The current session of the Seim is called without special summons and is to last until a new form of government is established. According to paragraph 18 of the Seim rules, the Seim appoints new elections and decrees its own dissolution.

3. The Seim appoints the executive power in Finland. The supreme executive power temporarily belongs to the economic department of the Senate, whose members are appointed and dismissed by the Seim.

Aside from the nature of the law itself, in abolishing all Russian authority in Finland except that of "military legislation and control," the important points regarding it are that it was passed by the Social Democrats against the opposition of the *bourgeois* political parties, and that its passage was hastened by the news of the Maximalist socialist mutiny in Petrograd. The underlined portions² of Senator Tokoi's speech prove this. Tokoi even stated that the Temporary Government no longer existed, at the very moment it was

¹ Passed July 18, 1917.

² "The only obstacle in the way of such a solution of the question was the Russian Temporary Government. According to the latest information this obstacle does not exist any more."

regaining control of the situation in Petrograd. Schubergson's hint that the Finnish separatist movement had appealed to the Russian troops, who are largely Maximalists, further shows the reliance its leaders placed in the Socialist Maximalist movement against the Temporary Government.

As this despatch is closed it is announced, unofficially in the press, that the Temporary Government will refuse to recognize the law as passed, and will continue to maintain the Governor General in Finland. No intention to take active measures, however, is indicated. . . .

To-day it is announced that the Finnish Seim has been dissolved by the Temporary Government, exercising its right under the Finnish Constitution. The decree states, in substance, that according to the Finnish Constitution Finland only enjoys internal independence within the limits set by the mutual juridical relations between Finland and Russia, and that the very foundation of these relations is that one and the same legal person wields the supreme national authority in both countries. The decree continues that, with the abdication of Nicholas II, his powers as Grand Duke of Finland passed to the Temporary Government, and that the Temporary Government, by its oath of office, is bound to hand all its powers to the Russian Constitutional Convention. The law passed by the Seim is declared an infraction of the Finnish Constitution. The question is left for the Finnish people themselves to reconsider and therefore the present Seim is dissolved and a new one ordered to be elected to assemble not later than November 1 (old style).

When this decree was announced to the Finnish Senate by the Governor General, the Senate only voted to publish the decree by 7 to 6, the Social Democratic senators voting in the minority. The same day the Talman, or speaker, of the Seim, without reporting the decree, announced that its session was closed until further notice.

Below are given some of the Petrograd press comments on the dissolution

I have [etc.]

NORTH WINSHIP

File No. 861.00/724

The Ambassador in Russia (Francis) to the Secretary of State

PETROGRAD, October 23, 1917.

[Received November 27.]

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith, as of valuable interest to the Department, copies of three recent communications from Mr. Douglas Jenkins, American Consul temporarily detailed to Helsing-

fors, Finland, relative to the political and financial situation in that province. The communications are dated October 5, 11,¹ and 12 respectively.

I have [etc.]

DAVID R. FRANCIS

[Enclosure 1]

The American Consul at Helsingfors (Jenkins) to the American Ambassador in Russia (Francis)

HELSINGFORS, October 5, 1917.

SIR: In an order recently published by the commandant of the Sveaborg fortress here advising the families of all Russian officials to leave because of the scarcity of food, it was intimated very strongly that while it was possible to obtain accommodations on the railways at present, conditions in the near future might be such that no one would be able to get away from Helsingfors.

I am arranging to have a translation of this order made and will forward it to the Embassy as soon as it has been done.¹ While it is not clear just what the commandant means the inference is that an attack on the part of the Germans is expected on the Finnish coast, in the event of which the railways would have so much to do in the movement of troops and military supplies that no civilian passengers could be carried.

It is possible, of course, that in his desire to induce the families of Russian officials to leave, the commandant may have intimated a little more than was actually necessary. At any rate I shall pay close attention to the situation and keep the Embassy informed, either by post or by telegraph.

The elections for the Finnish Diet on October 2 passed off quietly. The returns, which have begun to come in, indicate that the Social Democrats will not have a majority in the next Diet, but this cannot be definitely stated until the final results are announced, which will be in the next week or ten days.

The Socialist members of the old Diet convened on September 27 in spite of the orders of the Governor General. The doors to the chamber had been locked and sealed by order of the Governor General, but the president of the Diet, Mr. Manner, ordered the seals to be broken and the doors forced. This was done and the Diet immediately convened. Only the Socialist members, however, attended, and it is said that a quorum was not present.

The Governor General did not attempt to use force to prevent the meeting of the Diet, and as a result there was no disorder. It is said that the Provisional Government will consider all acts of this Diet as illegal and void. It is not very clear just why the old Diet insisted on meeting at this time, unless it is with the intention of contesting the election of the newly elected Diet. It is possible that the old Diet intends to take the position that the elections of October 2 were illegal and void and that the new members, in the event of an anti-socialist majority, have no right to their seats.

So far as can be seen there is no indication of any improvement in the discipline in the fleet here. On the battleships and larger cruisers conditions are said to be very bad. On the submarines and smaller vessels, however, the morale is reported to be fairly satisfactory.

It may be interesting to note that at a meeting of the local Council of Soldiers', Sailors' and Workmen's Deputies, which was convened to elect delegates to the Democratic Congress in Petrograd, a quorum was not present. In

¹ Not printed.

spite of this fact, however, the meeting proceeded to elect delegates. The executive committee of the Council also appears to have transacted business of importance without a quorum. This information comes from the publication of the minutes of the various meetings in the official organ of the Council. These failures to have a quorum may or may not indicate an interest on the part of the members of the Council themselves.

With regard to pro-German feeling among the Finnish people, I am informed by Mr. Arthur Ruhl, of *Collier's Weekly*, that in a conversation he had several days ago with a Mr. von Franckel, one of the leaders of the Swedish People's Party here, Mr. von Franckel said with a good deal of feeling that the Allies had never done anything for Finland and never would, either at the peace conference or elsewhere. He said Finland had one good friend and that friend was Germany. It appears, however, that Mr. von Franckel was educated in Germany and spent much time there. He is also evidently a man of extreme prejudices. The majority of the Swedish Finns, while all are more or less in sympathy with the idea of independence from Russia, do not appear to share Mr. von Franckel's extreme views. They take the position that it would be much against Finland's interests to push matters to the extent of an actual rupture with Russia.

In conversation with a Finn who had spent a great many years in America, I was told that among the middle and working classes in Finland there was only good feeling toward the United States. This man said that pro-German feeling was only to be found among the professional classes and the merchants.

The following from the Helsingfors *Svenska Tidningen* of September 15, 1917, may be of interest to the Embassy:

ESPIONAGE FLOURISHES

According to report there is being formed in Helsingfors at present an English-French espionage department. It is said that assiduous attempts are being made to recruit natives of Finland for the service. Again a clear proof of the unselfish interest on the part of the western powers for the welfare of the small peoples!

I expect to forward this letter to the Embassy by Mr. Ruhl, who is leaving to-morrow.

I have [etc.]

DOUGLAS JENKINS

[Enclosure 2]

The American Consul at Helsingfors (Jenkins) to the American Ambassador in Russia (Francis)

HELSINGFORS, October 12, 1917.

SIR: With regard to the recent elections to the Finnish Diet, it may interest the Embassy to know that the Socialists lost 12 seats and the Christian Workmen 1 seat. The United Finnish Party gained 6 seats, and the Agrarian Party 7. The Swedish People's Party remains the same with 21 seats.

The comparative standing of the several parties in the old and new Diets is as follows:

	Old Diet	New Diet
Socialists-----	103	91
United Finnish Party-----	56	62
Swedish People's Party-----	21	21
Agrarian Party-----	19	26
Christian Workmen-----	1	--
	200	200

It is believed that all parties will generally be united in opposition to the Socialists, at least on important questions. The United Finnish and the

Swedish People's Parties are said to represent the upper and middle classes, while the Agrarians are made up of small landowners and to a certain extent farm laborers, who are said to feel that their interests are not in line with the policies of the Socialists. In a sense the Agrarians will hold the balance of power.

In view of the fact that the Socialists refused to recognize the order of the Provisional Government which prohibited the old Diet from meeting and ordered the election, the next move of that party is now being awaited with interest, in view of the fact that it has evidently lost control as a result of the recent election.

Some people believe that the Socialists will take the ground that the election was illegal and that therefore the old Diet is the only legally constituted one. Others point out that as the Socialists actually took part in the election such a position on the part of the old Diet would be illogical. However, it remains to be seen whether or not any radical move will be undertaken. I shall watch the newspapers, especially those of the Socialist Party, and will keep the Embassy informed.

I have [etc.]

DOUGLAS JENKINS

File No. 861.00/664

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, November 16, 1917.

[Received 7.35 p. m.]

995. Swedish press reports great Socialist *coup* in Finland with help Russian soldiers. Socialists seized telegraph and other public institutions proceeding to Senate and Landtag which they declared dissolved. Old Socialist Landtag is to be called and new Socialist Senate under presidency of Tokoi to be formed. *Coup d'état* took place without disturbance, feeling in Finland greatly excited, meetings everywhere, and disorders feared. History of *coup* short though its roots deep. Wednesday Socialists presented Conservatives ultimatum either renounce Conservative moderate directorate or accept consequences general strike. Conservatives refused and general strike began Wednesday evening in Helsingfors therefrom spreading over whole country [through?] railway men who took part. Last train arrived Wednesday evening at Torneå from Petrograd and it is feared will be last one for some time.

MORRIS

File No. 861.00/671

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, November 17, 1917, 2 p. m.

[Received November 18, 3.40 a. m.]

1003. I have obtained this morning the following information in regard to conditions in Finland. I am unable to vouch for the

authenticity of this information but I believe it is in general based on facts.

Finland under Socialists who have sent out delegates throughout country to arrange strikes and take over local authority. Officials allowed remain under Socialist supervision. *Bourgeoisie* guards at first opposed by Socialists reported now to have united with them for maintenance order. Russian soldiers aided Finnish workers in dissolution of Senate and Landtag and formation socialistic Senate and Landtag. Strike continues except in some minor trades. *Bourgeoisie* resigned but watchful. Torneå controlled by workmen's deputation of 300, leaders of which visé all passports. No international telegraph conversation allowed. Telegrams from south Finland and Helsingfors censored by Socialists. Russian garrison in Torneå in cause with workers. House examinations of *bourgeoisie* taking place. As result of strike frontier at Torneå closed. Travelers from Stockholm arriving Haparanda Friday refused entry Torneå, among them several couriers. Excepting supply trains connections with south Finland broken.

MORRIS

File No. 861.00/707

The Consul at Helsingfors (Haynes) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

HELSINGFORS, *undated*.

[Received November 23, 1917, 2.18 p. m.]

Owing to temporary overthrow interim government no authority existing in Finland. Present *bourgeois* Diet, which succeeded Socialist Diet dissolved last July by Russian Government, assembled first November. Diet proposes to establish triumvirate of supreme power in Finland. Socialists regard this [as] *coup d'état* and threaten forcibly to overthrow Diet and assume government. Numerous workmen's meetings are held versus present Diet, situation threatening.

HAYNES

File No. 860d.48/38

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, *December 3, 1917, 6 p. m.*

[Received December 5, 1.30 a. m.]

1107. Von Wendt, Finnish food commissioner, called on me this morning and stated that he knows that the German Minister, Stock-

holm, had received telegram from his government directing him to inquire how much food Finland was in need of. Von Wendt states that German proposals will be made not later than the latter part of next week and that he fears the consequences unless you have by that time released at least one vessel with food destined for Finland. Von Wendt states that Finland must have food and that she will be obliged to take it from whom she can get it but that he is very anxious that she secure it from America. He states that if she is obliged to accept German food she will undoubtedly be more in sympathy with Germany than she is at present. I should like to be advised of any action taken in the premises.

Copy of this telegram being sent to London.

MORRIS

Proclamation of Independence, December 4-6, 1917: Attitude of the American and Other Governments—Recognition by Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and France, January 4-10, 1918—Seizure of Power by the Red Guards; Civil War with the White Guards under Mannerheim—Swedish Occupation of the Åland Islands—Request for American Recognition by Commissioners of the White Government: Counter-Representations by the Delegate of the Red Government—Appeals for Food

File No. 861.00/766

*The Consul at Helsingfors (Haynes) to the Secretary of State*¹

[Telegram]

HELSINGFORS, December 4, 1917.

[Received December 6, 11.10 a. m.]

The president Finland Senate to-day before Diet proclaimed Finland free republic. He asks me to ascertain if the United States of America will recognize Finland as independent state and if so may government send delegates to lay their point of view before our Government.² I learn from reliable sources that Swedish-Germans [*sic*] urging Germany immediately to recognize Finland independence. Only our prompt recognition will prevent Germany from securing firm sympathy and domination in eastern Baltic. Names of delegates will be referred to me for approval. After having consulted French and English colleagues they are dispatching similar wires to their Governments and Embassies.

THORNWELL HAYNES

¹ Repeated to the Ambassador in Russia in telegram No. 1890, Dec. 8, 5 p. m., with instructions: "Advise Department your views fully and at earliest opportunity."

² Answered Dec. 8: "Matter under consideration."

File No. 861.00/772

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram—Extract]

STOCKHOLM, December 6, 1917.

[Received December 7, 2 a. m.]

1133. Stockholm *Aftonbladet* reports this afternoon following from Haparanda: Finnish Senate has followed previous action of Finnish Landtag in proclaiming Finland's complete independence. Government issued formal proclamation giving particulars step taken by Diet. Premier Svinhufvud declared that immediate relationship with foreign powers urgently needed, account Finland's threatened starvation, also that effort would be made to secure international recognition of independence. . . .

MORRIS

File No. 861.00/804

The Finnish Commissioner (Ignatius) to the Secretary of State

WASHINGTON, December 10, 1917.

SIR: Referring to our conversation of this morning, I have the honor to hand you herewith a copy of a cablegram from my government received yesterday, December 9, 1917.

I am [etc.]

KAARLO IGNATIUS

[Enclosure—Telegram]

The President of the Finnish Senate (Svinhufvud) to the Finnish Commissioner at Washington (Ignatius)

Presenting to Diet proposal concerning new form of government establishing Finland an independent republic and referring to Diet's previous decision of taking over supreme power in virtue of Section 38 of form of government of 1772, Svinhufvud, president of Finnish Senate, has on behalf of the Government solemnly declared that it is the Finnish people's right and considering the present isolation of the country and the extraordinary scarcity of provisions its incontestable duty to approach foreign powers with request to acknowledge Finland's sovereign independence. Diet's speaker welcomed this, as corresponding to country's right and people's unanimous wish. Empowered deputations leave for abroad within few days for purposes of official notification. Urgentest direct communication with American Government being necessary owing to critical situation of provision question, please immediately see Lansing, inform him contents this telegram and sound readiness receive deputation. Russia will be notified as soon as Constituent National Assembly meets. Paasikivi will telegraph regarding Scandinavian attitude. This cable sent from Haparanda by Svinhufvud's order.

PEHR SVINHUFVUD

File No. 861.00/809

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, December 13, 1917, 5 p. m.

[Received December 14, 11.50 a. m.]

1175. Saw the Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs who informed me that last week the Finnish government had asked the Swedish Government as to their disposition regarding recognizing Finland's independence. The Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs yesterday telegraphed to the Swedish representatives in London, Paris, and Berlin to ascertain what position England, France, and Germany, respectively, will take regarding recognizing Finland's independence. Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs asked me if I could ascertain from my Government in an informal and unofficial way as to what attitude we would take regarding recognizing Finland's independence. I told him I would cable you ascertain this information and acquaint him with my reply. In the course of the conversation Minister for Foreign Affairs told me confidentially that Orlovski, who has been appointed official representative to Sweden of the Russian Bolshevik government, called upon the Minister for Foreign Affairs at his house this morning. Orlovski said that he felt quite sure that Bolshevik government would have no hesitancy in recognizing Finland's independence. In this conversation the Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs gave me to understand [what] I cabled you in my 1159¹ that Sweden would not recognize the government of Bolshevik in Russia at present. They will wait to see how matters develop in Russia.

MORRIS

File No. 861.00/821

The Ambassador in Russia (Francis) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PETROGRAD, December 14, 1917, 3 p. m.

[Received December 16, 2.20 a. m.]

2102. Answering your 1890, December 8,² received to-day. Do not see how can recognize Finland independence before Constituent Assembly acts. Similar recognition would be demanded by Ukraine, Siberia, and other provinces. Would not definitely refuse, however,

¹ Vol. I, p. 297.² See footnote 1, ante, p. 733.

and see no objection to permitting Finnish delegation to visit America.

Prompt shipment of flour, sugar, and pork recommended in my 2097¹ and 2098¹ would have a beneficial effect.

FRANCIS

File No. 861.00/835

*The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Russia (Francis)*²

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, December 14, 1917, 4 p. m.

1899. Referring Department telegram 1890, December 8,³ have approved following telegram sent by Ignatius, Finnish Food Commissioner in United States, to Lars Krogius at Haparanda:

State Department does not object to deputation coming here to state Finland's case but is not yet prepared to assume any position regarding the recognition.

Advise Consul, Helsingfors.

LANSING

File No. 861.00/835

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Russia (Francis)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, December 15, 1917, 7 p. m.

1907. Department has to-day cabled American Legation, Stockholm, as follows:

Referring Department's instruction 1899 [448] of December 14, regarding recognition of Finland.

In its reply to Ignatius that this Government is not yet prepared to assume any position regarding the recognition of Finland, the Department did not intend to indicate indifference to the request of Finland but merely that owing to present political conditions in Russia it is impossible at the present time to give a definite answer to the inquiry regarding recognition.

Communicate to American Consul, Helsingfors, for his information and guidance.

LANSING

¹ Not printed.

² Similar telegram (No. 448) on the same date to the Minister in Sweden.

³ See footnote 1, *ante*, p. 733.

File No. 861.00/818

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, undated.

[Received December 15, 1917, 8.46 p. m.]

1186. My 1175. I have just been informed by the British Legation here that the attitude of the British Government in recognizing the independence of Finland is that as soon as a properly constituted Russian Government recognizes the independence of Finland the British Government is prepared to do the same.

MORRIS

File No. 861.00/843

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, December 20, 1917, 12 noon.

[Received December 21, 9.30 a. m.]

1193. I asked my representative, Alfred W. Kliefoth, stationed at Haparanda and Torneå, to come to Stockholm so as to explain to me personally the conditions of the present situation as he sees them. I am therefore cabling a statement which I have asked Kliefoth to prepare regarding the existing situation. I desire to call your attention particularly to his statement regarding the great number of German and Austrian officers remaining in Russia and its possible significance. Kliefoth's statement follows:

In Torneå the Allies are represented by a French, British, and American officer, their duties being: (1) to facilitate passing of respective couriers and officials; (2) assist Russian authorities in work contra espionage and prevention smuggling. Under Bolshevik domination their work limited to assist respective nationals across frontier. Smuggling is only limited by Finnish custom authorities who are inefficient and incapable to cope with situation. Following goods are being smuggled from Finland into Sweden: rubber, lubricating oils, tin, copper, wire, platinum, and Russian rubles. Bolsheviks are represented in Torneå by two so-called commission[er]s or delegates of Soldiers' and Workmen's Committee. These are two ordinary sailors without rank, hardly capable of reading or writing their own language. Their authority is supported by Red Guard composed of Russian soldiers and armed Finnish workmen. The six Russian officers formerly in control are continuing their work under control of these commissioners. These commissioners are exceptionally courteous to American subjects and American control officer.

People leaving Russia required to have permit from the Bolshevik government. With sole exception of British, foreigners have little difficulty in obtaining permit. Foreign diplomats also required now to have this permit. Russians leaving country have Bolshevik passports. Persons entering Russia are not required to have permit but all persons having visé of Bolshevik representative can pass immediately. Diplomats and couriers still admitted without Russian visé but private foreign nationals must wait at Haparanda until permit has been obtained for them. Bolshevik sympathizers, workmen, and poor people, are usually admitted without formality but so-called Russian *bourgeois* are practically excluded in all cases.

German agents may enter Russia almost at will. Large number German civilians are daily leaving Russia with Bolshevik permits. The regular biweekly Red Cross train is still in operation, five hundred Russian invalid prisoners being exchanged each week for the same number of German and Austrian prisoners but the number of German and Austrian officers leaving Russia in this exchange is below the average. It is believed that these officers remain in Russia to assist in disorganization of the country. German soldiers have stated that most of all officers did not care to go home although they had opportunity. German subjects are also entering Russia with German passports, majority claim to be Russian political exiles although German subjects, their entrance being usually arranged by the Bolshevik representative at Stockholm.

Bolshevik proclamations are printed in the German language and are being distributed in Finland. Russian printer stated that neither type nor paper was Russian or Finnish.

Situation in Finland is somewhat as follows. There are 100,000 Russian soldiers there undisciplined and disorderly and Finns are endeavoring to get rid of them. Finnish Bolsheviks although in decided minority are in control of government owing to assistance of Russian soldiers and sailors. Food situation is serious. In many localities people living on half rations. The fact that America is not giving aid at present time is used as a basis of propaganda.

MORRIS

File No. 861.00/860

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, December 24, 1917, 10 a. m.

[Received December 25, 12.24 a. m.]

1224. I have ascertained that a Finnish contingent has come to Stockholm and was received privately by Weden, president of the Rigsdag, in one of the committees of Parliament. The Finns asked for the recognition of the independence of Finland and for the military assistance of Sweden in order to expel the Russians from Finland in the event of the Russians refusing to recognize the independence of Finland. As military assistance might involve losses for Sweden no agreement was reached and the negotiations were dropped.

Three Finnish delegations are leaving Stockholm for Berlin, London, and Washington. The first is composed of Hjelt and Erich, the second of Holsti and Kihlman, and the third of Reuter and Soskimo.

MORRIS

File No. 861.00/880

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, December 29, 1917, 5 p. m.

[Received December 30, 3.37 a. m.]

1245. I have received official confirmation that delegation from Finnish government yesterday visited the King and asked Sweden to recognize Finland's independence. King replied:

I beg you to express to the Finnish government my hearty thanks for the proposal made by you. I myself and the whole Swedish nation I am sure highly appreciate the fact that you first turned to Sweden which because of our common history for centuries, even of late, has always had the greatest interest in Finland's fate.

I assure you that both I and my government have the warmest sympathy for Finland's efforts to gain full independence and we sincerely hope to be able to recognize Finland as an independent state.

An important circumstance in this whole question is the possibility of an agreement between your country and Russia. However, I have reason to hope for a favorable result of your efforts. The position taken by other powers must of course also be taken into consideration.

You can always be assured of my warm wishes for you and the future welfare of your country.

MORRIS

File No. 861.00/885

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, December 31, 1917, 2 p. m.

[Received January 1, 1918, 3.26 a. m.]

1251. My 1245 [1224], December 26 [24], 10 a. m. Finnish government sending representatives to all European governments to request recognition of independence. Delegation to Washington will be composed of Dr. Ignatius and Professor Julio Reuter; latter now here and member of a delegation to Danish, Norwegian Governments after which will proceed United States via England. British Minister informs me he has been instructed to tell delegation they could proceed to London and would receive sympathetic reception.

MORRIS

File No. 861.00/904

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, January 3, 1918, 6 p. m.

[Received January 4, 5.35 p. m.]

1269. I have just been informed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs that Swedish Government intends to-morrow to recognize officially independence of Finland.

I made no comment, but Italian Minister pointed out to him inopportuneness of such action and how it might cause public opinion in Allied countries to consider this government pro-German like its predecessor. I consider it an unfortunate move on their part but one partly dictated by internal conditions.

MORRIS

File No. 861.00/921

The Assistant Secretary of State (Phillips) to the Secretary of State

January 5, 1918.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: The French Ambassador called this afternoon to say that the French Government has received information from the French Consul at Helsingfors and from other sources that the Bolsheviki are about to declare that they will not object to the independence of Finland. If these are the facts the French believe that it would be the best policy to recognize Finland instantly in order to prevent Germany from being the first of the belligerent powers to recognize. France, however, inquires how this Government feels.¹

Sincerely,

W. PHILLIPS

File No. 861.00/918

The Minister in Norway (Schmedeman) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

CHRISTIANIA, January 8, 1918, 2 p. m.

[Received 5.52 p. m.]

451. A Finnish commission is to arrive here to-day for the purpose of requesting recognition by the Norwegian Government of Finnish independence. Minister for Foreign Affairs informed me

¹ Note in the margin of MS.: "Consulted Sec'y and advised Ambassador that U. S. had no plans for immediate recognition Finland and no information as to attitude of Bolsheviki re Finland.—W[illiam] P[hillips]."

this morning that independence of Finland would undoubtedly be recognized by Norway.

The press reports that one or more members of the commission will proceed from here to the United States.

SCHMEDEMAN

File No. 861.00/922

The Ambassador in Russia (Francis) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PETROGRAD, January 8, 1918, 6 p. m.

[Received January 9, 11.29 a. m.]

2208. Conferred with French Ambassador yesterday who suggested might be advisable for France, England, Italy, and America to join in recognizing independence of Finland. I concur and think should be done promptly before such action by Germany.

French Ambassador also said that British Ambassador who en route London had suggested Allied Governments' recognizing perhaps simultaneously Soviet government here, Ukrainian government, Cossack government, and Siberian government. Such course might be advisable in the event of separate peace unnegotiable [*sic*] but should await further developments.

Reported France recognized Finnish and Ukrainian independence but think untrue.

FRANCIS

File No. 861.00/941

The Chargé in Denmark (Grant-Smith) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

COPENHAGEN, January 11, 1918, noon.

[Received January 12, 3.32 p. m.]

1809. Danish Government officially recognized the independence of Finland yesterday.

[GRANT-SMITH]

File No. 861.00/938

The Minister in Norway (Schmedeman) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

CHRISTIANIA, January 11, 1918, 2 p. m.

[Received 5 p. m.]

My telegram No. 451, January 8. Finnish commission had audience yesterday with the King of Norway, who welcomed Finland as

¹ Sent via the Embassy in Great Britain.

an independent sister nation of Scandinavia. One of the members of the commission named Reuter will shortly leave for England and the United States.

SCHMEDEMAN

File No. 861.00/922

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Russia (Francis)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, January 11, 1918, 6 p. m.

1984. Your 2208, January 8, 6 p. m. Department doubts advisability of recognizing Finland at present.

LANSING

File No. 860d.00/-

The Ambassador in Russia (Francis) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PETROGRAD, January 11, 1918, 7 p. m.

[Received January 13, 8.33 a. m.]

2217. France formally through Helsingfors Consul recognized independence of Finland. Reported France recognized Ukraine but unable verify. Know France sent a general to Kiev but recognition probably confined thereto. Did France consult us about Finnish recognition?

FRANCIS

File No. 860d.00/1

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, January 15, 1918, 5 p. m.

[Received 10.10 p. m.]

8270. The Minister at Christiania telegraphs me that a plenipotentiary of Finland, Dr. Julio Reuter, is about to arrive in London on his way to the United States and solicits a personal interview with me.

I am officially informed that Norway and Denmark have recognized the independence of Finland but as the United States has not yet done so I shall not receive Dr. Reuter unless you instruct me to do so, in which case I also request instructions as to the attitude you wish me to adopt.

PAGE

File No. 860d.00/-

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Russia (Francis)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, January 15, 1918, 3 p. m.

1992. Your 2217, January 11, 7 p. m., just received. Independence Finland now officially recognized by Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and France. France consulted this Government.

French Embassy advises that General Tabouis, the French Commissioner at Kiev, is being instructed to recognize Ukraine as in fact an independent government. This Government not disposed as yet to recognize any independent governments until the will of Russian people has been more definitely expressed on this general subject. The public utterances of the President have defined clearly the sympathy of the United States for democracy and self-government.

LANSING

File No. 860d.00/4

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, January 23, 1918, 1 p. m.

[Received 4.50 p. m.]

8360. My 8270, January 15, 5 p. m. Mr. Balfour expresses the hope to me, if his Government's views meet our Government's views, that the two Governments may act in unison regarding recognition of Finland. He has informed Finnish delegates here that he approves Finnish independence and he has recognized independence in principle, but has not yet given formal recognition. He prefers to wait awhile hoping that there will be some government in Russia which may be trusted to respect Finland's independence. Russian soldiers continue to commit depredations there which is inconsistent with Bolshevik recognition of Finnish independence. Please instruct.

PAGE

File No. 860d.00/6

The Consul at Helsingfors (Haynes) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

HELSINGFORS, January 24, 1918, 6 p. m.

[Received January 27, 4.40 p. m.]

13. Immediate recognition Finland independence would save us from being slandered as boasted champion small nations who

would sacrifice Finland in fruitless expectation of gaining a few feet of French trenches by clinging to a Russian corpse. Immediate recognition will gain a pro-American preponderance of the sympathy of the Norwegian-Swedish-Danish league wherein, when Finland is a member, Sweden would be outweighed, besides assuring to us post-war trade with Russia through Finland as a back door. No other small nation clamoring for recognition offers such historical worthiness nor such geographical trade advantages.

I beg recognition before England, not only to escape the intensely increasing hatred of England because of non-recognition, but because delay gains only uncertainty.

HAYNES

File No. 861.00/1014

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, January 28, 1918, 8 p. m.

[Received January 29, 9.58 a. m.]

1389. Have just seen Minister for Foreign Affairs who informed me that Finnish government had notified Swedish representative in Helsingfors that it could not longer be responsible for lives of Swedish subjects and Swedish representative has left Helsingfors on special train. Viborg is entirely in the hands of Bolsheviks, Helsingfors soon will be, and St. Petersburg Bolsheviks have promised assistance. He added that Swedish delegate was watching internal situation closely, fearing spread of Bolshevik propaganda in Sweden.

MORRIS

File No. 861.00/1018

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, January 29, 1918.

[Received January 30, 6.54 a. m.]

1408. Have just secured from various official channels following information concerning situation in Finland. Finnish Senate has left Helsingfors which is now in control Red Guards. All public buildings occupied by them, private houses being attacked, there is general strike and all Red Cross work stopped. Slight casualties

reported from Jakobstad, country north of Seinäjoki under complete control *bourgeois* guard numbering several thousand. At Uleåborg, Russian soldiers and Red Guard disarmed. Train service Petrograd still suspended. Finnish Chargé d'Affaires at Stockholm informs me heavy fighting taking place at Viborg and Helsingfors. At my request Swedish Foreign Office is endeavoring ascertain whereabouts well-being our Consul, Helsingfors.

MORRIS

File No. 861.00/1008

The Secretary of State to the Consul at Helsingfors (Haynes)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, January 29, 1918, 4 p. m.

Swedish press reports conditions Helsingfors dangerous. Department relies on your judgment as to leaving your post but hopes situation may develop so you can remain. Please acknowledge this.

LANSING

File No. 860d.01/32

Memorandum of the Assistant Secretary of State

January 30, 1918.

Mr. Barclay showed me a telegram just received to-day from his Government giving the Foreign Office views regarding a message from the British Consul at Helsingfors. The view is expressed that because of the discontinuance of the Constituent Assembly, with the approval of the Russian people, the question of the formal assent of the British Government to the independence of Finland is indefinitely postponed. They feel, however, that this fact should not weigh too heavily against the Finnish people. The British Government, therefore, are prepared to inform the Finnish people that they are ready to give formal recognition to their Government as soon as the Finns express by some unmistakable method such as an election their sanction of their own independence. Meanwhile, animated by the utmost good will and sympathy they (the British Government) are prepared to treat them as the *de facto* authorities in Finland.

The British Government are most anxious to act on parallel lines with the United States Government and would be glad to have their views.

W. PHILLIPS

File No. 861.00/1048 1/2

The Consul at Helsingfors (Haynes) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

HELSINGFORS, January 30, 1918, 11 a. m.

[Copied from confirmation; original not received.]

17. Socialist Party, with the help of Red Guards and Russian soldiers, yesterday forcibly overwhelmed *bourgeois* government and elected their own Senate. Members of *bourgeois* Senate in flight; city terrified; 50 killed; banks and all business places closed and under Red Guard military. White *bourgeois* Guards organized north of Helsingfors are coming to give battle Red Guards. It is feared that battleships in harbor, which are sympathizing with Red Guards, will bombard Helsingfors. It is arranged that whatever party succeeds it will render every aid proper distribution American food.

HAYNES

File No. 860d.00/9

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, January 30, 1918, 3 p. m.

[Received 11.54 p. m.]

1410. Regarding the rumor that Sweden might assist to restore order in Finland, the Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs has given me as his personal opinion that the Socialist Party in Sweden would not be in favor of such action and that nothing would probably be done as Sweden's assisting Finland would be looked upon as a dangerous enterprise. British Minister, however, informs me that he has telegraphed to his Government recommending that Sweden be encouraged to help Finland if necessary as he fears that if Sweden refuses the Finnish government will appeal to Germany.

MORRIS

File No. 861.00/1056

The Consul at Helsingfors (Haynes) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

HELSINGFORS, January 31, 1918, noon.

[Received February 2, 6.45 a. m.]

19. Your January 29, 4 p. m. Believe *bourgeoisie* who will probably engage Red Guards at Tavastehus will regain power. As culminating center of the struggle, it is feared Helsingfors may be

sacked and bombarded by Russian fleet in harbor. Old yachts of the Tsar of Russia, *Standard* and *Polar Star*, in port hotbeds anarchy and Bolshevism. Fifteen Americans here. Fortunately Consulate is very near harbor. Gratitude for your solicitude; will remain at my post. Please telegraph wife not to be uneasy. Hope you received my January 30, 11 a. m., and January 26, 4 p. m.¹

HAYNES

File No. 860d.00/22

The Consul General at London (Skinner) to the Secretary of State

No. 5527

LONDON, February 1, 1918.

[Received February 25.]

SIR: I have the honor to report, as a matter of interest to the Department, that I have just verified and issued the usual papers to facilitate the departure to the United States of Julio N. Reuter, Ph. D., LL. D., delegate of the government of Finland, who is proceeding to Washington with credentials from the Diet and Government of Finland to inform the Government of the United States of America of Finland's declaration of independence, and to petition for the recognition of the independence and sovereignty of that country.

Dr. Reuter's credentials also mention Kaarle Benedict Ignatius, LL. D., as a delegate with equal authority, but thus far Dr. Ignatius has not appeared to apply for the verification of his papers. I enclose a copy of the credentials shown by Dr. Reuter on the occasion of his visit to the Consulate General.¹ The papers appear to be completely in order.

I have [etc.]

ROBERT P. SKINNER

File No. 861.00/1046

The Consul at Helsingfors (Haynes) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

HELSINGFORS, February 2, 1918, noon.

[Received 8.40 p. m.]

20. Trainloads Petrograd troops arriving to assist Red Guards. Swedes, Danes, Norwegians escaping to [omission] to reach Swedish Government boat. Usurping Socialist government asks to discuss food. Replying unofficially America has not food to be wasted in civil war and that at present it is impossible to discuss anything.

¹ Not printed.

officially. Have telegraphed Embassy to send officer with money and food. Arrival uncertain. All banks and shops deserted and under Red military guard. Funds exhausted.

Americans nervous but I apprehend no violence unless accidental. Food extremely short.

HAYNES

File No. 861.00/1063

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, February 7, 1918.

[Received midnight.]

1455. Have just received information by telephone from our representative at Finnish frontier at Torneå who reports Torneå captured by White Guard last evening between 5 and 6 o'clock; Russian soldiers disarmed by force, 100 Russian prisoners, 60 Russian soldiers escaped to Sweden; maximum casualties 50. White Guards numbering several thousand arrived secretly surprising Red Guard. All northern Finland suddenly well organized and equipped; two trains arrived this morning, first one bringing Rumanian Legation, second train ordinary train; also third train expected on which are American couriers who left Petrograd last Saturday. Passengers of first train were twelve days *en route* crossing territory of opposing parties. Reliable report that Viborg in hands of White Guard which is planning to cut connections between Finland and Petrograd and proceed against Helsingfors; unconfirmed reports this morning that all Allied missions expelled from Russia and already *en route*. This report also given me by Finnish railroad authorities at Torneå. Petrograd reported with [in] disorder, much shooting on streets and food stealing.

MORRIS

File No. 860d.00/6

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Sweden (Morris)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, February 8, 1918, 7 p. m.

531. Consul, Helsingfors, telegraphs urgently for recognition of Finland. He says will gain sympathy of Norway-Sweden-Denmark League of which Finland will be member. What are your views as to action and as to stability of present Finnish government? This

Government appreciates thoroughly the historical, political, and economic considerations which would prompt a desire for recognition on the part of Finland. Answer promptly and fully. In this connection you may assure Finnish Chargé d'Affaires if occasion offers that the desire of the United States to assist Finland with food supplies is only limited by the urgent and vital needs of our allies and of our own forces in France.

LANSING

File No. 860d.00/6

The Secretary of State to the Consul at Helsingfors (Haynes)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, February 12, 1918, 3 p. m.

Your 13, January 24, 6 p. m. This Government appreciates thoroughly the considerations which prompt desire for recognition on part of Finland but is not yet prepared to take action. In this connection you may assure Finnish authorities that the purpose of the United States to assist Finland with food supplies is limited only by urgent and vital needs of our allies and of our own forces in France. Keep Department advised as to whether conditions develop so as to render possible proper control of distribution foodstuffs.

LANSING

File No. 860d.00/11

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, February 12, 1918, 3 p. m.

[Received 9.06 p. m.]

1479. Your 531, February 8, 7 p. m. In my opinion civil war in Finland is likely to continue for some time. Swedish Government has not shown any signs of intervening while Smolny¹ is sending active aid to the Reds. Arms are of course being smuggled across from here and a certain number of officers have gone over, but General Mannerheim will require time to organize his forces and he has not yet taken Tammerfors. Under these circumstances, I do not see the advantage and therefore do not recommend recognizing the independence of Finland, particularly as the Reds at Helsingfors would claim that their government should be recognized, since they hold the capital and all the important cities.

¹ Smolny Institute was used by the Bolsheviki as their headquarters.

However, since the White government is now in control of the north, I think it would be both politic and humanitarian to allow a portion of the food mentioned in your 531, February 8, 7 p. m., to come forward via Narvik, as I can arrange matters as to stopping delivery at any time if the Whites should not make proper use of it.

MORRIS

File No. 860d.00/11

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Page)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, February 13, 1918, 6 p. m.

6559. Referring to foodstuffs for Finland American Minister Stockholm reports that the party of law and order is now in control of north Finland and an initial shipment of foodstuffs should come forward especially as he can arrange matters so as to stop delivery at any time when it may appear that the distribution is not being properly controlled.

LANSING

File No. 861.00/1103

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, February 15, 1918, 5 p. m.

[Received February 16, 9.23 a. m.]

1503. The last deputy governor general of Finland,¹ who occupied this position for nine months just prior to the recent revolution, is in Stockholm. As he is considered one of the best authorities on Finnish affairs, I arranged for a conference as I thought it would be valuable for the Department to have his views. Prior to being deputy governor general of Finland he occupied the chair of international law at the University of Helsingfors for eleven years. He is married to a daughter of Admiral Van Reyepen, United States Navy.

The Finnish Red Guards are recruited almost entirely from the industrial laboring classes, although a small moderate element of this class is with the White Guards, the agricultural and farm-peasant type being almost everywhere universally opposed to the Red Guards. About 80 per cent of the Red Guards are Finns. The Red Guards at present hold the four principal cities of Finland, that is, Helsingfors, Tammerfors, Viborg and Åbo. It was to be expected that Mannerheim would encounter the least resistance in the northern part of Finland because with the possible exception of Uleåborg there are no

¹ Serge A. (Baron) Korff.

important cities there and consequently less industrial labor organization. He will encounter his most serious opposition when he reaches the Tammerfors-Helsingfors-Viborg line. Russian troops from this district have not been removed and they are probably still being reenforced from Petrograd. The principal reason for this reinforcement lies in the fact that the Russian Bolshevik organization, while having its principal offices in Petrograd, had its roots in Helsingfors and therefore the Bolsheviks are afraid of their own power if the Finnish *bourgeoisie* triumphs over the Red Guards. They are especially fearful lest the White Guards gain control of the Baltic Fleet as this would be a serious loss to the Red Guards and would even undermine the Bolsheviks themselves in Russia.

Of the 3,000,000 people in Finland, there are about 500,000 Swedes, not more than 50,000 Russian civilians, and at present not more than 20,000 Russian soldiers. The only food shipped into Finland by the Bolshevik Russians is for the Russian garrisons. This is not always sufficient and occasional looting results. The better class of Finns are to a man in favor of the White Guard. The reported wholesale murders and other violence in Finland have been exaggerated in the press.

The Finnish government are opposed to any direct assistance from Sweden. The reason for this is primarily that they desire to master the situation without outside aid but they also feel that if Sweden actively assisted them the present condition of civil war in Finland is certain to continue for some time to come. She might afterwards make demands which would be unacceptable to the Finnish government. What the Finnish government want, however, is for the Swedish Government to grant permission for the purchase in and transshipment through Sweden of arms and ammunition for Mannerheim's forces. Another reason against active Swedish intervention is that Swedish officials know that there is a certain amount of discontent among Swedish troops and that the troops might waver if ordered out of the country. A third reason might be that Sweden does not want to run the risk of creating future complications with Russia and sailors [Socialists] here.

MORRIS

File No. 861.00/1100

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, February 15, 1918, 6 p. m.

[Received February 16, 1.15 a. m.]

1504. The Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs informs me that on account of the scarcity of food on the Åland Islands and the

probable consequences arising out of such a scarcity between the armed Russian soldiers and the islanders, his government has requested Vorovski, the Bolshevik representative at Stockholm, to proceed to the Åland Islands for the purpose of inducing the Russian soldiers to leave the islands. In the event of a satisfactory arrangement, the Swedish Government will permit the necessary transports to take away the Russian soldiers.

MORRIS

File No. 860d.00/13

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, February 18, 1918.

[Received February 19, 4.25 a. m.]

1523. The Finnish Legation gave out following statement this morning:

1. Despite fact that Russian commissioners have recognized Finland's independence and repeated representations on part Finland's government the Russian Government have failed not only to withdraw their troops from Finnish territory but have added to them.

2. Before outbreak of Finnish war masses Russian agitators arrived in Finland who excited the people to fight the government and Landtag.

3. The Russian territorial committee at Helsingfors, representing the Commissioners' Council,¹ has declared war on the civic guard and Finland's government. The Commissioners' Council have officially not taken any marked attitude.

4. Against Finnish government troops stand numerous Russian troop divisions, Red Guardists, Russian soldiers garbed as civilians, and Finnish Red Guardists, armed and provided with artillery guns, armored train and automobiles.

5. The war in Finland is a fight between army Finnish subjects and Russian troop divisions including native rebels and is not a civil war.

6. The tension between a portion of the Social Democratic Party and majority of the Finnish people would never have developed into war had the Russian troops not interfered.

MORRIS

File No. 861.00/1122

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, February 19, 1918, 5 p. m.

[Received February 20, 1.35 a. m.]

1533. Minister of Marine informed me to-day regarding the Åland Islands that he had ordered Swedish vessels sent there for

¹ Soviet of People's Commissars.

the purpose of taking away the Russian garrison and Swedish and Finnish refugees. They may be [plan] to land the Finns who are Whites in northern Finland and bring Swedes and Russians to Sweden where Russians will be placed under guard on an island. He also stated that they would give arms to the islanders so as to enable them to defend themselves against the Bolsheviki and Red Guards who cross over from Finland.

The above would seem to indicate that the Swedish Government intends to take over the islands eventually in accordance with the desires of the population as expressed by the confederations [deputations] sent here some weeks ago.

MORRIS

File No. 860d.00/14

The Minister in Norway (Schmedeman) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

CHRISTIANIA, February 19, 1918, 6 p. m.

[Received 9.32 p. m.]

536. Minister for Foreign Affairs informed me to-day that Norwegian Government intended soon to accredit a minister or chargé d'affaires at Helsingfors and that Norway has adhered to Swedish *démarche* at Petrograd requesting withdrawal from Finland of Bolshevik troops. He added that Norway would send no military help to Finland but that Red Cross equipment and personnel would be sent as well as Norwegian fish and fish products for which a credit would be extended Finland.

SCHMEDEMAN

File No. 860d.00/21

The Ambassador in Russia (Francis) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PETROGRAD, February 19, 1918, 9 p. m.

[Received February 24, 10.33 a. m.]

2390. Kliefoth¹ just arrived from Torneå after eight days across Finland to Murmansk road and reports as follows:

White Guard, comprising an army of patriots totaling about 50,000 well-drilled and disciplined men and under command of Mannerheim, a Russian-Finnish general distinguished in present and the Russian-Japanese war, who is virtually dictator, is in absolute control of all Finland north of general line Björneborg-Tammerfors-Viborg. This force includes many Russian generals and officers,

¹Alfred W. Kliefoth, Vice Consul at Haparanda.

about 60 volunteer Swedish officers and only 6 volunteer Germans formerly affiliated with Finland. They are not fighting Russia, their sole object being to drive from their country Finnish-Bolshevik and Russian Red Guards and to establish Finnish independence. They are not expecting official German aid. Finland claims Åland Islands of which Sweden has taken possession.

FRANCIS

File No. 861.00/1133

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, February 21, 1918, 4 p. m.

[Received 10.25 p. m.]

1541. Minister of Foreign Affairs yesterday informed French Minister that as a result of negotiations between Vorovski, Bolshevik representative here, Russian soldiers, Red and White Guards, and the commander of Swedish expedition to the Åland Islands, it had been agreed that all three groups would leave the islands on Swedish ships on condition that Sweden would occupy islands with sufficient force to protect population, who do not wish to take sides in present Finnish struggle, but claim peace and protection. Swedish Government therefore decided to send, and did send yesterday, additional expedition composed of one infantry and one machine-gun company which with the force already there would amount to about 500 men. Commander has instructions not to land his troops before the three groups are ready to leave islands so as to avoid complications.

Minister of Foreign Affairs added that he desired to inform French and British Ministers of this, and to declare at the same time that this action was not to be considered as the beginning of a permanent occupation as the Swedish Government was still of the opinion that the Åland Islands question should be solved by negotiations between England, France, and Finland and if these negotiations led to no result, then at the peace conference.

MORRIS

File No. 763.72119/1364

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram—Extract]

STOCKHOLM, February 22, 1918.

[Received February 23, 12.37 a. m.]

1522. Swedish press reports via Petrograd's telegram bureau . . .

Reported from Haparanda White Guard taking steps to completely surround Tammerfors and move fighting line towards Riihi-

mäki, headquarters of Red troops. Reported from Haparanda rumored Germans taking measures for transporting troops to southwestern Finland charged with clearing northwestern coast and eastern center part of country of Red Guardists, and press them towards line of government troops, thus putting Red troops between two fires. Telegraphed from Vasa that Finland's official press bureau reports Whites determine continue struggle until they have won. Arrival of Finnish infantry from Germany has strengthened their confidence. Reported Finland's legal government's provisional food administration reduced bread rations from 100 to 75 grams a day. Are hoping obtain grain from Ukraine sent via Germany, and Finnish state authorized its representative Ukraine buy grain for 60,000,000 marks. These consignments can not reach Finland until April.

MORRIS

File No. 860d.00/41

Memorandum of the Secretary of State

February 27, 1918.

Dr. Reuter and Dr. Ignatius came to the Department this morning by appointment and presented to me their credentials from the Government of Finland. They asked that we give recognition to Finland as an independent state.

I replied that this Government was very sympathetic with Finland's aspirations for independence and that we were disposed to recognize the Government there as *de facto* and that we sincerely hoped in a short time a stable constitutional government would be established.

I further said that the Commissioners must appreciate the fact that at present it would be unwise for this Government to take any official action in view of the disorder and confusion which prevailed in Finland; but that we looked forward hopefully to a satisfactory ending of these unfortunate conditions and that when that time came I should be glad to receive them again.

I also said that I was speaking unofficially and personally to them on this subject and that I was anticipating the time when I could speak with more authority.

The Commissioners said they were very desirous to see the President upon this subject and asked me my views as to the possibility of an interview with him.

I answered that I did not believe it was possible at present and that it would be, in my opinion, inadvisable for them to do so until the political situation in Finland was more favorable.

The Commissioners then showed me an address which they had been authorized to deliver to the President and I suggested to them that they retain it until an opportunity was offered for them to present it personally. This they agreed to do.

ROBERT LANSING

File No. 860d.00/27a

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Sweden (Morris)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, February 28, 1918, 5 p. m.

571. For Finnish Legation:

Presented credentials today to Secretary Lansing who, expressing personal views, said America recognizes that Finland has set up a *de facto* government. He also assured us of America's sympathy for Finland's aspiration for independence. President unable to receive us pending internal disturbances in Finland. Secretary Lansing advised us to wait until authority of Finnish government firmly established whereupon audience with President would probably follow and recognition discussed. Please transmit above to Finnish government. Reuter, Ignatius.

LANSING

File No. 860d.01

*The Finnish Commissioner (Reuter) to the Secretary of State*¹

FINLAND'S CONSTITUTION: AT FIRST RESPECTED, 1809-1899, OVERRIDDEN BY TSAR NICHOLAS 1899-1905

The constitution of Finland, solemnly guaranteed to her by the Russian Emperor Alexander I, who declared that his guarantees were binding not only on himself but also on his successors, was on the whole respected by Russia and her rulers from 1809, when Finland was united to Russia, until the last decade of the nineteenth century. During the reign of Alexander II and in the first years of the reign of Alexander III the constitutional rights were even to some degree extended, the Finnish legislature (the Landtdag) being invested with larger powers than before.

In the reign of the last Russian Tsar a reactionary régime began, and during the era of oppression, commencing in 1899, numerous Finnish patriots were exiled or deported to remote parts of Russia. One of the most important results of this régime was the disbandment of the Finnish Army in 1902, after which year there has been

¹ Note in the margin of MS.: "Handed to Mr. Miles by Dr. Reuter, Finnish commissioner, Mar. 1, 1918."

no conscription in Finland, but instead a military contribution, amounting to 20,000,000 Finnish marks per annum, has been paid to Russia. The separation of Finland from Russia last year, therefore, did not in the least affect the fighting power of Russia.

CONSTITUTION RESTORED, SHORT PERIOD OF IMPORTANT REFORMS, 1905-1908

The popular movements in Russia as well as in Finland following on the war with Japan forced on the Tsar an attitude of a more liberal policy, the fruit of which in Russia consisted in the establishment of the legislative chambers, the Duma and the Council of Empire, while in Finland a manifesto was issued on November 4, 1905, "for the restoration of legal order in Finland," that is, a repeal of all, or at least the most important, of the numerous illegal and anti-constitutional measures taken by the Russian authorities in regard to Finland during the preceding period.

This manifesto became the signal in Finland for the introduction of many much-needed reforms, which it had been impossible to carry out before. Thus, to cite here the most important measures only, the Finnish Landtdag, which was the direct continuation of the old Swedish Riksdag, and consisted of four chambers with a very limited franchise, was replaced by a new legislature consisting of 200 members, sitting in one chamber only, and the franchise was extended to every Finnish citizen, man and woman, who is 24 years of age, without any property qualifications or other restrictions, except in the case of criminals and lunatics. A system of proportional election was introduced. Freedom of the press, of associations, and of meetings was guaranteed by law. Measures were also taken for extending civil rights to the Jews (of whom there are in Finland about 1,000), but owing to the reaction which set in in Russia it was impossible to pass the laws on this matter.

REACTIONARY TENDENCIES, POLICY OF OPPRESSION RESUMED, 1908-1917

It did not last long till these reactionary tendencies began to make themselves felt among the Russian autocratic and bureaucratic wire pullers. As for Russia proper, these tendencies resulted in the passing of new electoral laws, whereby the liberal elements were largely debarred from the Duma. As for Finland, the old policy of Russification was once more embarked upon, and the first signs of it appeared in 1908. In 1910 a law was enacted in Russia, withdrawing all more important matters of Finnish legislation from the competency of the Finnish Landtdag and investing legislative powers regarding Finland in the Russian legislature.

OPINION OF EUROPEAN JURISPRUDENTS

This law of 1910 was passed in spite of vigorous protests of the Finnish Diet, and without paying any regard to the reasoned opinion of several European jurists who met at a conference in February and March 1910 in the house of the late Dr. John Westlake, K. C., that eminent English international lawyer, under the chairmanship of another great English lawyer, Sir Frederick Pollock, while Sir Edward Fry sent a written statement to be appended to the protocol of this conference which was drawn up by one of its members, the French international lawyer, Professor A. de Lapradelle. The Finnish claims were strongly upheld in this protocol, but without avail.

PERSECUTION OF FINNISH OFFICIALS AND JUDGES

The law of 1910 was forced through the Russian legislature, and now followed a period of oppression in no manner less severe than the period between 1899 and 1905. A great many Finnish officials and judges now found themselves confronted with the workings of this illegally enacted law, and incurred severe punishment for their loyalty to the Finnish laws which they had sworn to uphold. Thus twenty-three judges of the court of appeal of Viborg were sentenced by a Russian law court—lower in grade than the court of which they were members—to sixteen months' confinement in Russian prisons, dismissed from their judgeships and disqualified to hold any office, salaried or honorary, for ten years.

THE OUTBREAK OF THE WAR; DEPORTATION OF MR. P. E. SVINHUFVUD,
SPEAKER OF THE LANDTDAG

Such was the state of things when the war broke out. It was then largely hoped in Finland that the Tsar would do the generous thing and restore Finland to her constitutional rights. But such hopes were soon scattered. On the contrary, in October 1914 the Tsar gave his sanction to a program of the complete Russification of Finland, but only some of its items were actually carried out. Others were deferred on account of representations made by the governments of some of the Allied powers. Nevertheless, cases of severe oppression occurred, the most notable being the deportation to Siberia of one of the most universally respected Finnish citizens, Mr. P. E. Svinhufvud, who 1905-1911 had been speaker of the Finnish Landtdag. It was not until the outbreak of the Russian revolution in March 1917 that he was allowed to return.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE LANDTDAG

Since the war broke out the Finnish Landtdag had not once been convened, though it is especially provided that it should meet every year, and no exception is made for time of war. In 1916 the mandates of the members of the Landtdag expired, and new elections took place. Seeing that there was very little prospect of the legislature being convened to a session, the participation at the election was very lame, only 50 per cent of the electorate going to the poll. The Socialist contingent of the electorate, however, took a livelier part, and the result of the election was that 103 Socialist members were returned, as against 97 members belonging to various non-Socialist party groups.

THE BEGINNING OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION; FINLAND'S AUTONOMY RESTORED

When the Russian revolution broke out in March 1917, and the Tsarist régime came to an end, things seemed to take a better turn for Finland. The members of the Temporary Government then formed in Russia were opposed to the previous régime also in its policy toward Finland, and one of the first steps of this new government was to restore Finland's constitutional rights and her autonomous position. The Finnish Landtdag was at once convened, and the Finnish government, which before the revolution was largely composed by Russians, contrary to the Finnish Constitution, under which only Finnish citizens can hold office in Finland, was deposed, and a new government formed. Since the majority in the Landtdag consisted of Socialists, it was offered to that party to form the government, but as they did not care to take over the responsibility, a coalition government was formed with a Socialist majority.

THE WORKING OF THE FINNISH CONSTITUTION

It will be necessary, in order to elucidate further events in Finland, to give a brief sketch of the working of the Finnish Constitution.

The legislation in Finland is carried on by the Landtdag, but in minor matters the sovereign, i. e., the Russian Emperor in his capacity of Grand Duke of Finland, had the power to issue ordinances. All laws passed by the Landtdag must receive the sanction of the sovereign. The administration is invested in the Finnish government (called the Senate, which is not an upper legislative house, but the executive) and ultimately by the sovereign. All matters concerning foreign relations belong to the Emperor. The Tsar, as Grand Duke of Finland, appoints the members of the Finnish

government (who should, constitutionally, be chosen from among Finnish citizens); it belongs to him to summon the Diet, to dissolve the Landtdag, to issue writs for new elections, etc. When the Tsar abdicated, the powers formerly under the Finnish Constitution belonging to the Emperor-Grand Duke, were vested in the Russian Temporary Government.

DISORDERS AMONG THE RUSSIAN SOLDIERY

In the meantime among the Russian soldiery stationed in Finland all bonds of discipline were dissolved. Hundreds of Russian officers were killed in Finland by their own men, who also perpetrated numerous acts of violence against Finnish citizens and constantly interfered in the internal affairs of Finland. The Finnish government made repeated representations to the Russian Temporary Government, and the latter's remonstrances to their troops in Finland were of no avail. On the contrary, the soldiers and sailors committed graver acts of violence, robbing and murdering. It soon became evident that, whereas the Tsarist régime was unwilling to respect Finland's autonomy, the new Russian government was unable to carry out its undoubtedly good intentions.

CRAVING FOR INDEPENDENCE

The craving for independence fostered among the Finlanders during the rule of Russian bureaucracy, and temporarily lulled in consequence of the renewed Russian promises, now grew in intensity among all party groups in Finland, *bourgeois* as well as Socialists, and the question of complete independence was publicly discussed in the press, and the Finnish premier at that time, a Socialist, officially proclaimed total independence as the aim of Finnish aspirations.

THE LANDTDAG DISSOLVED; NEW ELECTIONS; DEFEAT OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY; NON-SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT FORMED

In the meantime, the Landtdag was at work, and in July a bill was adopted, principally carried by the Socialist vote, by which the supreme power, including that of sanctioning laws and appointing members of the government, was to be vested in the Landtdag, and thus to be withdrawn from the Russian Temporary Government. This last-named government, however, which, as pointed out above, had taken over the functions of the Grand Duke of Finland, refused to sanction this bill, dissolved the Diet, and issued writs for new elections. In consequence hereof the Socialist members of the Finnish government resigned, while the non-Socialist members remained as a working cabinet pending the result of the new elections. These took place on October 1 and 2, 1917, and resulted in a defeat

of the Socialist Party, only 92 Socialist members being returned, instead of 103 in the previous Landtdag. A new government was now formed, in which no Socialist took office. The new Premier was Mr. P. E. Svinhufvud, who is at present head of the Finnish government.

THE BOLSHEVIST RÉGIME IN RUSSIA; RED GUARDS IN FINLAND

At about this time important events had happened in Russia culminating in the victory of the Bolshevik wing of the Socialists over the moderate Socialist parties. The Russian reign of terror had grown in strength, and spread to Finland. The Socialists in Finland proclaimed a general strike in Helsingfors and organized a force called the Red Guards, ostensibly to keep order in the city, but really in order to terrorize the inhabitants. These guards were formed out of the dregs of the population, and their ranks included many criminals. They received rifles and ammunition from the Russian soldiers and sailors, and they committed numerous murders in Helsingfors and its vicinity, killing about 40 peaceful citizens. Also in other districts of Finland gross disturbances occurred. The Socialist leaders stood aghast over these atrocities, but they were powerless against the evil passions now let loose. However, order was eventually restored, and the Landtdag, which in the meantime had assembled in Helsingfors, could begin its work.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

In Russia there was complete anarchy. The Temporary Russian Government, at its latest stages so intimately associated with the name of M. Kerensky, had ceased to exist, and the Bolshevik government was by no means generally recognized by the Russian people, and still less by the governments of the Allied powers. This being the case, the Finnish government found the only salvation for Finland in proclaiming the independence of the country. The government therefore drew up a declaration of independence, which was presented to the Landtdag on December 4, 1917, and unanimously adopted by it. The Landtdag, furthermore, adopted an address, couched in deferential terms, to be presented to the Russian National Assembly, which then was expected to meet on the 11th of December, in which the reasons were given for the step now taken by the Finnish people, and asking for the Assembly's recognition. It should, perhaps, be added here, that in Russian government circles it had repeatedly been asserted that full liberty was conceded to Finland to determine her political status up to complete independence. The Landtdag also delegated to the government powers to take all necessary steps for carrying out the policy of independence.

RECOGNITION OF THE BOLSHEVIK GOVERNMENT AND OF FOREIGN POWERS

The Finnish government consequently sent out commissions to various foreign powers in order to notify them of the declaration of independence and ask for their recognition. The first power to be thus approached was Sweden, and the deputation to the Swedish Government received from the King of Sweden on December 28 a reply, assuring the deputation of profound sympathies in Sweden but making it a condition for Sweden's recognition that the independence of Finland had previously been recognized by Russia.

As has been said above, the Finnish legislature and government had decided to seek the recognition from the Russian National Assembly. Since, however, it became highly uncertain at what date the Assembly would meet, if indeed it was allowed to meet at all, the Finnish government decided to approach the Russian Soviet government, which early in January decided to recognize Finland as an independent and sovereign republic. A joint commission of Russian and Finnish representatives was appointed to evaluate certain Russian government properties in Finland, such as the telegraph service, etc., to be redeemed by Finland, both parties binding themselves to submit to the findings of this commission.

As soon as the recognition of the Soviet government was known, Sweden definitely recognized the independence of Finland, and similar recognitions then followed in rapid succession: by France—even before the deputation charged with notifying the French government had arrived—Denmark, Norway, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Switzerland, Spain.

The Finnish deputation to Great Britain received from Mr. Balfour the following answer, published in the *Times* (London) on January 31:

Mr. Balfour has informed the Finnish mission now in this country that Great Britain fully approves the reasons for Finland's independence, and disapproves of the former Russian policy of oppression. The British Government has already recognized *de facto* Finland's independence by entering into direct relations through the appointment of the British Consul General at Helsingfors.

The presence of Russian soldiery in Finland is regarded as inconsistent with the Bolsheviks' recognition of Finland's independence, as foreign troops cannot occupy a sovereign country. The British Government hopes soon to be able to recognize Finland's independence *de jure*, this depending either upon a favourable view of consolidated Russian political power, or continued disorder.

Mr. Balfour also assured the mission that he was convinced that Finland would soon take her place forever among the sovereign nations.

To this it may be added that the British Government has consented to the establishment of a Finnish Consulate General in London.

File No. 860d.00/45

Mr. Santeri Nuorteva to the Secretary of State

WASHINGTON, March 9, 1918.

[Received March 11.]

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that I have been appointed by the provisional revolutionary government of the people's republic of Finland to represent the interests of the said government in the United States, particularly with reference to the vital and urgent problem of food supplies for the Finnish people. In view of the uncertainty of the political situation in Finland and Russia at this time, and particularly in view of the conflicting claims of the two rival governments in Finland, I do not at this time ask for official recognition by the Government of the United States; but speaking in behalf of the great majority of the people of Finland, I am at this time primarily interested in helping them to secure some dispensable food-stuffs from this country to save them from actual starvation.

With this object in view I have taken the liberty of submitting an application for leave to purchase and ship certain supplies to Honorable Herbert C. Hoover, Food Administrator, United States Food Administration, a copy of which application I have the honor to submit herewith. I was informed by the Food Administration that there was no objection on its part to the purchase and shipment of certain of the specified food products under the plan outlined in the application above mentioned, but that such arrangement required the sanction of the State Department.

I hereby respectfully submit the following applications to the State Department and urgently request speedy and favorable action thereon:

- (1) For the approval by your Department of the arrangement for the purchase, shipment, and distribution of such food-stuffs as outlined in the application to the Honorable Herbert C. Hoover;
- (2) For the right to communicate by cable and letter with the provisional revolutionary government of the people's republic of Finland on the subject of opening credits in this country for the purchase of such food supplies and for all other matters in connection with such transaction;
- (3) For the issuance of a passport to my representative, whom I contemplate sending to Sweden and Finland for the purpose of facilitating such transactions. The said proposed representative is a naturalized American citizen, of Finnish birth, and will make formal application for such passport immediately.

I also respectfully submit, for the information of your Department, a brief memorandum upon the status, *de jure* and *de facto*, of

the government which I have the honor to represent, and upon the present political situation of Finland.

If you will deem it proper to grant me an informal interview, I shall be happy to supplement the statements contained in the memorandum with such additional information on the subject that you may desire.

Very respectfully,

SANTERI NUORTEVA

[Enclosure 1]

Memorandum of the status, "de jure" and "de facto," of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the People's Republic of Finland

On behalf of the provisional revolutionary government of the people's republic of Finland, I hereby respectfully beg to bring to the knowledge of the Government and the people of the United States the following facts with reference to the present status of the government of the Finnish republic:

On July 18, 1917, the Finnish Diet declared the independence of Finland. This declaration was subsequently, on September 14, ratified at another session of the Diet, and later the independence of Finland was officially recognized by the present government of the Russian Republic.

The preceding Provisional Government of Russia, however, in August 1917, refused to recognize the Finnish declaration of independence and assumed to dissolve the Finnish Diet, which act, however, was entirely unauthorized and illegal. Following the alleged dissolution of the Diet new elections were ordered and a new government based on such election was formed. This is the "government" now in control of the northern part of Finland and represented in this country by Dr. Julio Reuter.

On January 27, 1918, this "government" was deposed by a revolutionary uprising of the people, and a new government was formed, known as the provisional government of the people's republic of Finland, which I have the honor to represent in this country.

The motives of the revolution were political as well as social. The political and juridical relations between Finland and Russia were, according to interpretations of weighty authorities on international law, a personal union, the monarch of Russia being the Grand Duke of Finland, invested with the powers, and subject to the limitations enumerated in the Constitution of Sweden, as it stood at the time of Finland's annexation by Russia in 1809, and as amended from time to time by the Finnish Diet with the approval of the Russian Government. One of the provisions of the Constitution was that if the monarch should be dethroned or lose sovereignty for any reason the supreme power should automatically pass into the hands of the Diet.

Thus the effect of the Russian revolution was to empower the Finnish Diet to take full charge of the government of the country. In accordance with that interpretation, the Finnish Diet, on July 18, 1917, by a vote of 136 to 55, passed a bill proclaiming Finland's independence, of which the following is a literal translation:

Be it enacted:

WHEREAS the prerogatives of the regent have been eliminated, the Finnish Diet resolves as follows:

1

The Finnish Diet alone decides, enforces, and executes all the laws of Finland, including those concerning state economy, taxation, and customs.

The power of the Diet is supreme also in all other Finnish matters in which the Tsar and Grand Duke heretofore had the decisive vote.

The provisions of this law do not include the foreign policies, the military statutes, or the military administration.

2

The Diet may convene without special call and it has the right to prorogue its sessions. Until a new form of government has been agreed upon in detail, the Diet, according to the election laws, shall determine upon new elections and the dissolution of the Diet.

3

The Diet appoints the supreme executive power of Finland.

The supreme executive power shall temporarily be in the hands of the economic department of the Finnish Senate, its members to be appointed and recalled by the Diet.

The Diet which adopted the above declaration, and which was controlled by the Socialists, did not at that time assume the government pursuant to the provisions of the declaration because the non-Socialist parties refused to attend the sessions of the Diet after it had been illegally dissolved by the Provisional Government of Russia. Subsequently, however, when through the illegal election above mentioned, the reactionary elements secured the control of the alleged new Diet, they reaffirmed the declaration of independence and assumed to form a government under its terms.

The chief reasons for the revolution were, however, more deep-seated than the purely juridic justification. In the first place, the government elected by the illegal Diet entered into such relations with the German Government, which threatened to jeopardize the new-won independence of Finland and to betray the cause of the Russian revolution—the real liberation of Finland. The representatives of that Finnish “government” attempted at Brest-Litovsk to conclude a treaty with Germany similar to that made by the pro-German representatives of Ukraine. Even without waiting for a formal conclusion of peace with Germany, the illegal “government” of Finland entered into official relations with Germany, appointing a formal mission to Berlin. Subsequently, as we are informed from seemingly reliable sources, the deposed government actually entered into a political and economic treaty, practically placing the country under German protectorate. Latest advices, which seem quite credible, are to the effect that the representatives of the so-called conservative “government” are negotiating with Germany for the reestablishment of the monarchical form of government with one of the sons of the Kaiser as the King of Finland.

Such plans and activities of the pro-German element in Finland were deeply resented by the masses of the people, who well understood that the influence of German autocracy in Finland meant the destruction of all hopes of democratic evolution in the country and were an incalculable danger to the revolution not only in Finland but in Russia as well.

At the same time the illegal “government” of Finland did little or nothing to alleviate the misery and hunger of the people. Profiteering was allowed without restriction. Vitally necessary social legislation was hampered and reactionary measures were taken toward establishing oligarchical class rule.

The revolution of January 1918 was organized and accomplished by the labor organizations. The deposed government fled to the northern part of the country and has succeeded in maintaining itself, with the help of German-imported arms and soldiers, in the most sparsely populated section, inhabited by about one fourth of the people. The entire southern and middle regions, comprising the most important industrial, economic, and political centers, are in the control of the new revolutionary government which is rapidly reestablishing order and asserting its authority.

The provisional government of Finland consists of fourteen members, named the People's Commissaries, elected by the labor unions, cooperative societies, and the Socialist Party organizations. This government claims title as a provisional government, acting until order is reestablished throughout the country and until new elections are held and a new constitution is adopted.

The provisional government is supported by a voluntary army of workers' militia, comprising from 100,000 to 150,000 active and disciplined members. The authority of the new government is upheld and supported by a powerful chain of organizations, which in every town and village of the country, to some extent even in the northern part, work in sympathy with it and temporarily exercise the functions of local administration.

The provisional revolutionary government of Finland is in full sympathy with the revolutionary government of Russia and in active and close cooperation with it. Recently, I am informed, the government of Russia signed a treaty with the provisional government of Finland recognizing Finland's complete independence, even in the domain of foreign policies and military matters excluded from the provisions of the act of July 18, 1917.

Unless the deposed government succeeds in subjecting the country to the German autocracy, there is absolutely no chance of depriving the workers' organizations of the control of the country. And even then the workers' organizations of Finland are determined to render the most desperate resistance to the establishment of German autocracy in Finland. The power of the workers' organizations in Finland is by no means accidental or temporary. Since 1905, when the laboring classes of Finland, after long years of struggle, succeeded in abolishing the reactionary feudal political structure and establishing universal and equal suffrage, the Socialist Party has been in steady ascendancy. In 1907 it held 40 per cent of the seats in the Diet. This number steadily increased in subsequent elections until in the election of 1916, which was the last legal election, the party representing the workers' organizations secured an absolute majority of the Diet.

The reactionary policies of the opponents of the labor movement, and their present policy of relying upon German autocracy in their fight against the democratic institutions and movements in Finland, have forever discredited them in the eyes of the people. The popular resentment against the pro-German element in Finland is increased by the fact that although the country for the past ten years has had a liberal constitution in regard to general political rights, the country has in many respects remained extremely reactionary in its social institutions, as the wealthy classes, so long as the legislative power of the Diet was subject to approval by the Russian Government, always used their influence with the Russian Government to thwart progressive legislation of the Diet. Thus, for instance, the agricultural system of Finland in many respects retains elements of survival of medieval serfdom, the tenants being compelled to pay rent in the form of compulsory service without regard to the market price of labor. Public officers are appointed for lifetime and the spirit of arrogant

bureaucracy prevails in the public offices. The laws, civil as well as criminal, have as their basis the obsolete code of Sweden of the eighteenth century.

The struggle of the working people of Finland, a struggle which has lasted for a century, against internal and external tyranny, is in its present aspects a struggle for real democracy, for industrial as well as political freedom, and for modern civilization against medieval autocracy. I sincerely believe it has a just claim upon the full sympathy on the part of the democracy of the world.

Respectfully submitted,

SANTERI NUORTEVA

[Enclosure 2]

Mr. Santeri Nuorteva to the Food Administrator (Hoover)

SIR: Supplementing my conversations with your office, permit me to submit the following facts and requests with respect to the food situation in Finland:

Finland is starving.

For months the greater part of the three and one-half million of the people of Finland have been without bread. Other foods are scarce. Leeches and ground bark are the chief food of hundreds of thousands of the Finnish people. Thousands have actually died of hunger. Thousands are slowly starving to death.

Prior to the war Finland had to rely largely upon imported food products. During the war the dislocation of commerce almost completely cut off Finland from food supplies. With the breakdown of transportation facilities in Russia assistance from that country was reduced to practically nothing.

On top of the lack of food supplies from the outside, the crops of Finland last year were much below normal, due largely to the inability to import fertilizer, without which the soil of Finland is relatively unproductive. While her suffering is equal to, if not greater than that of almost any other nation, Finland's tragedy is so much greater because the world seems not to have been able to pay any attention to her.

Acting on behalf of the provisional government of Finland, I hereby respectfully call the attention of America to the bitter need of Finland. Great as is the call for relief of the war-stricken world upon the generous American people, the cry of the Finns, we are sure, will not remain unheard.

Allowing one pound of grain per day per capita for five months from the 15th of April, when the supplies possibly could reach Finland if sent at once, to the 15th of September, when the new crop will be available, the people of Finland would require 262,000 tons of grain, other foodstuffs being practically exhausted. The available domestic supply being almost at an end, the calculated shortage for the year was 140,000 tons; actually it was much larger. Finland, to save herself from immediate starvation, will need at least 40,000 tons within the next few months. This need is urgent. Nothing but speedy help will save a large part of the population from death by starvation.

The provisional government of Finland is able and ready to pay for every pound of food, and I understand the most necessary foodstuffs, corn, oats, and barley, are available for export without inconvenience to America or her allies.

Yet there are many difficulties confronting the shipment of food to Finland:

If the deposed Finnish government, now in control of the northern section, more or less openly allied with Germany and aiding German invasion of Finland, should be allowed to receive the supplies, they might fall into German

hands or be used in furtherance of Germany's military plans, or else only one fourth of the population of Finland would get the benefit of the relief, only one fourth of the population living in the area controlled by the deposed government.

The government, which I have the honor to represent and which came into power through the revolution of January 1918, is ready to take full charge of the food supplies and to pledge itself to distribute such supplies impartially among the whole population, regardless of location or political affiliations. The provisional government of Finland, however, has no desire to involve the political aspects of the situation in the vital problem of food for the people.

I shall be glad to assist arrangements which will offer to the United States Government adequate guarantees that the food will not fall into German hands and relieve the government of the necessity of passing, in this connection, upon the contending claims of the rival governments in Finland.

Leaving the way open to any other practical proposition, I respectfully suggest the following plan:

1. A committee of well-known and reliable citizens of the United States shall be formed for the purpose of supervising and controlling all purchases and shipments of such food supplies.

2. A similar committee of citizens in Sweden shall be formed, possibly under the chairmanship of the mayor of Stockholm, and under the supervision of representatives of the United States in Sweden, to cooperate in conjunction with the American committee. The Swedish committee shall receive and hold all food shipments and apportion them in proper instalments among the population of the country as a whole, regardless of political affiliations and in a manner which will prevent their falling into German hands.

3. All expenses of the purchase, shipment, and distribution of the supplies will be borne by the provisional government of Finland which I have the honor to represent. If I am allowed freely to communicate with the Finnish government at this time I shall be able to establish credits in the United States fully covering all expenditures involved in the transaction.

Respectfully submitted,

SANTERI NUORTEVA

File No. 860d.00/45

The Secretary of State to Mr. Santeri Nuorteva

WASHINGTON, March 20, 1918.

SIR: The Department has received your letter of February 26,¹ addressed to the President, and also your letter of March 9, with enclosure, addressed to the Secretary of State, regarding the political situation in Finland and the urgent need for food supplies.

As you are perhaps aware, the situation in Finland has been, and is receiving the careful consideration of the Department.

I am [etc.]

For the Secretary of State:

ALVEY A. ADEE

¹ Not printed.

Treaties between Finland and the Soviet Government, March 1, 1918, and between Finland and the German Government, March 7, 1918

File No. 763.72119/1442

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, March 8, 1918.

[Received March 9, 4.45 a. m.]

1647. Swedish press reports to-day peace treaty was signed between Germany and Finland including commercial and maritime agreement supplemented by a protocol. Germany guarantees Finland's independence be recognized by all powers. Finland is not to relinquish any part of her territory or grant any servitude to any foreign power without first reaching agreement with Germany. Sections in Russo-German peace treaty concerning Finland to be replaced by others more in accordance with altered conditions. German war prisoners in Finland and Finnish war prisoners in Germany will be exchanged soon as possible. Regarding Åland question, it is resolved fortifications in islands shall be removed at earliest possible time. A special agreement will provide that islands are to remain unfortified in future.

MORRIS

File No. 763.72119/1895

The Chargé in Sweden (Whitehouse) to the Secretary of State

No. 1292

STOCKHOLM, August 10, 1918.

[Received September 11.]

SIR: I have the honor to call your attention to the following articles in the Finnish-German treaties, dated March 7 last:

The actual peace treaty contains, on the whole, merely the usual regulations as to the resumption of commercial intercourse, the exchange of prisoners of war, mutual obligations of compensation, etc. Articles 1 and 30 are the only two of any far-reaching significance.

By Article 1, clause 2, Germany guarantees that Finland's independence shall be recognized by all other powers, while Finland on her part must pledge herself not to cede any part of her territory to any foreign power or grant to any such power any suzerainty over her own sovereign power without having previously obtained Germany's consent.

Article 30 treats of the Åland Islands, the fortresses on which are to be done away with. Concerning the future of the islands from

a military and technical shipping point of view, an agreement will be made between Sweden, Finland, Russia, and Germany, and, if the latter desires it, other Baltic states also. The Åland treaty of March 30, 1856, will be adopted as the basis for negotiations. These regulations in the Finnish-German treaty have their counterpart in Article 6, clause 4, of the German-Russian treaty.

In connection with the Finnish-German commercial and shipping treaty concluded at the same time the following points will be of a certain interest:

It is laid down in Article 2 that the subjects of both the high contracting powers should conjointly enjoy the same privileges as to trade as the citizens in each respective country. As far as Germany is concerned this is a great step in advance, since formerly Germans in Finland only had the same rights as were accorded to subjects of most-favored nations.

In addition, by a note of the Finnish delegates, dated March 7, 1918, to the German Imperial Chancellor, it was stated that—

According to Article 2 of the commercial and shipping agreement between Finland and the German Empire of to-day's date the subjects of the one country in the domain of the other country shall, in respect of trade and industry, be on an equal footing with the inhabitants. The Finnish government presumes that the above decision will not cause any change in the rules that obtain in Finland, which, in respect of certain companies, make it a condition that Finnish state authorities should be among the members of the committee. Nevertheless, the Finnish government will, with all possible speed, propose to the Finnish Landtdag a law rendering it possible to place the subjects of the German Empire on an equal footing with the inhabitants of Finland in that respect also, and will make every effort to pass and enforce the law.

Article 6 of the commercial treaty shows that Finland, although looked upon as a favored nation in Germany, has not the right to claim the same advantages which the latter can bestow on Austria-Hungary or any other direct or indirect neighboring country that has a customs league with Germany. At the same time Finland is bound, apart from frontier traffic within an area of 15 kilometers, not to grant any special advantages to Russia, but rather to establish a customs boundary respecting that country.

The Finns have reserved the coastal traffic between home ports to vessels flying the Finnish flag and the only concession Germany was able to obtain was in Article 12 which states that the advantages in this regard, which Finland eventually may grant to any third power, will also be awarded to Germany.

I have [etc.]

SHELDON WHITEHOUSE

File No. 760d.62/-

The Chargé in Sweden (Whitehouse) to the Secretary of State

No. 1492

STOCKHOLM, November 18, 1918.

[Received December 14.]

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith to the Department, for its information, copies with translations of a secret agreement between Finland and Germany, dated March 7, 1918.

I have [etc.]

SHELDON WHITEHOUSE

[Enclosure 1—Translation]

The German Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Von Stumm) to the Finnish Plenipotentiaries (Hjelt and Erich)

A. A. Fr. II.677

BERLIN, March 7, 1918.

The undersigned has the honor to submit the following to Dr. Hjelt, Cabinet Minister, and Professor Dr. Erich, delegates of the Finnish government.

In order to prevent Germany from suffering through the reestablishment of internal order in Finland, brought about by German help, and the powers engaged in war against the former from deriving benefit therefrom, the Imperial German Government must lay stress on the fulfilment of the following wishes:

1. Finland is not to allow the powers engaged in war with Germany to take possession of Finnish railways or to establish themselves in Finnish harbors or coastal positions.

2. The Finnish government shall intern the naval forces of the powers engaged in war with Germany and her allies which may be or may arrive in Finnish waters.

3. The Finnish government declares itself willing to help the German naval forces by its pilotage system and the channel markings in Finnish waters.

4. Finland admits Germany's right to establish bases anywhere on Finnish territory for the German naval forces during the period of military support.

5. The Finnish government is to prohibit the export and transfer to foreigners of Finnish merchant ships, shares in the same, and also the alienation of shares in shipping concerns until the restoration of general peace.

The Finnish government shall during the designated period place the chartering of Finnish merchant ships under its control and only permit it in strictly Finnish interests.

No exceptions are to be made regarding merchant vessels at present in the Baltic Sea.

6. The Finnish government shall allow the Finnish merchant vessels at present in the Baltic Sea to navigate only this sea during the period mentioned in Paragraph 5. It furthermore declares its willingness to have enforced the restriction regarding this navigation which is necessitated by the German sea-warfare and which is to be agreed upon between it and the German Admiralty.

7. The Finnish government shall prohibit, during the period of military support, the granting of shore leave to the crews of foreign vessels lying in Finnish waters, unless they are Finnish subjects.

8. The Finnish government agrees to the establishment of a German control office at Torneå during the period of military support for the observation of enemy espionage.

Regarding the execution, reservation is made of the agreement between the two governments.

9. The Finnish government will see to it that the present supplies of the country as well as the further production of exportable goods will be utilized

as far as possible for the benefit of Germany and her allies during the period mentioned in Paragraph 5. These supplies and products shall be used especially as payment for the war material delivered by Germany.

The Finnish government shall accordingly during the time mentioned issue and maintain export prohibitions, especially for rough and finished wood, wooden ships, cellulose, cardboard, paper, skins and hides, wool, flax, and other textile materials, tin, nickel, copper and copper alloys and other scarce metals as well as waste therefrom; also mineral oils, caoutchouc, and old rubber. Exceptions to these prohibitions may be made only with the consent of the German Government.

The German Government shall not refuse to make exceptions for wood, wooden ships, cellulose, cardboard, and paper in so far as export of these articles to the Scandinavian countries is concerned and the question of payment for war materials delivered is not involved.

On the other hand the German Government's requests for permission of exportation to Germany or to her allies shall be granted to the greatest possible extent, in so far as consideration for Finland's own requirements does not stand in the way.

While the undersigned awaits a favorable answer as to the Finnish government's readiness to agree to the above-mentioned wishes, he also avails himself [etc.]

STUMM

[Enclosure 2—Translation]

The Finnish Plenipotentiaries (Hjelt and Erich) to the German Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Von Stumm)

BERLIN, March 7, 1918.

The undersigned have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the note of to-day, Foreign Office Fr. II 677, from the Honorable the Undersecretary of State in A[uswärtigen] A[mt] Mr. Von Stumm, and to declare that the Finnish government in every respect agrees to the Imperial German Government's wishes as laid forth in Paragraphs 1 to 9, and necessary steps will immediately be taken for executing the same.

The undersigned avail themselves [etc.]

DR. HJELT

DR. ERICH

[Enclosure 3—Translation]

The Acting Chief of the Admiralty Staff of the German Navy (Von Below) to the German Naval Attaché at Stockholm

26532

BERLIN, September 10, 1918.

The enclosed treaty for your information.

Your attention is specially drawn to the fact that this secret treaty must not under any circumstances be made public.

The visa on the declaration of acknowledgment is to be given only when the agreement regarding export with the naval representative at Helsingfors, K[orvetten] Kapitän Reuter, is at hand.

VON BELOW

File No. 763.72119/3168

The Chargé in Russia (Poole) to the Secretary of State

No. 1258

ARCHANGEL, November 20, 1918.

[Received December 23.]

SIR: I have the honor to refer to a telegraphic instruction which the Department addressed to me in care of the American Legation

at Stockholm on the subject of the texts of the Brest Litovsk and certain other treaties, and which was repeated by the Legation to me at Archangel. Under date of November 14 I telegraphed the Legation at Stockholm as follows:

I believe that the complete texts of the Brest Litovsk treaties were sent to the Department by pouch from Moscow. Please ask Vice Consul Nielsen about this. The Finnish treaty is being sent from here. I do not recall having seen the Rumanian treaty. The German official publications, which should be obtainable through Copenhagen, are the most authoritative sources for the Brest Litovsk treaties, the Russian texts being but bad translations from the German. The supplementary treaties were published in the *Nord-deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* about September 6.

It is presumed that the Legation at Stockholm communicated the substance of the foregoing to the Department.

I now have the honor to forward a translation of the treaty of March 1/February 16, 1918, between the socialist republics of Russia and Finland. This translation has been prepared from a pamphlet, also enclosed, found in the files of the Embassy. There is nothing to indicate its authority.

I have [etc.]

DEW. C. POOLE, JR.

[Enclosure—Translation]

TREATY BETWEEN THE SOCIALIST REPUBLICS OF RUSSIA AND FINLAND¹

The Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Federative Soviet Republic and the Council of People's Delegates of the Finnish Socialist Workers' Republic, in order to strengthen the friendship and fraternity between the above-mentioned free republics, have concluded the following treaty.

ARTICLE 1

The Russian Federative Soviet Republic transfers to the independent Finnish Socialist Workers' Republic all real estate belonging to the Russian Republic or to Russian state establishments, whether by right of ownership or by right of use, that is: lands, stretches of water, urban districts, buildings, mills, factories, telegraph establishments, railroads, fortresses, lighthouses, beacons and buoys, situated within the limits of the territory of the former Grand Duchy of Finland.

ARTICLE 2

The Finnish Socialist Workers' Republic, on its part, transfers to the Russian Federative Soviet Republic all real estate belonging to the Finnish treasury or the state establishments of Finland whether by right of ownership or of use, that is: lands, stretches of water, urban districts, buildings, mills, factories, telegraph establishments, railroads, fortresses, lighthouses, beacons and buoys, situated within the limits of the territory of the Russian Federative Soviet Republic.

¹ The translation has been left substantially in the form in which it was received. Verbal corrections have been made upon comparison with the Russian text above described.

ARTICLE 3

The Finnish Socialist Workers' Republic agrees also to the acquisition of the other property not mentioned in Article 1 of the present treaty, belonging to the Russian Federative Soviet Republic and situated within the limits of the former Grand Duchy of Finland, and has a preferential right in acquiring such property, in so far as it does not infringe upon the interests of the Russian Federative Soviet Republic.

ARTICLE 4

From the above-mentioned properties subject to transfer to the Finnish Socialist Workers' Republic are excluded those which, by decision of the Russian-Finnish Conciliation Commission, are transferred directly to workers' organizations.

ARTICLE 5

In the interest of cooperation in the nationalization of the Finnish merchant marine the Russian Federative Soviet Republic transfers to the Finnish Socialist Workers' Republic in their present condition all the ships belonging to the Finnish treasury, companies or private persons, requisitioned by the Russian Government before or during the war. All other requisitioned property will be turned over in a like degree in so far as it lies within the territorial limits of the Grand Duchy of Finland at the moment of the conclusion of this treaty.

ARTICLE 6

The effect of the preceding paragraphs does not extend to real properties which are necessary for the Russian Federative Soviet Republic on the territory of the Finnish Socialist Workers' Republic, and conversely those which are necessary for the Finnish Socialist Workers' Republic on the territory of the Russian Federative Soviet Republic, for establishments and persons of the diplomatic, consular, or commercial services, as well as for educational and medical institutions.

ARTICLE 7

The scale of compensation for the properties transferred in accordance with Articles 1, 2, 3 and 4 of the present treaty is to be fixed by the special Russian-Finnish Conciliation Commission. A special account is to be carried for the payments imputed to these transfers, to be effected upon demand of the Russian Liquidation Commission for Finnish Affairs, and to be concluded at the time of the final accounting.

ARTICLE 8

The amounts owed by the Finnish state establishments and the Finnish treasury to the Russian state establishments and the Russian treasury and vice versa, as likewise the short-term obligations of Russia concluded through the medium of the Finnish Bank, are acknowledged as being in force by the governments of both socialist republics, and the means of their amortization, independently of the payments effected in accordance with Article 7, will be worked out by a special mixed financial subcommission, under the control of the Russian-Finnish Conciliation Commission.

ARTICLE 9

The contracting parties mutually guarantee at all times to all commercial vessels of the Russian and Finnish socialist republics free, unobstructed access to all sea, river, and lake ports, anchorages, and canals, giving the right to all

above-mentioned vessels freely to load or unload their freight, and to make use of pilot service. The technical conditions of enjoyment of the above-mentioned rights will be defined by special arrangements.

ARTICLE 10

A direct, constant, and through train service between the railroads of Russia and Finland shall be established.

ARTICLE 11

The conditions of use by the Russian Federative Soviet Republic of the telegraphs and roads on the territory of the Finnish Socialist Workers' Republic and, correspondingly, by the Finnish Socialist Workers' Republic on the territory of the Russian Federal Republic, will be settled by special arrangements; among these, by exception from the general application of Article 1, applicable to existing international understandings and agreements, three cables (Nos. 13, 60 and 42) running through the territory of the Finnish Socialist Workers' Republic and connecting Petrograd with Stockholm, Newcastle, and Frideritsiya, and one direct cable connecting uninterruptedly Petrograd-Vartniemi-Alexandrovsk (Murmanski), running through Viborg, Kuopio, Kemi, and Rovaniemi, will remain the property of the Russian Federative Soviet Republic for fifty years with the right of extraterritoriality; and also the Russian Federative Soviet Republic maintains all the rights obtained by the agreement with the Danish company in three direct cables from Nystad to Sweden via the Åland Islands.

ARTICLE 12

Both contracting parties will immediately appoint a subcommission of the Russian-Finnish Conciliation Commission for the drafting of a commercial treaty between the two republics.

ARTICLE 13

Russian citizens of Finnish descent in Russia, as likewise Finnish citizens of Russian descent in Finland, shall be accorded the same rights as other citizens of these respective countries.

Finnish citizens in Russia, as likewise Russian citizens in Finland, shall enjoy in the same measure as the citizens of these respective countries, all private rights, civil liberties, and general rights.

The Russian Federative Soviet Republic allows to Finnish citizens in Russia all the political rights of Russian citizens belonging to the working class or to peasants who do not exploit the labor of others, if they reside on Russian territory for the purpose of laboring occupations.

For its part the Finnish Socialist Workers' Republic pledges itself to allow to citizens of the Russian Federative Soviet Republic in Finland the easiest possible conditions for the enjoyment of all political rights, especially taking into consideration the interests of the laboring population not always having a constant residence.

ARTICLE 14

The Finnish Socialist Workers' Republic pledges itself not to hinder and promises to cooperate in the continuation and the most rapid completion of the evacuation, already begun, from the territory of the Finnish Socialist Republic of all the land and naval forces and the establishments of military and naval departments of the Russian Federative Soviet Republic.

ARTICLE 15

The Russian Federative Soviet Republic cedes in full ownership to the Finnish Socialist Workers' Republic the territory delimited below, provided the consent of the local population is obtained by free consultation.

Henceforth the Russian-Finnish state frontier will be the line which runs from Korve Tunturi (on the present Russian-Finnish frontier) by a straight line to the sources of the River Pechenga (Petsamo), from there by the eastern watershed of the River Pechenga (Petsamo) it curves round the Motovski Gulf (Muotko Fjord) and Rybachi Peninsula and by a straight line it comes out on the coast of the Arctic Ocean near Zubov (Supuski).

The commission provided for in Article 17 is charged to draw up special provisions guaranteeing:

- (1) The rights of the Russian population engaged in the fishing and other industries on the alienated territory;
- (2) The rights of the Russian Federative Soviet Republic to an unhindered commercial transit to and from Norway; and
- (3) The rights resulting from treaties concluded and in effect between Russia and Norway.

The payments resulting from the cession of the above-mentioned territory shall be effected according to the principles set forth in Article 7 of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 16

The contracting parties shall establish a subcommission of the Russian-Finnish Conciliation Commission, for the purpose of defining exactly the changes in the Russian-Finnish frontier. Nevertheless the Finnish Socialist Workers' Republic immediately cedes in full ownership to the Russian Federal Republic the territory of Fort Ino, situated on the coast of the Gulf of Finland, and guarantees the necessary transit to this fort.

ARTICLE 17

In the development of the articles of this fundamental treaty, drafts of detailed agreements will be worked out by the Conciliation Commission, established by the governments of both contracting parties, which drafts will be subject to ratification by the governments of the Russian Federative Soviet Republic and the Finnish Socialist Workers' Republic.

ARTICLE 18

Disagreements arising during the preparation of the above-mentioned detailed agreements and during the discussion of the present treaty and of the detailed arrangements included in its development, as likewise any cases of infraction of the provisions of the treaty and the agreements, shall be submitted to the judgment of an arbitration court, the president of which is appointed by the administration of the Swedish Left Social Democratic Party, unless later determined otherwise.

ARTICLE 19

The present treaty goes into legal effect from the moment of its signature by the plenipotentiaries of the governments of both socialist republics.

ARTICLE 20

The plenipotentiaries of the governments of the Russian Federative Soviet Republic and of the Finnish Socialist Workers' Republic have signed and affixed their seals to two copies of the treaty in the Russian and Finnish languages.

Signed in Petrograd March 1/February 16, 1918.

File No. 760d.62/1

The Acting Secretary of State to the Minister in Sweden (Morris)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, December 21, 1918, 3 p. m.

1392. Your despatch 1492, dated November 18, 1918. Was secret agreement ever accepted by Finland? Also, how long was it to remain in force?

POLK

File No. 760d.62/1

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, December 28, 1918, 5 p. m.

[Received December 30, 11.34 a. m.]

Department's 1392, undated [December 21, 3 p. m.] referring to Legation's despatch 1492, November 18. The German-Finnish agreement was to remain in force until the conclusion of a general peace. It was accepted by delegates of Finland with full powers on October [March?] 7, 1918, but many of the provisions were never fully put in force on account of the changing fortunes of war.

MORRIS

German Military Intervention against the Red Guards; Victory of the White Guards—Advances into Karelia and toward the Murman Railway—New Negotiations with the Soviet Government—British, French, and American Attitude toward the White Government and Representatives of the Former Red Government—Resignation of Mannerheim—Monarchist Movement: Election of Frederick Carl of Hesse, October 9, 1918

File No. 860d.00/42

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Page) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

LONDON, March 8, 1918, 11 p. m.

[Received March 8, 5.11 p. m.]

8966. Your 6559, February 13, 6 p. m.¹ Naval Attaché informed by British authorities that shipments of grain from America to north Finland have been stopped in view of the recent changes in the political situation there, which would make it probable that these supplies would fall into enemy hands. Please advise what policy has been adopted. British information is to effect that Germans have penetrated into northern Finland.

PAGE

¹ Not printed.

File No. 860d.00/43

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, March 9, 1918.

[Received March 10, 1.20 a. m.]

1656. Swedish press reports Finnish government at Vasa has issued proclamation containing following:

German landing Åland is made with assent of Finnish government as is transference their operations to Finnish mainland. Commander in chief of troops of Finnish republic has informed Finnish government that after being provided with arms we would have been able with our own resources to bring struggle to successful end but the numerous brutalities committed in southern Finland, lack of food among population, and daily arrival of large hosts of Bolsheviks, have induced government for welfare of the country to accept the hand of a powerful friend. Peace terms signed between Germany and Russia include a provision as to removal of Russian troops and Bolsheviks from Finland and it is evacuation of these that Germany wants to supervise, backed by troops now arriving in Finland. Germany does not permit Russian soldiers garbed like civilians to fight in Finland, thus insidiously circumventing Russo-German peace treaty.

MORRIS

File No. 860d.00/60

The Consul at Helsingfors (Haynes) to the Secretary of State¹

[Telegram]

HELSINGFORS, March 11, 1918, 4 p. m.

[Received March 13, 5.36 p. m.]

Fifteen Americans from Petrograd including Government officers' wives and business men are now refugees in Helsingfors because of increasing civil war activity. Red and White Guards refuse passage through lines. Stockholm Legation wires Swedish authorities refuse to send boat to Finland because of ice. According to arrangement with White Guards, Germans are landing at Hangö to take Helsingfors and drive Reds from Finland in order to restore order. German airplanes over Helsingfors. Consulate expenses considerably increased. Have bureau accounts protect possible drafts.

HAYNES

¹ Sent via the Legation in Sweden (No. 1673).

File No. 860d.00/73

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, March 30, 1918.

[Received 10.40 p. m.]

1794. Swedish press reports Finnish government troops entered Tammerfors and captured great number prisoners, other spoils. Finnish press bureau reports Friday evening parts Tammerfors captured including suburbs and railway station. Fire broken out one part of city. Toijala also occupied by government troops. Losses Red Guards very heavy. Leaders Reds left Tammerfors few days ago for Helsingfors escaping in aeroplane.

MORRIS

File No. 860d.00/74

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, April 1, 1918, 1 p. m.

[Received April 2, 12.26 a. m.]

1804. Following is memorandum on Finnish situation prepared for me by Captain Crosley:¹

Civil war: After interviewing and observing leaders and other personnel on both sides, including a month of this with the Reds, the final outcome seems inevitable to me. The Whites must win.

Food: In southern Finland food is very scarce and grows more so. Much of the bread sold can only be eaten by a starving person. It is only a question of a short time when there will be starvation among the Reds and the civilian population in their control. This will most likely be avoided by the introduction of food by the Whites as they advance. In the north there is more food, the supply having been estimated for me by an apparently reliable source as sufficient for two months. The same source stated that "we will get food from Germany." In view of the large percentage of the population, including women, now engaged in military activities, present and future production of foodstuffs and manufactured articles may be considered as negligible. Under German influence, as now seems most likely in the near future will exist, these conditions will improve.

Fuel: Owing to military activities, not much fuel is available.

¹ Capt. Walter S. Crosley, formerly Naval Attaché in Russia.

Transportation: Because of all of the above, transportation of all kinds becomes more scarce and unreliable.

German influence: Among the Reds the Germans are hated. With the Whites are some Germans but many Finns who have served as much as two years with the German army and who are, so far as our interests are concerned, German. At the White front no German influence was observed. The officers and men at Ahlainen, front headquarters, could not have treated our party better. As we went north, first at Kristinestad we saw animosity against us which was marked at Seinäjoki and at Torneå, but did not result in any overt act against our party. The White officers are the *jägers* who have recently returned from the German Army. They wear a distinctive uniform and very much resemble Germans in manner and deportment. From a reliable source I learned that three German vessels had landed men and supplies in the White lines north of Mäntyluoto and south of Kristinestad.

MORRIS

File No. 860d.00/90

The Vice Consul at Petrograd (Imbrie) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

PETROGRAD, April 14, 1918.

[Received 11.05 a. m.]

10. Haynes, Helsingfors, requests Department informed he can no longer communicate. Expects occupation of city but has been assured immunity.

IMBRIE

File No. 860d.00/93

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, April 16, 1918.

[Received 7.17 p. m.]

1902. Swedish press reports Finnish press bureau wires Count von der Goltz reports April 13 Helsingfors been stormed after three days' desperate fighting. Several thousand prisoners and great quantity booty captured, enemy offering desperate resistance. White prisoners were liberated.

MORRIS

File No. 860d.00/94

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, April 16, 1918, 4 p. m.

[Received 7.45 p. m.]

1904. Have received note from Finnish Chargé d'Affaires informing me that Finnish government guarantees, during the sojourn of German troops in Finland, integrity of diplomatic representatives, consuls and personnel of consulates Allied countries as well as safety of person and property of foreigners in the territory occupied by Finnish government troops.

MORRIS

File No. 860d.00/103

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, April 19, 1918, 4 p. m.

[Received April 20, 3.35 a. m.]

1914. In reference to the reported capture of Kem on Murman Railway by Finnish bands, I am instructed that Sario, acting Finnish Minister of Foreign Affairs, has stated that Finland had no desire to invade Russian territory but that if the Karelians asked to be joined to Finland he did not see how the Finnish government could well refuse.

After such a statement, it would seem almost certain that the armed bands operating in Karelia are being paid by Germany, and that their purpose is to give an opportunity for Germany, under the cloak of Finland, to seize the Kola Railway and the peninsula as far as the White Sea, thus cutting off all our communication with Russia.

MORRIS

File No. 860d.00/102

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, April 19, 1918, 6 p. m.

[Received April 20, 3.50 a. m.]

1916. British Minister is to-day handing following memorandum to Finnish Chargé d'Affaires here:

His Majesty's Government is prepared to recognize provisionally the *de facto* independence of Finland pending final settlement of question by peace congress in accordance with principle of self-determination on condition:

(a) That the Finnish government is able to obtain the release of the British subjects arrested by the Germans on Finnish territory; and

(b) That adequate guarantees for future maintenance of Finnish neutrality are given, e. g., guarantees for the life and property of Allied subjects in Finland, including right of free passage for British subjects and goods and guarantees for the safety of Allied ships in Finnish waters, and that Finland as a neutral state opens its waters to the ships of all nations.

As soon as the first question has been settled and the necessary guarantees given, His Majesty's Government would be prepared to accredit a chargé d'affaires with the Vasa Government.

MORRIS

File No. 860d.00/102

The Secretary of State to the British Ambassador (Reading)

WASHINGTON, April 20, 1918.

MY DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR: I have received a report from the American Minister at Stockholm dated April 19, 1918, giving the text of a memorandum handed that day by the Minister of Great Britain at Stockholm to the Finnish Chargé d'Affaires to the effect that the British Government is prepared to recognize provisionally the *de facto* independence of Finland, pending final settlement of the question by the peace congress, in accordance with the principle of self-determination, provided certain conditions are complied with.

The American Minister at Stockholm has been informed that this Government is not prepared at present to take any action looking to the independence of Finland, and I have thought that you will be interested to know our attitude.

I am [etc.]

ROBERT LANSING

File No. 860d.00/102

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Sweden (Morris)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, April 22, 1918, 6 p. m.

726. Your 1916, April 19, 6 p. m. You may inform your British colleague that Department not prepared at present to take any action looking to recognizing Finnish independence.

LANSING

File No. 860d.00/105

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Sweden (Morris)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, April 25, 1918, 7 p. m.

733. Please report whether following statement alleged to have been made by Mannerheim is authentic:

The Germans' victorious and mighty army landed in Finland to help against the infamous Bolsheviks, and to help the friendship the Finnish people have always had for the noble Kaiser and mighty German people. Fighting shoulder to shoulder with the great German army the Finnish army should be imbued with the discipline that has brought that army from victory to victory. I greet the brave German troops and hope that every Finn will realize the great sacrifice of the noble German people who are helping them in an hour when every man is needed on the western front.

LANSING

File No. 860d.00/111

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, April 26, 1918, 1 p. m.

[Received April 27, 2.23 a. m.]

1950. As soon [as] telegraphic communication was restored with Helsingfors, I telegraphed our Consul to ask after his welfare and received following answer on April 23:

Thanks. The past terrible, the present bearable, and the future uncertain. Will telegraph fully when censorship is lifted.

To-day am in receipt of the following cipher from him:

Germans successfully quelling Red Guards. With alleged good intentions, Finnish White Guard government is now in power. Requisitioning all tobacco, oil, coffee, copper, and cloth. Generally understood such is not for Germany. Almost all of these articles obtained from America and England upon guarantee by Finnish buyers not to reexport. Telegraph present status food question in regard to Finland.

Am telegraphing him to-day in regard to food question.

MORRIS

File No. 860d.00/112

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, April 27, 1918, 5 p. m.

[Received April 28, 3.34 a. m.]

1959. Your 733, April 25, 7 p. m. Have every reason to believe statement therein quoted was made by Mannerheim as it appeared in all Swedish papers.

MORRIS

File No. 860d.00/124

The Consul General at Moscow (Summers) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

Moscow, May 3, 1918.

[Received 11.45 p. m.]

466. According official Soviet gazette, National Commissariat Foreign Affairs addressed telegram German Ministry Foreign Affairs April 30 denying participation Russian troops in fighting in Finland as charged by Germany and quoting order to Petrograd Military Commissariat dated 29th directing inquiry in premises, punishment of guilty, if any, and immediate disarming of all troops crossing frontier of Russian Republic. Regarding participation of individual soldiers and officers in Finnish civil war, communication states same may be said about White Guards, as for instance, General Mannerheim. May 2, similar telegram communicates report of Petrograd labor commune that Finnish railway from Petrograd held by Russians as far as Beloostrov, that Finnish Red Guards being disarmed and no government money or property being allowed to be brought across frontier from Finland.

Referring German protest against reported landing 6,000 British troops at Murmansk, Commissariat Foreign Affairs has telegraphed Joffe,¹ Berlin, in part as follows:

In reality no descent was made on Murmansk. The evacuation of a number of English and French military specialists formerly in Russia could not be effected at once. When White Guards began to advance on Murman district, which had practically no armed defense, German Government replied to our inquiry that regular troops were not taking part in these operations, that German Government could not answer for them. In these circumstances not surprising but [that] local Soviet appealed for help to English and French, who had still not left, against bands with which German Government refused to have anything to do. We did not protest against temporary appeal for protection by the Soviet to English and French, who had not had time to leave, but now we protest against a prolonged stay of the British at Murmansk.

SUMMERS

File No. 860d.00/122

The British Ambassador (Reading) to the Secretary of State

No. 468

WASHINGTON, May 4, 1918.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I duly communicated to the Foreign Office the contents of your letter of April 20 regarding the provisional recognition by His Majesty's Government of the *de facto* independence of Finland, pending the final settlement of the question by the peace conference.

¹A. A. Joffe, Soviet Ambassador in Germany.

I have now received a reply from Mr. Secretary Balfour from which it appears that the British Minister at Stockholm informed the Finnish Chargé d'Affaires that the *de facto* Finnish government would be recognized provisionally by His Majesty's Government, pending final settlement at the peace conference, if the Finnish government would (1) obtain the release of British subjects arrested on Finnish territory by the Germans and (2) give adequate guarantees for the maintenance of neutrality, including the security of Allied subjects and property and the passage of Allied ships through Finnish territorial waters.

The British Minister further pointed out that a satisfactory reply to British representations against the aggressive action by the Finns on the Murman Railway must be included in the guarantee of neutrality.

His Majesty's Government do not propose to take any action unless these conditions are fulfilled and unless they are fully satisfied as to the sincerity and adequacy of the guarantees.

Believe me [etc.]

READING

File No. 860d.00/123

The Secretary of State to the British Ambassador (Reading)

WASHINGTON, May 9, 1918.

MY DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR: I have received your letter of May 4, 1918, informing me of the action of your Government in regard to the provisional recognition of the *de facto* Finnish government, and shall be very glad to know of the final decision reached and how far the conditions laid down by your Government have been accepted and fulfilled.

I am [etc.]

ROBERT LANSING

File No. 860d.00/162

The Secretary of State to the President

THE PRESIDENT: The undersigned, the Secretary of State, has the honor to lay before the President an address, signed by representatives of Finland at Washington, requesting that the Government of the United States recognize the Government of Finland and enter into friendly relations with it.¹

Respectfully submitted.

ROBERT LANSING

WASHINGTON, May 11, 1918.

¹ Not printed; see the last paragraph of the memorandum of the Secretary of State, Feb. 27, *ante*, p. 755.

File No. 860d.00/138

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, May 14, 1918, 4 p. m.

[Received 9.17 p. m.]

2081. I have received from Consul at Helsingfors following telegram which he asked to be transmitted to you:

27. May 13, 5 p. m. For your information and for Department of State. Our [I?] advise offer Finland food and provisional recognition independence subject to final peace-congress settlement, if the present government will give complete text German-Finnish agreement guaranteeing most-favored-nation-clause concerning passage American goods and subjects through Finland to Russia, free use Finnish territorial waters for American shipping, and protest for the release of Emery.¹

MORRIS

File No. 860d.00/144

The British Ambassador (Reading) to the Secretary of State

WASHINGTON, May 15, 1918.

[Received May 17.]

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: On the receipt of your letter of May 9 in regard to the question of the provisional recognition of the *de facto* Finnish government, I at once telegraphed to London to enquire what was the final decision reached in this matter and how far the conditions previously laid down by His Majesty's Government had been accepted and fulfilled.

We have now received a reply to the effect that no answer has yet been received from the Finnish government and that His Majesty's Government have no intention of proceeding further in the matter.

Believe me [etc.]

READING

File No. 860d.00/145

*The Consul at Helsingfors (Haynes) to the Secretary of State*²

[Telegram]

HELSINGFORS, undated.

[Received May 17, 1918, 8.47 a. m.]

The principal cause for the present revolution was the hopeless

¹ Henry C. Emery, in 1917 American member of the Inter-Ally Priority Board at Petrograd (Michelsen commission), was arrested by German forces Mar. 10, 1918, on the Åland Islands, when *en route* from Petrograd to Stockholm, and interned in Germany.

² Sent via the Legation in Sweden (No. 2095, May 16).

state of food question and distrust of laboring class against *bourgeoisie* not providing food either from Russia or United States. Had food arrived according to my November and December telegrams, the Red Guard, amounting to 10,000, including Reds from Russia, would have been easily controlled by legal Finnish government and no German help would have been needed. Probably government would have won by arbitration with Reds.

To preserve independence against probable rising in Russia the local press is discussing alliance with Germany and some German prince for Finnish King. Recently monarchical tendencies relaxed. Leading organ Young Finnish Party decidedly republican, as well as most provincial *bourgeois* newspapers, which claim full neutral republic.

Diet meets 15th May. The affirming [after?] expulsion 80 [in] subordinate members who joined rebels, the Diet will be about half full; 108 *bourgeois* and 10 Socialists. The Diet will discuss new constitution, neutrality, and treaty with Germany. Young Finnish Party urging elections for the control of such questions, others opposing fearing Socialist propaganda during the elections.

Sixty per cent population are still pro-Allies. Socialist press wholly suppressed at present and *bourgeois* press not daring to express their feeling toward Allies, the majority intentionally treating Germany as the savior of the country.

Recently public opinion is changing. There is disappointment with Germany in her inability to furnish food for their compensation in butter, (?), tea, copper, which are greatly needed here in Finland but are now seized in stores. Because of hunger, the government is compelled to exchange these goods for grain from Germany. As Germans are stationed only in southern Finland and Finnish government consents to full American control of distribution, I believe shipment American grain would be advisable.

Lately pleasing changes in attitude of the newspapers toward Russia. In the first days of German invasion local newspapers discussed the question of attacking Russia and conquering Russian Karelia and Kola Peninsula. Now the government declares Finnish army is not operating in Russian Karelia and only small detachment from Finland has crossed frontier at the request of the population to aid against the Russian Reds. All newspapers are warning the country against a conflict with England if Murman Railway was taken or Russia attacked. The newspapers advise treaty with Russia and the solution of the Russian Karelia [question] by friendly agreement.

File No. 860d.00/163

The President to the Secretary of State

WASHINGTON, May 20, 1918.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Do you not think that the proper reply to this¹ is that we shall be willing to recognize the republic of Finland only when she shows that she is not controlled by Germany, as she now seems to be?²

Faithfully yours,

W[OODROW] W[ILSON]

File No. 860d.00/151

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, May 21, 1918, 4 p. m.

[Received May 22, 9.15 a. m.]

2134. Referring to the Legation's No. 2087, May 15, 5 p. m.,³ Finnish Chargé d'Affaires informed me this morning that he had received word from his government that Finland had again asked Germany for Emery's⁴ release and he hoped that he could soon inform me that same could be accomplished. He also informed me that Svinhufvud had been chosen chairman of an executive council and it is expected that Svinhufvud would make a recommendation to parliament regarding some prince to be placed upon the throne. The current opinion in Stockholm is that if this is done it will be some German prince.

MORRIS

File No. 860d.00/167

The Consul at Moscow (Poole) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram—Extract]

Moscow, May 27, 1918.

[Received June 3, 4.09 p. m.]

565. Official Soviet gazette, May 26, prints following note to Mirbach:

¹ See the note of the Secretary of State, May 11, *ante*, p. 785.

² Attached memorandum of the Assistant Secretary of State, May 27: "I gave the President's reply orally to Dr. Ignatius when he called upon me recently. The Secretary did not seem to think that it was necessary to make a formal reply to the memorial signed by the representatives of Finland. W[illiam] P[hillips]."

³ Not printed.

⁴ See footnote 1, *ante*, p. 786.

Proposal made by German Government regarding basis for adjustment relations with present Finnish Government; viz., cession by Finland to Russian Republic of Fort Ino and Raivola under guarantee by Russian Government not to fortify these places, and cession by Russian Republic to Finland of western part of Murman Peninsula with exit to the sea, is accepted by the Russian Government, which joins German Government in desire for speedy arrival at definite agreement. Russian Government proposes Moscow as place of negotiation. National Commissariat convinced that in this way a considerable step has been taken toward removal of military complications and bloodshed. . . .

POOLE

File No. 860d.00/164

The Ambassador in Russia (Francis) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

VOLOGDA, May 27, 1918, 5 p. m.

[Received May 29, 10.17 p. m.]

209. Wardwell¹ visited me yesterday; said Red Cross representatives hereafter would confine themselves to relief work, only participating political affairs when requested; gave me confidential verbal message from Radek, who is able influential Bolshevik editor, asking whether I would recommend recognition Finnish independence if Finland would become neutral and sever close relations with Germany; I encouraged suggestion while expressing doubt of its success. Has Department instructions? Finnish-German alliance constitutes great menace to Murman, Archangel, Petrograd, and all European Russia, but means famine in Finland, Archangel Province. Can you communicate with Haynes?

FRANCIS

File No. 860d.00/161

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram—Extract]

STOCKHOLM, May 28, 1918.

[Received May 29, 4.10 a. m.]

2181. Swedish press reports, account impossibility reach understanding between government and General Mannerheim regarding future organization Finnish army, General maintains resignation. Reconstruction Senate now accomplished. All Senators remaining and Paasikivi appointed Premier, Colonel Thesleff War Minister,

¹ Maj. Allen Wardwell, in charge of the American Red Cross Commission to Russia. See vol. I, p. 531.

Senator Stenroth Foreign Minister, and Sario without portfolio. Agrarian Paloheima appointed chief Food Administration. *Dagens Nyheter* comments resignation Mannerheim. Seems signify victory for pure German influence in Young Finnish army, it being known for some time that so-called *chasseur* officers, who received training Germany, been undermining position Finnish officers and carrying on propaganda for thorough application German military system and placing leadership in German hands. Pro-German forces also been at work lessening Swedish influence high military officers, but appointment War Minister with subsequent curtailment power of Commander in Chief was determining factor in Mannerheim's resignation. No suggestion yet regarding his successor

MORRIS

File No. 860d.00/165

The Consul at Moscow (Poole) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

Moscow, May 28, 1918, noon.

[Received June 1, 9.25 a. m.]

570. My No. 565. Chicherin says cession to Finland of western part Murman Peninsula is based on an agreement in this sense made by Soviet government with defunct Red government of Finland, inasmuch as Germans have insisted that present government of Finland cannot be expected to accept less than was promised to predecessor and Russian government has perceived no means of resisting demand. Territory to be ceded includes narrow strip along Norwegian frontier reaching east to include Rybachi Peninsula but not the port of Murmansk. Exact line to be drawn during negotiations proposed to take place at Moscow.

[POOLE]

File No. 860d.00/178

The Ambassador in Russia (Francis) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

VOLOGDA, May 31, 1918, 7 p. m.

[Received June 11, 10 p. m.]

230. Riggs wires 30th that three to four infantry and one cavalry German divisions, also trained Finnish White Guard infantry, are estimated force in Finland, approximating 100,000 men, and great activity in Finnish training camps; also that preparations hastening for attack on Murman line and Murman by construction of railroad for transporting troops which expected to be completed in early July.

FRANCIS

File No. 860d.00/166

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, June 1, 1918, 6 p. m.

[Received June 2, 12.35 a. m.]

2211. The French Legation in Stockholm make the following statement:

In view of recent declarations made by certain members of the Finnish Senate and in consideration of the facts that the monarchical principle does not seem to be supported by the majority required by constitutional laws the French Minister has been authorized to warn the Finnish Chargé d'Affaires at Stockholm that the Government of the French Republic will not recognize in Finland any régime which may be established in an illegal way.

The French Government holds the view that in making this declaration it is fulfilling towards the Finnish people the duty it assumed when first of all great powers it recognized Finland's sovereignty.

MORRIS

File No. 860d.00/172a

The Acting Secretary of State to the Minister in Sweden (Morris)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, June 7, 1918, 6 p. m.

831. Department has insistent reports that Finnish troops in cooperation with Germans contemplate attack on Murman Railway. You might cause inquiry to be made informally and unofficially of Finnish representative at Stockholm as to truth of such reports.

POLK

File No. 860d.00/164

The Acting Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Russia (Francis)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, June 8, 1918, 4 p. m.

168. Your 209, May 27, 5 p. m. Department has not changed policy regarding Finland, and is not prepared to recognize independence or to ship foodstuffs. Department has noted continued presence of German troops in Finnish territory and their reported activities in Karelia.

POLK

File No. 860d.00/174

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, June 8, 1918, 5 p. m.

[Received June 9, 1.50 a. m.]

2256. Answering your telegram 831, June 7. In an interview with member of the Finnish Legation this morning he stated that the Finnish government sympathizes with the population in Russian Karelia which has sent to the Finnish government at Helsingfors several deputations asking for help against the Bolshevik terror; that the Finnish government does not find it possible to give these people in Karelia any effective help although they sympathize with them; that although Finnish volunteers had joined the local White Guards in Karelia, there were no officers with them and these volunteers had joined entirely unofficially and without the consent of the Finnish government. He also said that on April 14 the Finnish government instructed their representative in London to inform the British Foreign Office, in answer to an inquiry from the British Government, that the Finnish government would do all in its power to keep the Murman open for international traffic.

The Finnish Legation here has promised to telegraph to Helsingfors and will advise me whether there has been any change in their policy since the telegram to London on April 14.

I have learned this morning through the French Minister at Stockholm that the French Consul at Helsingfors has notified the Finnish government that any hostile act with regard to the Murman Railway will be regarded as a breach of neutrality by the French Government.

MORRIS

File No. 860d.00/181

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, June 12, 1918, 6 p. m.

[Received June 14, 10.03 a. m.]

2293. Referring to your telegram 831, June 7, 6 p. m., and my 2256, June 8, 5 p. m. Finnish Legation at Stockholm has to-day given me copy of *note verbale* to French Minister at Stockholm dated May 16. Finnish Legation states that position of Finnish government on this subject has not changed and is the same as outlined in this note which reads:

From the *note verbale* of 30th of April of his excellency the French Minister it appears that the French and British Governments for desirable [are desirous?] that the Finnish government

should abstain from every enterprise which could facilitate the union of Finland and the Karelian provinces situated outside the present frontier of Finland.

In this regard the Finnish government cannot refrain from calling the attention of his excellency the French Minister to the note of April 24 of his excellency Sir Esme Howard, the British Minister, in which Sir Esme expresses the desire of his government that the Finnish government should not undertake any aggressive action against the Murman Railroad. In a despatch of April 14, 1918, to its representative in London, Mr. Holsti, the Finnish government had, however, already declared itself ready to conform to the desires of the British Government concerning the above-mentioned railroad. This despatch which was communicated to the British Government was then made public.

On the other hand the Finnish government believes it necessary to state that it does not understand the justice of putting in the way of the realization of the efforts of the Karelian population to join themselves to their brothers in Finland for the future free and independent.

This population is entirely Finnish except for a small number of Russian immigrants. In spite of Russian oppression which for centuries has in every way prevented the development of their culture they have always kept their national character. Up to the present the Finnish government has not, however, had the opportunity of supporting their national aspirations. But in time the Finnish government believes it impossible to fail in its duty of intervening in order to liberate Karelia from the bands of Bolshevik brigands of Russian or Finnish origin, who are terrorizing the peaceful population there. Intervention will already become necessary for purely defensive reasons for the said Bolshevik bands menace and infest the territories near the Finnish frontier. Several attempts to invade these provinces have already been repulsed, but at the same time the Finnish government is unable to decline to pay attention to the pathetic supplications presented to the government by numerous deputations and petitions by which the representatives of the Karelian population have asked the aid and help of the Finnish government for the establishment of administrative and economic order in the provinces, where the arbitrary rule and negligence of the Russian employees have made all civilizing work impossible by creating a state of affairs absolutely intolerable.

MORRIS

File No. 860d.00/184

*The Consul at Helsingfors (Haynes) to the Secretary of State*¹

[Telegram]

HELSINGFORS, undated.

[Received June 15, 1918, 5.40 a. m.]

Only 108 members, or 54 per cent, now compose the Diet which formerly comprised 200. Almost certain a majority vote of this 54 per cent will, in a short time, by declaring monarchy, accomplish

¹ Sent via the Legation in Sweden (No. 2295, June 14).

coup d'état, since Constitution requires two-thirds the Diet or five-sixths popular vote to determine character sovereignty. Monarchy not discussed until Germans arrived.

Germans were lately reported moving northward from Helsingfors presumably to prepare for winter campaign against Karelia and Murman as lakes are passable only when frozen. French Consul and English Consul predict Finland will be with Germany against Allies by next October.

No political or military information allowed sent from Finland and Allied Consuls can post only open mail.

HAYNES

File No. 860d.00/182

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, June 14, 1918, 5 p. m.

[Received June 15, 9.34 a. m.]

2302. For Polk, very confidential. General Mannerheim, the former commander in chief of the troops of Finland, is now in Stockholm. He has severed his connection with the Finnish government. He states that the movement of the German troops toward Murman and Finland's position regarding Karelia is such that it will probably lead to difficulties with the Allies. He states that he does not think the Finnish government would be easily dissuaded from their program regarding Karelia, and there does not seem to be much doubt but that the Germans intend to carry out their plans regarding the Murman Railway. This is likely to put Finland in a dangerous way regarding her neutrality as pointed out in my previous telegrams. General Mannerheim is leaving for Finland again to-morrow but returns to Stockholm in about a week, as he states that with the German situation in Finland as it is, he does not desire personally to live there. In future it may be well to bear this in mind should some opportune time come in which General Mannerheim could be of service to us.

MORRIS

File No. 860d.00/198

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, June 27, 1918, 7 p. m.

[Received June 28, 11.10 a. m.]

2369. Finnish Chargé d'Affaires to-day handed to British Minister a note of which following is summary:

By order of his government, Finnish Chargé d'Affaires has the honor to communicate the following to Sir Esme Howard in ac-

cordance with an agreement between the Russian and Finnish authorities. Emperor Alexander II decreed on February 15, 1864, that the arms manufactory of Systerbäck with its grounds should be separated from Finland and be incorporated with Russia, in compensation for which Russia would cede to Finland a territory on the Arctic Sea to the east of Jakobselv. Although Systerbäck was separated from Finland, the said coast was not incorporated in Finland. However, this decree has lost none of its force and Finland has not renounced its right, having on several occasions asked for its fulfillment from Russia. Finland being now a free state, it is still more natural and urgent that this territory should be finally incorporated in it. The Finnish government has been delayed from taking the necessary steps by the recent revolt; but before the revolt was definitely crushed, some persons organized an expedition in the north of Finland to visit this territory. From information that has come to hand, the Finnish government has learned that this expedition was stopped by bands of Russians and rebel Finns. They would not, however, have prevented the expedition from reaching Arctic Sea if British sailors had not come to their assistance with machine guns. British troops having no right to act in this manner on territory undoubtedly belonging to Finland nor even to stay there, their conduct cannot in any way be justified. The Finnish government, therefore, finds itself obliged to protest categorically to the British Minister against the illegal actions of the troops mentioned and against damage caused to the rights of Finland, in begging him to bring this protest to the knowledge of his government, as well as the demand of the Finnish government that the British Government should immediately recall its troops from the said Finnish territory and likewise prevent the rebels from receiving any assistance from British Government.

The British Minister pointed out to Finnish Chargé d'Affaires: (1) That the decree of 1864 took two points into consideration, (a) the cession of part of the Murman coast, (b) a correction of the southern Finnish frontier; (2) that the occupation of Murmansk has been carried out in agreement with all the Allies and that French forces are also there; (3) that this note was extremely grave and equivalent to an ultimatum; (4) that the Allied Governments were animated with very friendly intentions toward Finland but that if Finland at the instigation of Germany commenced hostilities against Allies' forces she could no longer count on our good will at the final settlement.

British and French Ministers proposed to telephone Finnish Chargé d'Affaires to-morrow that after consulting Italian Minister and myself we have all communicated his note to our governments and that we are alike agreed concerning the gravity of this step of the Finnish government.

My colleagues and I would suggest that if it is desired to avoid rupture with Finland, the Associated Governments in answering might declare that they would be disposed to promise Finland pos-

session of the Gulf of Pechenga and of the territory ceded by the Bolshevik government on condition that the Allies continue in control of the whole coast of the Arctic Sea for the duration of the war. My private opinion is that this step has been taken by the Finnish government after deliberate consideration and at the instigation of Germany.

MORRIS

File No. 860d.00/198

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Sweden (Morris)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, July 6, 1918, 5 p. m.

915. Your 2369, June 27, 7 p. m. This Government has not recognized either the Soviet government or the independence of Finland. It consequently takes no cognizance of agreement between Bolsheviki and Finnish Red Guard, nor of the adjustment of claims or arrangement with Russia at this time.

LANSING

File No. 860d.00/209

The Minister in Sweden (Morris) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, July 11, 1918, 5 p. m.

[Received July 12, 1 p. m.]

2457. I have had several conferences with General Mannerheim, Finnish patriot and former chief commander of the army in Finland and an important man in Finland. He is now disassociated with the government, telling me in confidence that he did not sympathize with the German movement in Finland, and was opposed to same. Prior to his taking command of the army in Finland he was a general in the Russian service.

He expressed his opinion to me that it was a very grave mistake of the Allies to receive Kerensky, and allow him to visit the Allied countries. He said Kerensky was disavowed by all Russian people of all classes, and the population felt that he helped bring the great troubles upon the Russian people. As cabled you before, this feeling seems to be prevalent with the best-informed people on Russia with whom I have conferred. In connection with this Livingston Phelps, Secretary of the Embassy at Vologda, has just arrived in Stockholm, and stated that the Allied Embassies in Vologda entertained this same view regarding Kerensky. I mention this because the Swedish newspapers announce that Kerensky intends going to America.

General Mannerheim informed me that Finland was entirely under German domination, and what the future would lead to was very doubtful. He personally felt that they would succeed in having some German prince as King. The Finns themselves are not strong enough, and have not been working sufficiently together, to attempt to oppose the enemy movement. . . .

Regarding intervention in Russia, General Mannerheim felt that this was the correct thing to do, and I am quoting his views because he is thought of in Russia not only as a great soldier but as a man whose judgment on questions has been found good. He impressed me with the fact that he speaks entirely in an unofficial way, not being connected with the Finnish government any longer.

MORRIS

File No. 860d.00/259

The Consul at Helsingfors (Haynes) to the Secretary of State

No. 24

HELSINGFORS, July 15, 1918.

[Received August 22.]

SIR: I have the honor to submit a report in duplicate on "Finland's present political situation as affecting the Allies and the Central powers."

This report is written in absolute loyalty and faithfulness to the policy pursued by our Government and is divulged only to the Department for the purpose of furnishing all possible information.

I have [etc.]

THORNWELL HAYNES

[Enclosure]

Finland's Present Political Situation as Affecting the Allies and the Central Powers

The long-continued agitation in Finland's Diet for a monarchy versus a republic was voted on last Saturday, July 13, 1918, with a failure of a two-thirds majority for the monarchy, the result being 52 votes for the republic and 57 for the monarchy. Another vote after the third reading is to be taken next Thursday, July 18, 1918.

Throughout the several days' discussion, the advocates of a republic have insisted that the Diet's decision of last December when the Whites were in power was a declaration of an independent republic which was so recognized by France, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Switzerland, and the Soviet government of Russia.

The monarchical agitators, consisting of the *bourgeois* Swedes, Finns, and pro-Germans, still declare that the adherence to last December's decision is especially unwise, since the obstacles which then prevented a free choice no longer exist. "It is inexact," say they, "that Finland was recognized as a republic and that the oath of the White Guard army was given to it as such, for the principle involved is not the form of government but that of its spirit—not that of a republic, but that of independence."

The interior republican and monarchical dissension, which since the German occupation of Finland has threatened another civil war, is due to a firm belief on the part of the White Guard government that Germany will win the war, while the advocates of a republic are such from principle regardless of the world-war outcome, although their sentiments are for the most part decidedly pro-Entente.

A GEOGRAPHICALLY DIVIDED FINLAND

It is not without the realms of supposition that the persistence of the monarchists, encouraged by the German military, may lead to a divided Finland, wherein the northern portion, composed of farmers and the purer, un-Swedish-tainted, or anti-Swedish, proletariat Finns, may naturally become a republic; and the southern portion, by the efforts of the White Guard *bourgeois* and pro-German Swedes, organized as a monarchy. Such a result might relieve the country of its socialistic-versus-capitalistic grievances, and especially free it from the internal ethnological Swedish-Finnish-speaking antagonism which has been its tragedy since conquered by Sweden six hundred years ago—a tragedy intensified by Russia's forcing a third language upon the population in 1809—for the Tower of Babel is not the only aim brought to an untimely end by too many languages.

And, too, such a division as this, while still giving Germany a friendly nation across the Baltic, would be detrimental in cutting her off from her designs on the White Sea and Arctic Ocean, and throw more sympathetically that 60 or 65 per cent of pro-Ally Finland toward the Entente, establishing friends next to the Murman and Karelia where the Entente's interests for the present more nearly lie.

PRO-ENTENTE SYMPATHY GREATER THAN SUPPOSED

Parenthetically, the statement that there are still 60 or 65 per cent of the population possessing pro-Entente sympathies might be seriously challenged were it not explained that the present political situation is such that only the pro-German element is in power and can express itself, while the opposing element has no means of making itself known. And such a situation will hardly be changed until the monarchists realize that Germany is doomed to lose the war.

The pathos with which the opinion and feelings of a great portion of this 60 or 65 per cent are suppressed is accentuated by the report that scores of the population, who believe their country has been betrayed by its own people into the hands of Germany, often visit the bluffs of the southern coasts and strain their eyes toward the horizon in anticipation of the coming of the English fleet to deliver them.

CHANGING ATTITUDE TOWARD BOLSHEVISM

The Finns, who until a few weeks ago hated the Russian Bolsheviks, have been blinded by the Germans into loving them, or at least into that attitude wherein they would rejoice at the clash of arms between the Entente and the Soviet. This hoodwinking by Germany is of course due to a desire that Bolshevism may live and the shame of Brest Litovsk be perpetuated.

But the German manipulation of Finland's political vision has not arrived at the point where the present *de facto* government would officially order her White Guard troops to arrange themselves alongside of Germany and the Bolsheviks in a war against the Allies. A proof of this is partially shown by the present hesitancy and postponement of Finland to conclude a treaty with the

Soviet government in settlement of the Murman-Karelian question, for the Finnish government's doubt as to the validity of such a treaty is strengthened by its realization of the insecurity of the Bolshevik government. Continued pressure by Germany, however, has arranged a conference for a treaty to meet July 20, 1918, at Revel.

IMPROBABILITY OF WAR

The British Consul and the French Consul in Helsingfors still express their belief that war between the Entente and Finland is only a matter of a very few days, and that in the event of the Finnish *de facto* government's refusing officially to declare their White Guard army allied with Germany for the purpose of driving the Entente forces out of the Murman, the Allies will declare war on Finland if Germany is allowed to use the country as a base to attack the Entente troops.

Three reasons appear to oppose this belief:

1. Finland having seemingly been compelled to seek Germany's aid against the Red terror, is now unable to rid herself of German occupation, even if she earnestly desired it. What advantage then could arrive to the Allies in declaring such a war and thus controvert the humane and sympathetic attitude hitherto shown the unwilling but treacherously compelled betrayal of Rumania, as well as the patience shown Russia?

2. The military representatives of the Entente in the Murman have issued a proclamation declaring that the Allies have occupied the Murman coast in order to protect their property and to assure the continued possession of these regions to Russia who is at present too feeble to protect them, and that their presence there means no designs against Finland.

3. It has been stated in the Helsingfors press that there is no intention on the part of the Entente to disregard Finnish pretensions on the Murman, and that it would not be impossible to obtain a realization of these pretensions provided Finland preserves her neutrality and does not become an instrument in the hands of Germany.

DANGER AND UNREASONABLENESS OF A FINNISH-MURMAN PORT

It can not be overlooked, however, that many of Finland's public officials, especially those now composing the Senate, are simply German agents, and that Allied deference to Finland to the extent of preserving peace by granting her any right to a port on the Murman coast would be a very dearly bought peace, as such would mean nothing less than another German submarine base. Conclusions drawn from present conditions indicate the absurdity of Finland's claiming a Murman coast port. She is so fast jeopardizing her political and commercial relations with the Allies as to make such a northern port useless and unreasonable, whereas toward her greatest friend Germany, with whom she probably vainly expects future commercial possibilities, all her splendid southern ports lie open and free.

REASONS FOR NEUTRALITY

Finland's internal conditions offer every argument against her entering the war:

1. The recent Red terror, with all its civil-war bloodshed, is sufficient to satiate, at least for the present, any further desire for war.

2. The 75,000 idle and starving Red prisoners, composed entirely of the working classes, have decreased agricultural production and damaged economic and industrial resources so as greatly to accentuate the fear of famine. It is

this deficiency of labor which has prompted the Diet's serious consideration of lengthening the recently passed eight-hour labor law, or at least to make exceptions for those of 18 years and over who are especially strong.

3. In addition to these 75,000 idle prisoners, a war would mean a loss to the farms also of the White Guard labor now employed, and at the present crisis of lack of food it would be near suicidal to turn independent creators of foodstuffs into an army of dependent consumers. It is difficult to believe that Finnish officials, even though real German agents, can be quite active enough and Finland's gratitude to Germany quite strong enough to lead the country thus far.

4. Moreover, Finland's pro-German advocates of the monarchy must still be sensible enough to realize that agitation for war across the frontiers for the purpose, as urged, of relieving the distress of their brothers in Karelia, who can scarcely be in a worse condition than Finland herself, is an adventure undertaken really in the interest of Germany, and as such would simply increase the anti-German or pro-Entente feelings of those who are in favor of a republic.

5. Some 90 to 95 per cent of the wealthy classes have made their fortunes in trade with Russia, England, America, France, Spain, and Italy. The remuneratively exchangeable commodities between Finland and Germany are infinitesimal compared with those of the Entente powers, and this 90 to 95 per cent are already beginning to wonder what the future has in store for their bank accounts.

AMERICA'S MISUNDERSTANDING OF FINLAND

The source from which America has gained much misconception concerning Finland is meager and not altogether reliable:

1. America has judged Finland by the immigrant class which up to 1914 has been entering the United States at an average yearly rate of 16,000, a class representing the lowest and most ignorant of the country's population.

2. This mistaken judgment has been emphasized by Finland's political affiliation with Russia and the evil genius of the present war which has mercilessly fallen upon her unfortunate geographical position and national aspirations.

3. A small per cent of Americans have had their opinions formed by occasional newspaper articles written by unintentionally irresponsible correspondents who as "passers-through" have naturally gathered the superficial instead of facts.

4. Since the war most articles appearing in the American press have been written by long-distance observers from such places as Moscow, Petrograd, Stockholm, Copenhagen, and even London and Paris, and compiled indiscriminately from unreliable anti-Finnish press news, verbal hearsay, and the writer's imagination.

5. Probably the source of our Government's official information has been our Ambassador in Petrograd and our Minister in Stockholm, both of whose time and judgment have for many months been taxed to cope with the political kaleidoscopic changes in their own immediate vicinity.

6. Up to November 1, 1917, the only American representative the American Government had in Finland was a Finnish pro-German who had held the post as consular agent for fourteen years. At present the only representative we have in Finland is a consul at Helsingfors. In contrast to this Great Britain has 12 consular representatives; Germany, in 1913, had 14; France has 7; Spain, 14; Italy, 2; Austria-Hungary, one; Sweden, 19; Belgium, 5; Denmark, 17; Netherlands, 10; Portugal, 10; Norway, 14; and Rumania, Greece, Argentina, Mexico, Brazil, and Uruguay, each, one.

At present Sweden, Germany, Norway, Denmark, Spain, and Russia have diplomatic representatives in Helsingfors. There are a few other nations who have such representatives here, but the changes are so rapid it is difficult to give exact data.

AN ESTIMATE OF THE POPULATION

As far as a residential nine months' study of the Finns permits one to form an opinion of their character, the following estimate is briefly ventured:

1. Of all Russia's provinces, Finland is perhaps the most refined and educated.
2. It has been asserted even, by those in a position to know conditions, that Finland's misfortune is overeducation.
3. Her art and literature possess a worthy past and promise much for the future.
4. There are homes in Finland as refined and cultured as the best in America and Europe.
5. The worst critics of Finland assert the most unfortunate characteristics of the people are cruelty, stubbornness, treachery, and ungratefulness. Such characteristics, however, apply less to the Swedish-speaking population.

HAVE WE GIVEN FINLAND HER SHARE OF ATTENTION?

It appears that no neutral economic battle ground, Belgium not excepted, has for the past twelve months offered America more promising possibilities for diplomatic friendship and victory than Finland. Is it true that our embargo act has ruthlessly fallen upon all neutrals alike without any distinction as to national psychological demands, geographical situation, past history, or political tendencies? Is it true that Finland is in the hands of Germany to-day because the Allies refused her food?

The answer to these questions may be in the negative, for Finland is not blameless. She has not the political foresight of an independent nation which has the experience and wisdom of years of self-guidance. Even the act of refusing food to these people may have been wise and good and for the best, because the western front is of vastly more importance than Finland's paltry three and a half million inhabitants. And yet "three and a half million people" does not express all that Finland means. There is the back-door, post-war trade with Russia which Finland means; there are the geographical opportunities and military possibilities of Germany reaching across her to the White Sea and the Baltic; and there are all the future, far-reaching, intricate, world-destiny problems of the tragic East, which might more easily be solved in favor of America and the Entente with Finland as a friend.

P. S. The foregoing is written in all loyalty to the course pursued by our Government, and is divulged only to the Department of State for any side lights which it may afford.

THORNWELL HAYNES

File No. 860d.00/209

The Acting Secretary of State to the Minister in Sweden (Morris)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, July 20, 1918, 2 p. m.

962. Your 2457, July 11, 5 p. m. Kerensky is not coming to the United States. Department has telegraphed London as follows:¹

¹ Under date of July 6.

Department believes that the accumulation of food in Finland, the delivery of which would be contingent upon the Finnish people's breaking with the Germans, is inadvisable and would seem to imply that this Government is interested in Finland only in so far as it will serve as a pawn in the game of war against the Central powers. As the Finnish government seems to have committed itself definitely to cooperate with Germany and is furthermore insisting at this time in taking over Russian territory, this Government believes a clear decision should be reached to send no foodstuffs to Finland.

You may tell General Mannerheim that this Government is interested in his views and has always desired to maintain friendly relations with the people of Finland. This friendly purpose is based not only on an understanding of the aspirations of the Finnish people but also upon a regard and consideration for the many loyal American citizens of Finnish origin now in this country.

POLK

File No. 860d.00/242

The British Chargé (Barclay) to the Secretary of State

No. 887

MEMORANDUM

His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires presents his compliments to the Secretary of State and has the honour to inform him that His Majesty's Government have received information showing that the Germans have used the presence of Allied troops on the Murman coast to fill Finnish public opinion with alarm as to the aggressive intentions of the Allies against Finland.

His Majesty's Government consider that there is no doubt that Finnish public opinion is clearly, if unjustifiably, excited, and have therefore instructed their representative at Stockholm to communicate the following declaration officially to the Finnish Chargé d'Affaires and to have it published in the Swedish and if possible in the Finnish papers:

His Majesty's Government have received representations from the Finnish government indicating a belief that Allied forces had assisted or intended to assist one of the parties engaged in the civil war in Finland and showing an apprehension that His Majesty's Government might help certain Russians to invade Finland and foment civil war in that country. There would seem also to exist in Finland a fear that Great Britain desires to set up a separate republic in north Russia under British tutelage. His Majesty's Government desire formally to contradict the allegation of assistance having been given by the Allied forces to one of the parties in the civil war in Finland, and to state that the Allied military authorities have never at any time cooperated with the Finnish Red

Guards in Finland. Further, His Majesty's Government have no intention of assisting any Russian party to invade Finland or to foment civil war in that country.

In regard to the question of the Murman coast and Karelia, His Majesty's Government would be glad to see a satisfactory settlement attained, but are bound to point out that the solution of the question does not lie with them. His Majesty's Government understand that the claim of the Finnish government is based on an arrangement made between Finland and the Russian Government in 1864. Neither His Majesty's Government, however, nor any other government, would be justified in asserting of their own motion that territory, which so long as there was a recognized government in Russia had been unquestionably Russian, should now belong to another state. His Majesty's Government are in no way hostile to a final settlement of the question in harmony with Finnish aspirations, and it is unnecessary to say that they have no aggressive intentions towards Finland. His Majesty's Government fear, however, that so long as Finland is under German influence, the Finnish claim will be supported by Germany merely in order to enable German submarines to operate unhindered in the Arctic Ocean. This is consonant with the interests neither of the Allies nor of neutrals. It would inflict a great wrong on Russia and would be of no benefit to Finland. It is solely with a view to keeping up communications with Russia and to prevent Germany from obtaining a submarine base on the Arctic coast that the Allies are maintaining troops on the Murman coast. The last thing they contemplate is the acquisition of territory either there or any other part of Russia.

His Majesty's Government would have wished to consult with their Allies before making this declaration, but their information showed that there was no time to be lost if the effect of the German propaganda was to be successfully countered.

WASHINGTON, August 9, 1918.

[Received August 12.]

File No. 860d.00/258

The Ambassador in Russia (Francis) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

ARCHANGEL, August 13, 1918, 6 p. m.

[Received August 22, 10.55 a. m.]

362. I am cabling to the American Legation, Stockholm, for publication in Finnish newspaper there, appeal from exiled Finns to their countrymen to enlist against Germany. As Finnish independence never acknowledged by us Finland is still constructively part of Russia. If you approve please cable following to the American Legation, Stockholm, for publication in connection with aforesaid appeal:

In connection with above I desire to state to all liberty-loving Finns on behalf of the American Government and on behalf of the

hundreds of thousands of Finns residing in America that it is my sincere hope and conviction that the defeat of Germany about which there can be no reasonable doubt and the success of the Allied cause will result in an independent Finland. I make this statement without reservation because the main issue of this war is the right of peoples to dispose of themselves and the Finns are unquestionably a distinctive race with a glorious record and have preserved their language and laws and have not lost their identity notwithstanding their sufferings through a long period of years. It is my feeling that every Finn who now enlists against Germany becomes thereby a champion of Finnish independence. Francis, American Ambassador.

Finns make excellent soldiers and nearly 2,000 have enlisted under the British within the last month. I am convinced many of them would enlist in our army if convinced Allied victory meant Finnish independence. If possible Finnish legion should be organized in America and sent immediately to Vladivostok or Archangel to join Allied forces.

FRANCIS

File No. 860d.00/251

*The Consul at Helsingfors (Haynes) to the Secretary of State*¹

[Telegram]

HELSINGFORS, August 15, 1918, noon.

[Received August 16, 1.23 a. m.]

70. Diet adjourned. Claiming Finland a republic according to a decision Diet 6th last December, republicans voted down a new constitution, whereupon monarchists revert to 1772 constitution, by paragraph numbered 38 of which Diet will elect king at its reassembling first week in September. Sixty per cent population republican, and internal trouble predicted by reason of doubtful [omission]. Anti-German events in Russia, England's recent note to Finland explaining Murman activities although without Finnish press comment, and successes western front render more than ever improbable Finland's entry into the world war. Practically assured Adolf of Mecklenburg-Schwerin will be selected.

HAYNES

File No. 860d.00/272

The Consul at Archangel (Cole) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

ARCHANGEL, August 18, 1918, 5 p. m.

[Received September 2, 12.45 p. m.]

109. My telegrams Nos. 110, 111 contain text of the proclamation to the Finns of all countries which I have obtained from Senator

¹ Sent via the Legation in Sweden (No. 2650).

Tokoi, former head of the Finnish Red Labor Government, and which I am forwarding with the approval of the Ambassador.¹ The above-mentioned Finn is the same man for whom our Ambassador recently forwarded a proclamation to be inserted in the Stockholm Finnish newspaper.² Actual Finnish text will also be sent to be inserted in the following Finnish newspapers should you deem it advisable: *Riavaaja*, Fitchburg, Massachusetts; (2) *Tyomienmii* of Calumet, Michigan; (3) *Tyokansa* at Port Arthur, Canada; (4) *Toveri* printed in Astoria, Oregon State.

COLE

File No. 860d.00/255

*The Consul at Helsingfors (Haynes) to the Secretary of State*³

[Telegram]

HELSINGFORS, August 20, 1918, 10 a. m.

[Received August 21, 3.40 a. m.]

73. German instigation still pressing Finland toward military expedition against the Allies in Murman. Present Finnish government appears to be peacefully inclined and prominent Finnish people state that no aggressive act is expected before September 1. However, important conferences take place daily between the government and the Germans. Selection of Adolf Frederick of Mecklenburg-Schwerin is assured and forecasts of the future must be considered upon this certainty. England's Murman note has rather strengthened peace party which is strong and objects lodging great power in a king. Germany attempts to counteract quieting effect of the note by declaring England's real object is to establish a British vassal state of Murman-Archangel-Onega triangle with Admiral Kemp as viceroy. The same German propaganda states that local authorities in the territory occupied by the British have been transported inward, population forced into the army, and other outrages perpetrated in order to give the Allies free communication with Czecho-Slovaks. Food conditions growing worse. Germans realize hunger renders Finland more dependent upon them. Three hundred tons of cereals have been received from Germany. This has been exaggerated in the newspapers to 10,000 tons. In the form of butter, metals, horses, Germany has taken more than given. Indications are that when Finland becomes unbearably hungry, Germany will urge that the Allies' provisions in the Murman can be

¹ Not printed.

² See the Ambassador's telegram No. 362 of Aug. 13, *ante*, p. 803.

³ Sent via the Legation in Sweden (No. 2676).

had for the taking. Government has approached me again in regard to recognition of *de facto* government, proposing exchange of *de facto* consuls general. Minister for Foreign Affairs has expressed desire for interview. I think no harm could issue from such consultation, but suggest inaction until after the election king, and neutral character of the government more assured. I would appreciate instructions concerning this.

HAYNES

File No. 880d.00/261

*The Consul at Helsingfors (Haynes) to the Secretary of State*¹

[Telegram]

HELSINGFORS, August 21, 1918, midnight.

[Received August 22, 7.35 p. m.]

74. In order to ameliorate Finnish semidistrust of America because of the requisitioning of foodstuffs on board ships in America, nonrecognition of independence, and Murman irritation, would it be expedient to declare promptly in the Swedish and Finnish press the friendly feeling of the Allies to this country and their desire, willingness to supply food to northwest Finland provided that Germans leave there, the territory fed to be increased as the German forces are removed? This savors of no intrigue or buying friendship but if effected immediately and before election German monarch or before beginning of military operations, it would feed the starving innocent, redeem the past indifference with which we are charged, force hands of the present government, and put the population against the Germans. French and British colleagues are to-day cabling their Governments advocating the same policy.

HAYNES

File No. 880d.00/255

*The Secretary of State to the Consul at Helsingfors (Haynes)*²

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, August 23, 1918, 4 p. m.

Your 73. Department concurs in your opinion and commends your judgment that any action or consultations relative to recognition of *de facto* government should be deferred until situation is more clearly defined than at present.

LANSING

¹ Sent via the Legation in Sweden (No. 2689).² *Id.* (No. 1037).

File No. 860d.00/266

*The Consul at Helsingfors (Haynes) to the Secretary of State*¹

[Telegram]

HELSINGFORS, August 26, 1918, 10 a. m.

[Received August 27, 5.35 a. m.]

76. The decision of the German General Staff that the present Finnish borders cannot be defended and must be shortened to include Murman Railway has brought about considerable adverse comment in Finland. Population is not willing to be pushed into a war of aggression by Germany but the army and the government are so under the control of Von der Goltz and the German military forces that such a project may be undertaken when Germany is ready. Just now all German energies are being directed to training Finnish army. One German officer is assigned to every Finnish company; all army orders have to be countersigned by Colonel von Redem who cooperates with Thesleff, chief of staff. At present it is incorrect to speak of any other army than a German-Finnish army. Railroad construction and all road building point to possible hostilities on the Murman, although Finnish newspapers and prominent men assert that no offensive action is intended until a just cause presents itself. German propaganda is poisoning minds of the Finnish people against Murman expedition so that slight border disturbances may be magnified later into a sufficient *casus belli*.

HAYNES

File No. 860d.00/267

The Chargé in Sweden (Whitehouse) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram—Extract]

STOCKHOLM, August 27, 1918.

[Received August 28, 5.25 a. m.]

2726. Swedish press reports . . . Finnish-Russian peace negotiations broken off indefinitely. . . .

WHITEHOUSE

File No. 860d.00/270

*The Consul at Helsingfors (Haynes) to the Secretary of State*²

[Telegram]

HELSINGFORS, August 27, 1918, 11 a. m.

[Received August 28, 1.49 a. m.]

79. To render German naval control of the Baltic unquestionable a Finnish commission has visited Åland and now sits in Stock-

¹ Sent via the Legation in Sweden (No. 2712).

² *Id.* (No. 2725).

holm discussing demolition Åland fortifications. Germans dissatisfied with recent events in Russia may soon abandon working [through] Bolsheviki and act independently. It is reported that all available German forces Finland and Baltic provinces are now massed near Narva, presumably aimed at Petrograd, and a naval force assembled east of Gulf of Finland with the object of moving against Kronstadt. Germany's need of more man power is shown by her encouragement of interned Red prisoners, whose appalling mortality has occasioned denunciatory White terror articles in the Scandinavian press, to go to Germany to work farms and in mines induced by more wages offered and fear of starving at home. Many of the Finnish have enlisted in the German army, the enemy simulating such enlistment is voluntary. Germany alone has signed commercial agreement with this government although the three Scandinavian countries have tried. The situation means that much commercial man power in Finland is used by Germany. I have been informed personally by the three Scandinavian diplomatic representatives that they are trying to counteract German influence in industry and commerce, as well as opposing the Mecklenburg candidate for the Finnish throne and advising the government to give more attention to absolute neutrality. On the other hand the Germans assure this country that it is no more unneutral than Norway has been to the Entente powers. Finnish government has refused Norway's offer of Atlantic [Arctic?] port through Norwegian territory. Government is now trying to relieve the country's finances and is advising economy in all governmental departments. Prominent Finnish shippers assure me no Finnish or other ships allowed to leave Finland without a German permit.

HAYNES

File No. 860d.00/281

*The Secretary of State to the Consul at Helsingfors (Haynes)*¹

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, August 28, 1918, 3 p. m.

Your 74. The Department believes that such declaration may well await a more opportune moment for expression than the present.

LANSING

¹ Sent via the Legation in Sweden (No. 1054).

File No. 860d.00/274

The Chargé in Sweden (Whitehouse) to the Secretary of State

[Telegram]

STOCKHOLM, September 3 (?), 1918, 6 p. m.

[Received September 3, 9.36 a. m.]

2754. Have received telegram from Ambassador Francis requesting me to deliver for publication in a Finnish newspaper in Stockholm a manifesto addressed to Finns in all countries by Tokoi, ex-Minister President in Finland, and other members of his government.

This manifesto repudiates a proclamation of the Moscow Central Committee of the Finnish Social Democrats warning Finnish working men not to join the British Army and states this committee has no authority to publish such a proclamation and no right to describe working men who are striving to rescue their country from the terrorism of the White Guard by assisting the Allied Army as the enemies of their Russian fellow workers. Further that Finnish Legion in British Army is not compelled to take any part in the Russian civil war, its sole object being the deliverance of Finland from the Germans and German-minded White Guards.

It seems to me this proclamation, if published, might lead the Finnish government to think that we intended to interfere in Finnish internal affairs, might enable the government to persuade the Finns that an offensive against Murman was really a defensive act, and I fear cause an unfavorable impression in Finland. Do you desire me under the circumstance to transmit the manifesto to the newspaper for which it is intended?

WHITEHOUSE

File No. 860d.00/258

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Russia (Francis)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, September 5, 1918, 4 p. m.

247. Your 362, August 13, 6 p. m. This Government has hitherto refrained from any expression of opinion or policy as to the independence of Finland. It therefore deems publication of your statement-inadvisable at present and the Legation at Stockholm has been so informed, adding that as the publication of any appeal from the Finns through us might be construed as intervention in Finnish internal affairs, its publication in that manner at this time appears equally inadvisable.

LANSING

File No. 860d.00/274

The Secretary of State to the Chargé in Sweden (Whitehouse)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, September 5, 1918, 4 p. m.

1082. Your 2754. Department concurs in the opinion that publication of such an appeal through American governmental channels is inadvisable, and has so informed the Ambassador at Archangel in reply to a telegram from him relative thereto in which he also requested simultaneous publication of a supplementary statement by him.

LANSING

File No. 860d.00/258

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Russia (Francis)

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, September 9, 1918, 5 p. m.

252. Referring to Department's 247, September 5, 4 p. m., answering your 362, August 13, 6 p. m.,¹ also 111, August 18, from Cole.² Department questions advisability of cooperating with or encouraging in any way members or advocates of former Finnish Red labor government. Santeri Nuorteva, who has informed the Department that he represents the Finnish Red labor party officially in this country, has announced that aims of his party are the same as the Soviet government of Russia. Department is not aware of exact situation at Archangel but relies on your judgment and discretion as to manner of carrying out Department's wishes.

LANSING

File No. 860d.00/287

The Consul at Helsingfors (Haynes) to the Secretary of State³

[Telegram]

HELSINGFORS, September 11, 1918, 5 p. m.

[Received September 13, 3 a. m.]

90. Finnish delegation which has been in Germany some time searching for a king has procured the assent of Frederick Carl of Hesse who married Kaiser Wilhelm's sister, Margarita, to accept the throne. Diet called to meet September 26 for the election.

¹Ante, p. 803.

²Not printed; see telegram No. 109 of Aug. 18 from the Consul at Archangel, ante, p. 804, which was answered on Sept. 6 by telegram containing instructions similar to those transmitted herein to the Ambassador.

³Sent via the Legation in Sweden (No. 2823).

Finnish government and the Krupp firm have formed two-million-mark company to investigate Finnish iron resources. This is another phase in Germany's program to exploit Finland commercially.

Coat of arms of the British Consulate in Helsingfors has been painted in German colors during the night of September 8. Finnish officials have apologized, restored damaged shield, and are searching for the guilty parties. The press deeply deplores the insult. I believe animosity against the present British Consul who is greatly disliked personally was the real cause of the incident.

HAYNES

File No. 860d.00/301

*The Consul at Helsingfors (Haynes) to the Secretary of State*¹

[Telegram]

HELSINGFORS, October 11, 1918, 9 p. m.

[Received October 12, 10.25 p. m.]

101. Frederick Carl elected King October 9 in secret session. Vote reported to have been 76 to 41, unlikely he will be seated. (1) Personally he has previously advised that he would accept only on condition that not too much opposition; (2) parliamentary [opposition of] the left in Germany may prevent; and (3) peace arrangements may demand a king by the will of the people.

Diet adjourned yesterday to [reconvene] in ordinary session November 5 to arrange budget, order of succession, and the penal code. Reported to-day in Helsingfors that Kaiser Wilhelm has declared he would abdicate in favor of third son rather than stand in the way of peace.

HAYNES

Withdrawal of German Troops—Formation of a New Government under Mannerheim—Decision of the American Government to Ship Food

File No. 860d.00/310

*The Consul at Helsingfors (Haynes) to the Secretary of State*²

[Telegram]

HELSINGFORS, October 20 [?], 1918.

[Received October 21, 10.17 p. m.]

104. It is estimated that there are less than 5,000 German troops now in Finland. Continuous departures indicate complete withdrawal in the near future. Still believe that Finland will never have

¹ Sent via the Legation in Sweden (No. 2990).

² *Id.* (No. 3023?).

a king, as stated in my telegram No. 82 of September 3.¹ Present government destined to fall and a more representative one will succeed, which will inaugurate republican reforms even at the expense of being charged with taking revenge on the present pro-German monarchists. There may be bloodshed, but not country-wide unless the present disaffection in the army increases. Indications are that winter will be tragic since all political disturbances are detrimental to economic peace and safety. The amount of internal trouble is liable to be greater should the German troops remain. It appears unlikely at present that their withdrawal will invite attack from Russia; if so, Entente might reverse the present situation against Germany by becoming friends of Finland in utilizing Murman forces to prevent Bolshevik aggression.

HAYNES

File No. 860d.00/326

*The Consul at Helsingfors (Haynes) to the Secretary of State*²

[Telegram]

HELSINGFORS, November 12, 1918, 4 p. m.

[Received November 14, 12.30 p. m.]

117. Ex-Senator Lovonius and Dr. Schonman both strongly urge you [recognize Mannerheim?] as successor of Svinhufvud as regent of the new republican government, which is expected in a few days to supersede the present administration; assure me that Finland will be absolutely neutral and above all pro-Finnish. They say the new government will demand immediately withdrawal of German forces from Finland, order general elections, and request American food and recognition upon the basis of self-determination. It will be impossible for the new or any other government to succeed without food. Notwithstanding the increasing peril of Bolshevism, Finland under the new régime hopes to be able to defend itself on the eastern frontier if the United States will help it. Consequently, while the government will represent the majority of the people, being at present pro-Ally, still the fear of Bolshevism must increase before Associated military aid will be requested or welcomed, but it seems advisable that naval and military forces be ready to come at the earliest opportunity, for a greater danger threatens Finland than when the Red government was in charge or when the government put it down and it is believed that the Bolshevik's journey westward will be stopped only by Allied forces. The seriousness of the impending revolution in Finland depends on how soon Allied armies will establish order in Germany and the Russian border

¹ Not printed.

² Sent via the Legation in Sweden (No. 3148).

states. The report that General Mannerheim's visit to London is to ask for the Allies' consent that German forces remain in Finland to protect the country against Bolshevism is said to be a sinister hope of the monarchists to protect themselves with German bayonets, a foolish hope, because German forces here are becoming disaffected and may join the Bolsheviks. The embryo republican government in the name of the Finnish people is sending Frederick Carl a message to refuse the crown for the sake of Finland. The paper of the republicans, the *Social Democrat*, has been suspended to-day by the governor of Nyland government. Circulation of 65,000 is greater than any other daily. All indications are that trouble is threatening in Finland.

I venture to suggest that my telegram¹ to grant visas to Ignatius and Paloheimo to go to America as representative of the present monarchical pro-German government be unanswered.

HAYNES

File No. 860d.00/328

*The Consul at Helsingfors (Haynes) to the Secretary of State*²

[Telegram]

HELSINGFORS, November 16, 1918, 10 p. m.

[Received November 19, 10.40 a. m.]

118. According to a decision reached yesterday, November 15, the Senate and the Diet have agreed to entrust General Mannerheim with the forming of new government, the personnel of which has not been determined as yet, but most of the present compromised officials will be removed.

The greatest point in dispute is the proportion of monarchists and republicans in the new coalition government. Indications are now that the former will be in the majority. The Agrarians, who are the principal republican guides, since the Socialists are not represented in the Diet, have decided after much hesitation to lend their tacit support to the coalition government, providing that new elections were definitely arranged. The Agrarians won their point and new general elections are fixed for February or March, by which time it is hoped that the Entente will be able to cope with the Bolshevik danger, which has been hitherto the principal objection to leaving existing mooted questions to the decision of the people.

The important question for America and the Entente to decide regarding Finland is as to whether food ought to be given to the coalition government for distribution to the people during the interim between now and the time fixed for the general election. Personally

¹ Not printed.

² Sent via the Legation in Sweden (No. 3172).

I believe that if the composition of the coalition cabinet is at all satisfactory, and definite assurances as to the date of general election are given, food ought to be sent to Finland at once, because conditions among the common people are truly terrible, worse than in Russia or Germany. Von der Goltz has announced officially that the German forces are now leaving Finnish territory because Allied forces can now be expected, so the Allies can no longer deny food to the starving population by reason of the German occupation. An official announcement by the American Government regarding food for Finland would be appreciated and would come at a very opportune time. If the Department delays, the British will make the statement and to the Finnish mind get all the credit of saving them from starvation with food supplied by the United States. Kindly instruct me in regard to the latter point.

HAYNES

File No. 860d.00/324

*The Acting Secretary of State to the Consul at Helsingfors (Haynes)*¹

[Telegram]

WASHINGTON, November 22, 1918, 6 p. m.

Your 115 [117?]. Department not now prepared to recognize independence of Finland or any separate government but is now preparing to send supplies of food commencing with an original shipment of 5,000 tons. You will be advised in advance as soon as it is found practicable to formulate a definite plan. In the meanwhile you may be confident that this Government appreciates the situation disclosed in your telegrams and is determined to use its best efforts to render some assistance to the Finnish population.

POLK

File No. 860d.00/343

The British Chargé (Chilton) to the Acting Secretary of State

No. 1410

MEMORANDUM

His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires presents his compliments to the Acting Secretary of State and has the honour to inform him that the Finnish representative in London states that the remaining German officers, troops, and munitions of war were finally withdrawn from Finland on December 16.

WASHINGTON, December 24, 1918.

[Received December 27.]

¹ Sent via the Legation in Sweden (No. 1318).