

RUSSIA'S POLICY
IN FINLAND.

(From the Russian.)

BY

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FINLAND

THE characteristic feature of the relations of the Russian Empire to its Finland border-land is to be found in their complete lack of definition : the character of the tie existing between the Empire and Finland lacks definition : the rights and obligations of the Governor-General as the representative of the imperial power in the country, are indefinite : the significance of the Finnish Senate as the organ of the local executive power, is indefinite : the functions of the Finland State-Secretaryship at St. Petersburg are indefinite.

Is Finland to be accounted a State in dynastic union with Russia, or is it an alien country which forms an organic part of the Russian State and enjoys only in internal affairs of local significance a wide territorial autonomy ?

In practice the question must be decided thus : Finland can be given only such a degree of separate existence as is compatible with the imperial interests of the Russian State. *Salus publica ultima ratio.*

On the other hand Finland is a country which, ethnographically, is completely isolated from Russia. Its population is almost wholly Finnish : among some 2,500,000 aboriginal Finns there live in Finland about

350,000 Swedes, the former conquerors of the country, and perhaps 6,000 Russians. The Finnish people has its own native language, literature, political press. Long kept down in a servile condition by the Swedes the Finnish people, little by little, has won the rights of equality with its enslavers, possesses an educated class of its own, a national clergy, and is successfully making its way into the ranks of the town society, while a majority of the professors and students of the Helsingfors University belong to the Finnish nationality. The Imperial Manifesto of October 22nd, 1905, made it possible for the Finnish people to acquire that preponderating importance in the local legislative assembly which corresponds to their preponderance in numbers, and as a consequence also enabled them to take a corresponding place in the administration of their native land. Under these conditions Finland must be preserved in her political and national isolation to the full extent of such rights as are compatible with the entirety and unity of the Russian Empire.

In this connection a cursory glance at the map will suffice to demonstrate conclusively all the importance to Russia of the possession of the entire East coast of the Baltic Sea and both shores of the Finnish Gulf, at the base of which is situated the capital of the State. This means that the sea frontier of Finland must be also the frontier of the Russian Empire and that precludes all possibility of Finland ever becoming a State independent of Russia and connected with Russia only by a dynastic union. The strategic importance of the Finnish sea-board is such that

if Finland had remained an entirely independent State we should have had immediately to conquer it. Happily all that was provided for by the forethought of the Emperors Peter the Great and Alexander the Blessed.

And here we must note that after Finland, in the twelfth century, came under the power of Sweden it had never been an independent State. The very Diet and the organic laws of 1772 and 1789 were nothing more than the tools whereby Sweden reduced to slavery the country of the Finns. In the class Diet the Swedish minority was always guaranteed a majority of the votes. The language of the State was Swedish, not Finnish, indeed, in Finnish nothing was allowed to be printed except the gospels. In 1710 and in 1809 Finland came partially from the power of Sweden into the possession of Russia. Peter well understood that the safety of the capital he had created on the border of the State demanded the annexation to Russia of the neighbouring territory belonging to hostile Sweden. When he had succeeded in this and on June 14th, 1710, had occupied Viborg he wrote the same day to the Empress : " I announce to you that yesterday the town of Viborg surrendered, and with this good news I felicitate you : a firm cushion has now, by the help of God, been laid for Sanct Peterburch (sic) to rest on."

At the same time he wrote to Menshikov : " And so by the taking of this town we have got lasting security for Sanct Peterburch. . . ."

Alexander I., in 1808, on the advice of Napoleon conquered the remaining part of Finland, and in his letter

from Petersburg of April 5th, 1808, he wrote to Napoleon :
 " Monsieur mon frère, j'adresse ces lignes à Votre Majesté
 pour lui annoncer que toute la Finlande suédoise se trouve
 conquise " . . . " j'ai déclaré la Finlande suédoise pro-
 vince russe. Comme Votre Majesté l'a très bien jugé, la
 sureté de ma capitale l'exigeait " . . .*

From the date of the annexation of Finland to Russia,
 the scope of its national independence of life has not been
 narrowed but from time to time considerably widened,
 always, however, stopping short of the point at which
 State independence begins.

The fundamental act defining the relations of Finland
 to Russia is the Fredrikshamn Treaty of 1809, which
 recognises Finland as " in the property and sovereign
 possession of the Russian Empire." But the Finlanders
 will have none of this ; they base their rights to State
 independence almost exclusively on words, on more or
 less unhappy expressions, in official documents, on the
 omissions made by statesmen. Most frequently of all the
 Finlanders refer, for evidence of their independence and
 national State rights, to the following words taken from
 a Report for the year 1811 of the Minister Speransky :
 " Finland is a State and not a province." But against
 this historical document may be set another presented
 also by Speransky to the Emperor, in which he wrote :
 " The so-called State income of this country is placed at
 the disposal of the *province* itself." The Finlanders refer

* S. Tatistcheff. Alexandre Ier. et Napoleon d'après leur
 correspondance inédite (1801-1812). Paris, 1891. p. 382.

likewise to an unsigned rough copy of a secret Rescript of Alexander I. to the Governor-General of Finland, of which no original is in existence, and in which occur the words: "My intention in the settlement of Finland was to give this people a political existence . . . for which purpose have been preserved to them not only their civil but also their political laws." This Rescript, quite apart from any question of whether it ever was signed by the sovereign, ever sent to its destination, proves by its very contents absolutely nothing at all, inasmuch as it is impossible to deny the existence in Finland of special laws, not only civil but also political. But this fact goes no way towards settling the question of whether Finland is an independent State or an autonomous territory of the Russian Empire, inasmuch as autonomous territories may have their own local political and even constituent constitutional laws defining the limits of their political autonomy, as is the case, for example, with Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Transvaal in the British Empire. No other signification can be attributed either to the declaration of the Emperor Alexander I. at the Borgo Diet in 1809, which was in the following words: "Having entered by the will of the Almighty into possession of the Grand Duchy of Finland, We have thought fit hereby once more to confirm and assure the Religion, original Laws, rights and privileges which each class of this Duchy in particular and all subjects inhabiting it, great and small, by their constitutions have hitherto enjoyed." On the other hand, of documentary proofs

that Finland was called a province of the Russian Empire there is no end. It was so called in the letter of Alexander I. to Napoleon, quoted above: it was called a province in the Minutes of the Diet of Borgo, at which the local officials called themselves "Russian subjects." The Finlanders are called Russian subjects also in the Finland Criminal Code, which repeatedly uses the form of words: "Finlander or other subject of the Russian State." In Professor Palmén's legal handbook ("Juridisk handbok för medborgerlig bildning") published in 1857, Finland is called a "province" (pp. 103-255).

But of much more importance than mere names are the actual properties of the political unity existing between Finland and Russia. Finland is not, in an international sense, an independent individual State. Outside Russia it does not, in a political sense, exist for the rest of the world, and had no proper State entity of its own.

The following examples will illustrate this principle. Not long ago was decided by agreement between Russia, the Powers signatory to the Treaty of Paris and Sweden the question of the Finnish Aland Islands as a part of the territory of the Russian Empire, and the question was treated solely from the point of view of the interests of Russia's national prestige. Another example: the newspapers noted that abroad young Finlanders were being refused entrance to educational establishments unless they presented documents to prove that they were Russian subjects.

Thus it must be taken as absolutely incontrovertible

that Finland has no sort of right to any *status* as a State separate from the Russian Empire and Russia, within the limits of her Finnish possessions, has State interests, the importance of which is great in proportion to her position as one of the Great Powers of the world. Naturally the defence of these interests can be trusted not to a local authority in Finland, but only to the central authority of the Empire.

In the Fundamental Laws of Russia this relation of Finland to the Empire is laid down with insufficient clearness and definiteness. Article 2 of the Fundamental Laws reads thus : " The Grand Duchy of Finland, forming an integral part of the Russian State, is, in its internal affairs, administered by special regulations based upon special legislation." This wording of the law still leaves it open to Finlander Separatists to argue, in defiance of the intention of the legislator, that only matters of foreign policy are excluded from the competence of the Finlander authorities, and that the supreme power of the State of Finland is in no wise limited in regard to all, without exception, internal affairs, whether of legislation or administration. They will continue also for the future to account as their own affairs such matters as military organisation, the strategic importance of the railways, the rights of Russians in Finland and other matters of Imperial significance, and any interference in such matters will continue to be treated as persecution, arbitrary licence, violation of their historic rights, of their and our own Fundamental laws.

The position occupied by Finland in the Russian Empire would be fairly expressed if Article 2 of our Fundamental Laws were so worded as to leave to Finland the right to administer themselves by special regulations based upon special legislation in their internal affairs *of local significance*. Next, in order to give firm supports to the autonomy of Finland and remove from its relations to the Empire every kind of indefiniteness such as the Finlanders are apt to take advantage of, an additional clause appended to Article 2 of our Fundamental Laws should state with categorical definiteness those matters of administration and legislation which are acknowledged to have an Imperial significance and likewise define the order of their settlement by the Imperial authorities in concert with the representatives of Finland. In this direction a good deal of work has been done by various Government Commissions under the presidency of N. Bunge, N. Tagantsev, and Count Solsky, but their labours have remained uncompleted.*

In 1893, in the Bunge Commission, the Minister State-Secretary of Finland, von Dehn, himself laid down the following classification of laws concerning Finland :

(1) Laws which in principle have equivalent force both in the Empire and in Finland. To these belong the Fundamental State Laws of the Russian Empire, the application of which to Finland is conditioned by

* Until the crown was put upon them by the law of June 17-30, 1910, passed by the State Duma and the State Council. A translation of this law will be found in the appendix. (Trans.).

the fact that it forms an integral part of the Russian State ; the Statutes of the Imperial House ; Acts of international agreements ; laws and regulations relating to the defence of the State, etc.

(2) Laws common to the whole Empire including Finland, which are promulgated as to be enforced in all parts of the Empire not excepting also Finland.

(3) Laws which although they may be issued for Finland alone yet have regard to the whole Empire (for example, criminal laws).

(4) Laws which have an exclusively local significance for Finland only.

In making this classification Lieutenant-General von Dehn recognised that laws of the first category already have their own definite order of drafting and publication independent of the Finnish authorities.

To deal more concretely with the above, I would say that the following institutions and affairs, in so far as they concern Finland, ought to be regarded as having general State significance :

(1) *In Foreign Affairs.*—The Russian Diplomatic service, Consuls and other agents abroad, serve Finland also as an integral part of the Russian State. All claims put forward by Finlanders to establish abroad commercial or other agents ought to be rejected. The Russian national colours alone have any international or State significance for Finland. Only the Russian flag secures to Finnish ships sailing under it respect and protection. There need be no objection to the Finns appropriating for their country

special national colours, but even within the limits of Finland itself the Finnish flag must everywhere yield precedence to the Russian, which, flying over the palace of the Governor-General and other imperial institutions will serve to remind each and all that here is the Russian Empire.

(2) *Troops*.—The strategic importance of Finland is such as to render it impossible to allow in this border-land the existence of an independent military force. In Finland there can only be military detachments organically bound up with the Russian Army by strict military devolution of command and a single form common to all of organisation, recruitment, drill, tactics, armament, equipment and martial law. Under these conditions it goes without saying that Finlander officers must thoroughly understand the Russian language and the words of command must be Russian. Only within the limits thus defined by State needs might certain special forms be admitted to meet the requirements of the autonomous rights of the Grand Duchy of Finland.

Thus the Commanding Officer of a Finland separate corps might be given the rights of the Commander of a Military District. This is suggested not merely by convenience but by the practical necessity of concentrating in Finland the economic establishments of the district, the supply and forage, the medical and other departments which should be maintained at the expense of the Finnish fisc.

The Finland separate corps should then be placed under

the supreme military inspector, the Headquarter Staff and the Minister of War.

The advantage of the State in nowise requires the service of Finnish military detachments outside the frontiers of Finland in time of peace, with the exception of manœuvres for the practice of movements in large masses. There is, therefore, no fair ground for refusing the Finlanders a law which, while laying down the obligation of Finnish troops to serve in time of war where need may arise, might secure them from being called out of Finland in time of peace for any other purpose than to take part, during the camping season, in manœuvres as a part of the troops of the St. Petersburg Military District.

Finland is at all times open to the Russian troops in unlimited numbers in virtue of the relative forces of Finland and the Empire. There is, therefore, no need to emphasise this point by any paper laws, although a law is required to define the order of billeting Russian troops when need arises for their being sent into Finland.

Russian fortifications in Finland must be in the full and sole possession of the Imperial authorities, and the law concerning approaches to fortresses has an imperial and not a local significance. The same applies to the pilot service on the Finnish sea-board.

The military organisation sketched above is needed for our Finnish borderland against the time when the relations of Finland to the Empire assume a normal and peaceful character, but it ought to be laid down by law now so that the Finlanders may be fully apprised from this time

forth of the limits to which they may go in departing from the general order of legislation in military matters, having regard to their provincial autonomy, and may not be led astray by any dubieties regarding the uselessness of any kind of claims and discussions on this point. But the time is still far distant for actually putting in force a military law of this nature ; before this can be done there must be strong guarantees that Finlander troops will not betray the Russian flag under which they will have to serve, whose honour should be for the Finlander soldier, as it is for the Russian, dearer than life itself.

Troops independent of the Russian Army can only be necessary to Finland for use against Russia, and by claiming the isolation of their armed forces the Finlanders give us plainly to know that the foes of Russia, under certain conditions, might find an ally in Finland. That tells the whole story. Troops always reflect the tone of the people from which they are drawn, and the tone of the population of Finland is not yet such that Russia can count upon its loyalty. Besides, from aliens whose historic destiny has made them citizens of the Russian Empire, loyalty alone is not enough. Russia has a right to demand that, without being false to their national feelings and while prizing their racial peculiarities they should also learn to be Russian patriots, should feel themselves bound to defend the honour, the dignity, the safety and the greatness of *their own* Russian State.

The time to introduce in Finland a military organisation adapted to the peculiarities of its autonomous *status* will

be when the heaving waters in this borderland settle down again after the revolutionary storm that has swept over Russia. Meantime there remains nothing else but to continue to occupy Finland with Russian troops, and to substitute there for personal service in the rank of the army an annual payment of tribute to the Imperial treasury, the amount of which should be settled, in the general order of legislation, proportionately to the amount which the maintenance of the armed forces of the Empire costs per head of population for Russia, *i.e.*, about 3 R^s. 50 kop. (7s. 4d.). This will increase the amount to be paid by Finland under present regulations from the State Fund by more than double, but it will not be in excess of the paying capacity of Finland, if one may judge by the fact that the extraordinary Diet of 1899 itself petitioned for an increase of the active forces from 5,200 to 12,000, and that the cadres should be more than doubled. Ordinary caution requires, of course, that any secret arming on the part of Finland should be prevented, by prohibiting the establishment of any kind of organisations for military training, such as were the White and Red Guards, the Voima and the Rifle Clubs. The manufacture and the import of arms suitable for such training must likewise be prohibited.

(3) *Railways*.—The railways of Finland interest Russia only from the point of view of their strategic importance. To the Council of Ministers of the Empire should be left, therefore, the right to decide which of them have this importance, with a view to these railways being brought

in order of legislation under the inspection, technical and military, of the Imperial officials. To the Council of Ministers should also be referred, in view of strategic considerations, all projects for new railways in Finland, and reconstructions of existing lines.

(4) *Posts and Telegraphs.*—In Finland these are already united, to the public advantage, with the Imperial postal and telegraphic institutions, and this should be the rule also in the future. Any changes that may be contemplated in Finland, as they might very nearly concern the interests and convenience of the Russian public, should follow the order laid down for matters common to Finland and the Empire.

(5) *The Customs Frontier and the Monetary System.*—In the reign of the Emperor Alexander II. Finland was granted separate customs frontiers and a monetary system distinct from that of Russia proper. Such distinctive marks are entirely improper in the case of autonomous countries forming an integral part of a single State organisation, and indeed Finland has not come to enjoy this distinction by right of independence as a State, but she got it by petitioning the sovereign for it as a grace in view of local convenience. In point of fact, both measures, while they in no wise alter the principle of the relations between Finland and Russia, certainly do represent an anomaly in these relations, which causes, alike for Russians and for Finns, a great deal of practical inconvenience giving rise to considerable irritation on both sides.

The Customs frontier between Russia and her northern

borderland has, in principle, only the significance of the internal barriers (*octrois*) existing to this day in some other States, nothing more ; and in practice it is clearly not profitable to Finland. It enables the Empire, if not entirely to ruin Finland, at any rate to check the growth of its manufacturing industry, by closing Russia to Finnish products to the obvious profit of Russian factories and industries. As an extreme measure it would even be possible as an encouragement to the development of farming on this side of the frontier, to set up a prohibitive tariff wall also against Finnish agricultural products. Finland, on the other hand, has absolutely no sort of importance as a market for the consumption of Russian products.

As regards the special monetary system, it had undoubted advantages for Finland only up to the date of the establishment of the gold basis in Russia. The Finlanders point, in this connection, to the advantages resulting from the smaller unit. Even if we admit that there may be a certain advantage in the smaller unit of coinage, it does not in any case counterbalance all the inconveniences of different systems of coinage in different localities of one and the same State.

It will not be difficult, on an economic basis, to come to an understanding with Finland on the subject of the Customs frontier and the monetary system, when once the hope of State-separation from Russia has been finally abandoned. The only value Finland can possibly place on these anomalies in the economic sphere of our relations is that it regards them as external marks of State independence.

Meantime questions of Customs and coinage must be regarded as matters concerning the Imperial interests of Russia.

6. *Matters of General Imperial Importance in Administration of the Law.*—If Finland is not an independent State but an autonomous part of the Russian State, the section of the imperial Criminal Code dealing with crimes against the State should be extended to Finland also.

Precisely on the same ground there cannot be between the Empire and Finland any manner of treaty obligations regarding the surrender of criminals, examination of accused persons and witnesses, arrest and transportation where summoned of persons charged with offences. In all these cases the only thing requiring verification on both sides is the formal correctness of the demands made. There can be no sort of extradition between Russia and her Finnish borderland.

(7) *The Russian Language in Finland.*—The language of procedure in local institutions in Finland and the language used in the schools of Finland, the country of the Finns, ought in fairness to be the Finnish language only, but if Finland prefers to keep the Swedish language as that of official procedure that is merely a domestic affair of the Finns. And with that preponderating power in the legislation of the country which has now been secured to the Finns by the new electoral law, they will settle this question in accordance with their requirements and tastes. But the Russian language, as the language of the State, must have its rights in Finland quite apart from any

considerations about whether our Finnish fellow-citizens prefer the language of their former conquerors or not. This is a general Imperial, and not a local Finnish question.

The Russian language ought to be a subject of public instruction over the whole expanse of the Empire and in schools of all grades. In this respect no exception can be made either for Finland or for the Kingdom of Poland, if the latter should be granted autonomy. It would not even be a novelty in Finland for the imperial authority to require the Russian language to be taught as an obligatory subject. Measures were taken to have the Finns taught the Russian language immediately after Finland had come into the "sovereign possession of Russia," and, as regards the Province of Viborg, it was united to Finland after it had already become thoroughly Russian.

In January, 1812, the Ruling Council (now the Senate) of the Grand Duchy discussed the propositions of Count Armfeldt for the holding of examinations in the Russian language for young men preparing to enter the service of the State, and approved the scheme "in respect of the advantage and the necessity for civil servants and others in Finland to know the Russian language." In the same year an order was issued for the appointment to the local schools of special teachers of the Russian language, in order that "on the expiry of five years, counting from the date of the appointment of teachers of the Russian language to these schools, *all young men desirous of entering the ecclesiastical, military or civil services, should be required to give proofs publicly of a satisfactory knowledge of the Russian*

language." In the following year, 1813, the Ruling Council of Finland confirmed in the name of the sovereign the regulation that, from May 1st, 1818, "no student whatsoever should be eligible to enter the service of the Church or to receive an academical certificate for the purpose of qualifying for any other public office if he should not have proved that he had the required facility in the Russian language." In 1824, and in 1831, exceptions were allowed to this regulation for clerics and for teachers, but for entrance into the local civil services the requirements regarding knowledge of the Russian language were once more confirmed in 1828. Later, in 1841, it was laid down that Finlanders who, *ceteris paribus*, showed the best knowledge of the Russian language should be given special advantages in appointments to the services. In the same year examiners were appointed to inspect the teaching of the Russian language. These appointments were given only to *Russians born*, and they had to visit all the schools every year to inspect the progress made in the Russian language. By Imperial order of date June 21st, 1841, the Russian language in all elementary schools was put *before all other languages* and was to be taught unconditionally in all schools.

It was only in the sixties of last century that the Russian language began to be gradually thrust out of the schools in Finland.

It was intended at first to introduce the Russian language in place of the Swedish in the procedure of all institutions in Finland. In the year of the annexation of Finland, on November 19th, 1808, it was laid down that all public

affairs should be carried on "in the language now in use in Finland *until such time as the Russian language should come into use.*" The famous Finlander official Sprengtporten, who took a very intimate part in the organisation of the administration of Finland on its annexation to Russia, in a report to the Emperor Alexander I. concerning his "scheme for the temporary administration of Finland" wrote as follows: "Public affairs will be carried on, *owing to the impossibility of doing otherwise,* in the language now prevailing in the country; but when the Government shall have established *schools of the Russian language* that language shall be introduced generally into all public procedure *as the principal language side by side with Finnish as the vulgar tongue.*"

Since that day a century has passed by and there are no grounds for renewing these attempts at such a thorough russification of our Finnish border-land, which did not succeed not only owing to the separatist tendencies of the Swedophil parties but also thanks to the acts, and often the negligence, of the Russian Government itself—but it is absolutely essential that a knowledge of the Russian language should be made compulsory for those serving in Finnish institutions which have occasion to communicate with the Imperial authorities, and among them with the Governor-General of Finland, or which are in direct contact with the public, such as the posts, telegraphs, telephone, customs, etc.

Knowledge of the Russian language should be compulsory for Senators and all officials of the Senate, and on

all such occasions as the Governor-General finds it necessary to personally preside over the Senate all the debates should be in the Russian language. The speech from the throne to the Diet should be read in Russian and the reply by talman of the Diet might be in the Finnish language, but should then immediately be read, also by the talman, in Russian, that it may be understood by the Governor-General and all the Russian officials and private persons present. All communications of the Russian authorities, the Governor-General included, whether oral or written, to local institutions and officials ought to be in the Russian language.

In public announcements in the streets, squares, public buildings, tram cars, etc., Russian text ought absolutely to be compulsory, and it should occupy the chief place. I shall be told that these are trifles. Perhaps, but in the life of peoples, as of individuals, there are some trifles which have very great importance. It is essential that the Russian born should feel at home over the entire illimitable expanse of the Russian Empire and that foreigners in Finland or in Poland should realise that they are in Russia. When I, a Russian, in the capital of the Russian State, my native home, take my seat in the Finland railway carriages and read there orders and prohibitions in three languages, of which Russian occupies the last place and is, moreover, ungrammatically expressed, I feel my pride of nationality insulted.

(8) *Rights of Russians in Finland.*—Finlanders enjoy in Russia the full compass of all rights—political, civil and

economic—belonging to the native Russian population of the Empire. As early as the year 1809, the very year of the annexation of Finland to Russia, an imperial order issued to treat Finlanders coming to Russia as if they were arrivals from the home provinces, and, again in 1825 it was officially pointed out that Finlanders were not accounted foreigners anywhere in the Empire.

Finlanders sit in the State Council and are eligible for election to the State Duma ; a career is open to them either in the military or the civil services, and in both they have occupied the very highest posts, that of Minister included. They are competent to acquire in Russia every kind of real property and are not subjected to any manner of limitations in industry and commerce : their Finnish Railway runs right into the capital of the Empire ; their skippers navigate the Neva and all the river navigation systems of Russia ; they have the same rights as Russians in the establishment of every possible kind of share-companies ; no fewer than 30,000 Finlanders find subsistence in Russia in industry and commerce.

Russians in Finland, on the other hand, are deprived of all political rights, their civil rights are very materially curtailed, and they can only engage in the industrial activity of this border-land of Russia under conditions which amount to practical prohibition of such operations. Electoral rights and rights of public service Russians in Finland have absolutely none. The right of acquiring real property is considerably curtailed, though there does not exist a State anywhere which deprives even foreigners

of this right. Russians, on the same footing as foreigners, are barred from engaging in commerce and in factory or handicraft industry by the requirements that they must provide themselves with a guarantor and give special security for the payment of taxes and imposts for three years ahead. The right of Russian peasants and burgesses, established by imperial law in the year 1839, to engage in Finland in the pedlars' trade on the same footing as Finnish peasants, a right still in force by Article 123 of the Passports Statutes (ed. 1890), was abolished by the Finlanders in 1879 without even a reference to the Russian authorities. Up to 1904 Russians were prohibited engaging in the book trade and carrying on printing offices, lithography, metallography, etc., lending libraries and reading rooms. Russians in Finland are prohibited from dealing in drugs, chemicals and poisons, may neither manufacture nor sell alcoholic liquors, or even distil spirits. Russians may not be members of the Board of Directors of a bank, or take any part in the founding of a banking company. Russians may not hold any concession to build railways. Russians living in Finland are forbidden by Finlanders to exercise thrift, thanks to the Finnish Statutes of the savings banks. The above list is by no means exhaustive of the limitations to which Russians are subjected in Finland on the same footing as foreigners. But there are also other limitations which are more oppressive for Russians than for foreigners. Thus, in order to settle in Finland a Russian peasant or burgess must reside in the country six years and pay 1,000 Rs. (£100) to Finlander charities and workmen's

organisations, whereas the foreigner gets off with merely being in the country three years, on condition, however, that he has not previously resided in Russia. In connection with these limitations of the rights of Russians in Finland I may note, as a curiosity, the fact that persons belonging to the Orthodox Russian Church are not permitted on any plea whatsoever to become teachers of history.

A law, to be promulgated in the order laid down for matters of general State significance, must abolish all existing limitations of the rights of Russians in Finland, and establish for Russians in Finland, as for Finlanders in Russia, the enjoyment of identical rights, which cannot be curtailed in consequence of national origin. Although such a law has a very high significance indeed in principle, as abolishing political disabilities of Russians in Finland, yet, in practice, it would make very little difference to the existing situation, inasmuch as the number of Russians sufficiently acquainted with the local tongues to carry on in these languages the procedure of local public institutions is quite insignificant, and in order to enjoy the right of voting for the local Diet it would be only fair to make it compulsory for Russians to speak, read and write Finnish, the language of the aboriginal population. As regards limitations in the acquirement of real property, and most of the other limitations above-mentioned in the economic sphere, it is impossible to avoid noting that there is no State in the world which recognises such disabilities even for foreigners.

Jews in Finland are deprived of all rights whatsoever. Residence in the country is allowed only by permits issued to individuals, and these may be expelled at the discretion of the local officials. Jews do not enjoy in Finland even the rights enjoyed by foreigners, as Russians do, and up to 1879 were forbidden to marry even among themselves.

This is not, however, the place to discuss the Jewish Question, which does not come within the limits of our borderland policy, and it is my intention to treat of this matter specially. But however the question may be settled in Russia, Finland has not, in any case, the right to limit in Finland the rights which Russian Jews enjoy in Russia proper.

(9) *The Re-union of the Province of Viborg to Russia proper.*—This measure, recommended by some Russian politicians for the better safeguarding of “the external power of our country as a mighty historic agglomerate whole” might, from the narrow formal juridical point of view, be carried out in the same order in which its annexation to Finland was affected under Alexander I., *i.e.*, in the order of settlement of questions of internal policy of general State significance. But, in point of fact, it will not do to forget that the annexation of the Viborg Province to Finland has a whole century of use and wont behind it; that, in this long period the Viborg Province has had time to grow together organically with Finland, to become bound to it by ties which are all the stronger, inasmuch as the union was one of territories occupied by

the same race. This province has already accustomed itself to the local peculiarities of Finnish administration to the habits and customs so different from those of Russia, with which are bound up important material interests and relations between families and kin. Apart from all this, it is important for Russia to solve the Finland question in such a way as to secure herself against treason not merely in the Province of Viborg, but throughout Finland. In any case, this province cannot be tossed backwards and forwards between Russia and Finland every hundred years without consulting the wishes of its population. In the last resort the separation of the Province of Viborg from Finland might be effected by means of a plebiscite, not otherwise.

I know no other matters which in regard to Finland touch at the same time general State interests. As matters of State, and not merely local, significance, all these can be competently dealt with only by the institutions of the Empire ; in the order of administration by the Council of Ministers, and in the order of legislation in the State Duma and State Council, receiving their sanction not from the Grand Duke of Finland but from the Emperor of All the Russias. Finland should have the right to take part in the settlement of these questions. This might be effected by admitting into the Council of Ministers the Minister State-Secretary for Finland, and allowing representatives of Finland to take part in the decisions in the State Duma and State Council in the order of legislation for Finnish matters which the Imperial

Fundamental Laws recognise to have a general State significance. It will be sufficient if the law of the Empire defines the number of these representatives. The manner of their election may be left to the Finnish popular representative assembly in the order of promulgation in Finland of local constituent laws, which, except for those on the above-mentioned subjects handed over to the cognisance of the Imperial institutions, the Finlanders may call what they please—their Fundamental Laws, or their Form of Government, or Constituent Laws.

When the cycle of Finnish affairs of general State significance, as also the method of their settlement, have been accurately defined, the State functions of the Governor-General in Finland, as the representative of the Imperial power in the country, will acquire a definiteness in scope and character which they now lack. There will then also be some practical sense and real significance in the Russian Governor-General presiding over the Finnish Senate, which will give him the power to prevent the local Finlander authorities encroaching on the province of Imperial interests. As President of the Senate the Governor-General ought obviously to be made acquainted with all matters submitted to the decision of the Senate, a list of which, with the texts of the bills in a Russian translation appended, ought to be presented to him in good time that he may be fully prepared to pick out the matters at the discussion of which he may consider it necessary to preside in person. The Governor-General, as President, should have the regulation of matters for

discussion, and the order in which they are to come up for discussion in the Senate.

An Imperial law should provide for the case where on a matter which the Governor-General regards as having general State significance no decision in accordance with his views is taken in the Senate. These matters might be treated as passing to the first Department of the Ruling Senate, as the supreme administrative law court of the Empire, there to be settled with the co-operation of a definite number of Finlander Senators of the Juridical Department.

This regards the present organisation of the ruling authority in Finland, but material changes ought to be introduced in its organisation to give it more symmetry and practical convenience.

The Governor-General of Finland, as the representative of the Emperor of All the Russias in that country should be relieved of the duty of presiding in the Senate, and, after securing by all possible measures that he should be kept informed on all matters of local administration, he should be given the right of veto in regard to each decree of the Diet, and every manner of regulation of the central organ of the local executive in which he may find any encroachment into the forbidden territory, for a local legislative and administrative, of subjects and affairs of general State significance. Any disputes evoked thereby about the legal competence of the legislative and administrative authorities of the country should be decided, without interfering with the subject matter of

the decrees and regulations, in the above-mentioned legal-administrative order, in the same way as in the United States of North America an ordinary judge has the right to abrogate, when unconstitutional, even laws that have come into operation.

The Finnish Senate itself should be reformed by turning its Economic Department into an Administrative Council and its Juridical Department into the supreme local Court of Justice.

The post of president in the Administrative Council, consisting of the chiefs of separate administrative departments, should be given to the Minister State-Secretary of the Grand Duchy of Finland, who, being likewise a member of the Imperial Council of Ministers would co-operate in establishing a closer community between the supreme Finland and Imperial authorities and assist towards a mutual understanding of Imperial and local requirements and interests.

The assistant of the Governor-General of Finland and the officials of his Chancellery should, needless to say, belong to the Imperial civil service, but appointments might be made to these posts of native born Finns. In any case a part at least of the officials of the Chancellery of the Governor-General ought to know thoroughly the local tongues, or the Finnish language only if the Swedish loses in Finland the *status* of an official language; they ought likewise to possess a knowledge of the laws of Finland.

In this reorganisation of the supreme organs of authority in Finland, in the order of settlement of questions of

general State significance, the Finlanders ought to be left to define for themselves the mutual relations between the Diet and their local government according to constitutional or parliamentary systems.

Even after removing from the competency of the local Finland institutions of matters of general State significance there will be left to their sole cognisance a very wide field of legislative and administrative activity ; the administration of justice, the criminal, civil and commercial courts, the prisons department, education, agrarian and labour legislation, the organisation of industry and commerce, credit in all its forms, customs and imposts. This list will suffice to give an idea of the wide limits of their political autonomy.

The budgetting rights of the Finland representative assembly are extremely limited, being founded on ancient Swedish principles.

The ordinary expenditure of the fisc should be covered by the ordinary revenue. Both the one and the other are at the sole disposition of the monarch. If any extraordinary expenditure occurred, which the ordinary revenue did not suffice to cover, the monarch used to apply to the representatives of the land* with a proposal to vote supplementary and extraordinary resources. It depended upon the representatives of the people to grant these subsidies, *i.e.*, to vote taxes, which were called temporary, or to refuse them. But the representatives of the people had not the right when discussing the

* *i.e.*, *Landtständer*, but not *Riksständer*.

necessity or advisability of new supplies to invade the sphere of the financial prerogatives of the monarch, to approve or disapprove of the dispositions made by the monarch in the matter of the ordinary resources of the fisc. Any dissatisfaction of the Diet with these dispositions could only find expression in the refusal to vote sums supplementary to the ordinary resources.

As to what constituted the ordinary expenditure of the fisc, this was shown in the ordinary "state" (*i.e.*, Budget) drawn up by order of King Karl XI. in 1696. This Budget is treated as the foundation of the formal distribution of revenue and expenditure by the fisc also in Article 24 of the Form of Government of 1772.

In accordance with this normal ordinary Budget the ordinary expenditure which must be covered by the ordinary revenue comprises: the Department of the Court, the chief organs of administration and the law, the corresponding provincial organs, the medical department, the University and secondary schools, the ecclesiastical establishment, the troops, the navy and the pension list. The burden of taxation on this system has been extremely light for Finland ever since its annexation to Russia, inasmuch as a part of the obligatory expenditure was abolished by Alexander I. and Finland pays nothing at all towards the needs of the Empire. But, on the other hand, the Budget rights of Finland are thus very much curtailed in a political sense, inasmuch as the ordinary revenue goes to the so-called "state and militia fund," which the monarch deals with at his discretion.

This situation of affairs offers a favourable ground for compromise in the following sense : the imperial legislative institutions will fix a minimum expenditure for Finland on matters which are recognised by the Fundamental Laws to be of general State significance, in proportion to the relative numbers of population, and expenditure to this amount will appear in the Budget of Finland as compulsory expenditure. In all else the Finnish Diet might, on this condition, be given full freedom of taxation, the " state and militia fund " being abolished.

I am far from being a partisan of the " Bobrikov régime " in Finland and perfectly understand the alarm felt by the country at the invasion of a whole army of Russian officials and the prospect of seeing its form of government in accordance with law being replaced by the arbitrary orders at that time prevailing in Russia. Nor am I in accord with those politicians who propose to buy the goodwill of the Finlanders by concessions to their separatist tendencies. This transparent form of " Liberalism " which is always accompanied by an emasculation of the sense of one's own national dignity, is much more in place in the pages of one of those " encyclopædias of knowledge " published for a political purpose than in the daily life of practical politics. The true path to a solution of the Finland Question lies between these two extremes.

It is to the advantage of Russia, and indeed her safety demands it, that Finland, owing to its geographical position, should be in the possession of Russia. This was secured to us by the victories of Peter the Great and the

Fredrikshamn Treaty of Peace of 1809. We could only give up this valuable acquisition to superior force, but not to any demands of ethical idealism.

Finland is powerless to burst the bonds that tie it to Russia, consequently there can be nothing whatever to say about "rending asunder" under any pretences whatsoever. But the possession of this alien country ought to be accompanied by a generous respect for the national peculiarities of *the Finnish people*. I desire to emphasise the words, *Finnish people*, for I consider that the role of the Swedes in the history of Finland has been played out. The Finns no longer stand in any need of the cultural mission of Sweden, it is of no value to Russia, nor is there the slightest reason why she should take it into account in her policy in Finland. Since the day when Finland was annexed to Russia the Swedes there have been the element operating to isolate Russia from her Finnish borderland and to hinder the growth between them of mutual confidence. Of late years, and this continues to the present day, they have been the revolutionary leaven which keeps Finland in a ferment. With us the revolution has now ended, the temporary paralysis of authority which is everywhere and always experienced at a certain critical moment of popular revolutionary movements, has passed away, and the traditional authority in Russia has entirely recovered itself. It is time then that the movement forced upon the Finnish people by the Swedes, which in reality is a revolutionary claim for the State independence of Finland, should likewise be relegated to the limbo of history and

tradition. The history of the Grand Duchy of Finland from the day of the annexation of Finland to Russia right up to the day of the Manifesto of October 22nd, 1905, has been one ceaseless chain of political intrigues directed towards the maintenance by the local Swedes of their ancient mastery over this country of the Finns. The Finns, however, with that firmness and persistence which is characteristic of the race, have been step by step conquering from the invaders their national independence and the right to be masters in their native land. Now, after the democratic reform of the public life of Finland, brought about by the Manifesto of October 22nd, 1905, the final collapse of the Swedish influence in our Finnish borderland is only a question of time. With the introduction in Russia of a representative form of government the Swedes of Finland have had the ground cut from under their feet in Russia also, for it was in Russia that they carried on their intrigues at the Court and in government circles with complete and contemptuous neglect of everything Russian, of the Russian people, of its interests, its national dignity, its language and its culture. Now, when the Russian people has, in the person of its representatives, stood to arms for the defence of its interests and national dignity, it has taken the earliest opportunity to utter to the Finlanders its ominous *quos ego*. But Finland may rest content that in the consciousness of its strength the Russian people will never abuse that strength to the injury of the national sense of right and dignity of the Finns, while for the Finlander Swedes the present situation offers the following

dilemma : either to become true citizens of the Russian State or to take themselves back to the country whence their forefathers came.

In conclusion let me give two quotations which are instructive for the Finlander Swedes and for Finland in general. The first is a note of warning to the Finlander "Swecomans" from their own countrymen in Sweden : " There are many good reasons why the Finlanders should be more cautious in their actions. If the Panslavist press has taken artful advantage of the affair of the Voima and other movements in Finnish public life which inspire suspicion, it will know how to inspire the Russian people with the view that Finland desires to become independent, and then good-bye to its honeyed days, for they will quickly come to an end. There is not a single Russian who will remain indifferent to the possibility of the existence within 45 minutes' journey of St. Petersburg of a State more or less independent." (Quoted from the Stockholm newspaper, *Vya Dagligt Allehanda*.)

The Emperor Alexander II., whose memory is so honoured in Finland, who summoned the Finnish Diet together in 1863, in closing the Diet warned its members against a policy of separatism in the following words : " I thank you for your repeated expressions in the name of the Finnish people of feelings of loyalty and devotion to me, but I cannot but regret that some of the debates in the Diet have given occasion for misunderstandings regarding the relations of the Grand Duchy to the Russian Empire. Russia opens to the inhabitants

of Finland a wide and clear field for commercial and industrial enterprise, and the good-hearted Russian people have on more than one occasion, when grievous trials have fallen upon your country, given proofs of their fraternal feelings and active help. Consequently a clear understanding of the true interests of Finland ought to incline you towards the strengthening, and in no wise towards the weakening, of that close tie with Russia which is a sure guarantee of the well-being of your native land."

APPENDIX III.*

(Translation.)

COPY.

On the original signed by His Imperial Majesty with
his own hand.

"To be as herein."

Baltic Port, aboard the yacht "Standard,"

17 June, 1910.

Countersigned by Secretary of State Makarov.

Approved by the State Council and the State Duma.

THE LAW CONCERNING THE ORDER OF PROMULGATION OF LAWS AND REGULATIONS OF GENERAL INTEREST TO THE STATE CONCERNING FINLAND.

I

Be it enacted in explication, amendment, supplement and abrogation of previous statutes, among them statutes promulgated for the Grand Duchy of Finland in the order of special legislation (Code of Laws, Vol. I., Sec. 1, Fundamental Laws, Ed. of 1906, art. 2), as follows :

1. Laws and regulations whose operation extends to the Grand Duchy of Finland are promulgated :

(1) In the order laid down by general legislation if they relate not only to solely internal affairs of this country and

(2) In the order laid down by special legislation (Fundamental Laws, Ed. of 1906, art. 2) if they relate only to solely internal affairs of this country.

2. Independently of the Fundamental Laws of the State as also of other laws and regulations, promulgated in the general

* I have thought it advisable to add here for reference the Law passed June 17/30, 1910.—(Trans.)

order of legislation, whose operation extended to Finland before the promulgation of the present law, together with statutes amending or supplementing the same, to the number of the laws and regulations indicated in Sec. (1) of art. 1 are referred all such as define :

(1) The share of Finland in State expenditure and the institution therefor of contributions, collections and imposts.

(2) Obligatory military service for the population of Finland as also other obligations serving for military needs.

(3) The rights in Finland of Russian subjects who are not Finnish citizens.

(4) The use in Finland of the language of the State.

(5) The fundamental principles of the administration of Finland by special institutions on a basis of special legislation (Fundamental Laws, edition of 1906, art. 2).

(6) The rights, obligations and order of action in Finland of Imperial institutions and authorities.

(7) The carrying out in Finland of sentences, decisions and rulings of courts of law and the demands of authorities of other parts of the Empire, as also of contracts and deeds therein executed.

(8) The establishment in the interests of the State of exemptions from Finnish criminal and administrative laws.

(9) The securing of the interests of the State in the matter of drawing up the educational curriculum and inspection of schools.

(10) Bye-laws for public meetings, societies and unions.

(11) The rights and conditions of working in Finland of firms and companies established in other parts of the Empire and abroad.

(12) Legislation for the Press in Finland and the import of printed matter from abroad.

(13) Customs department and customs tariff in Finland.

(14) Protection in Finland of trade and industrial marks and patents, as also the rights of literary and artistic property.

(15) The monetary system in Finland.

(16) Posts, telephones; aviation and similar methods of communication in Finland.

(17) Railways and other ways of communication in Finland in their relations to the defence of the State, as also to communications between Finland and the other parts of the Empire and to international communications; the railway telegraphs.

(18) Navigation and pilotage and lighthouses in Finland.

(19) The rights in Finland of foreigners.

3. Alteration in and addition to the list of laws and regulations contained in art. 2 are made in the order of general legislation solely on the initiative of the Emperor.

4. On the points of legislation indicated in Secs. 1-19 of art. 2, the initiative belongs solely to the Emperor.

5. Legislative proposals, on subjects indicated in Secs. 1-19 of art. 2 and in art. 3, drafted by Ministers and Administrative Heads of separate departments, are referred before introduction to the Council of Ministers, by the Minister or Administrative Head concerned, through the Governor General of Finland, to the Imperial Finnish Senate for its conclusions. The delivery to the Imperial Finnish Senate for its conclusions of proposals of Ministers and Administrative Heads on other matters concerning Finland than those indicated in art. 2, depends upon the Council of Ministers and is done in the same order.

Ministers and Administrative Heads are empowered, in delivering matters to the Imperial Finnish Senate for its conclusions, to fix a definite term for the communication of the result, on the expiry of which the business takes its further course without the conclusion of the Imperial Finnish Senate if such has not been duly communicated.

The conclusions of the Imperial Finnish Senate are communicated by the Governor-General of Finland to the Minister or Administrative Head concerned.

6. Proposals on matters of laws and regulations indicated in Sec. (1) of art. 1, drafted by the Governor-General of Finland or the Imperial Finnish Senate, are brought before the Council of Ministers by the Governor-General.

7. Bills on matters indicated in Secs. 1-19 of art. 2 and in art. 3, provided they concern the competence of the Finnish Diet or affect local Finnish laws that have passed through the Diet, are referred by the Council of Ministers, before the introduction of such Bills to the State Duma, to the Finnish Diet for its conclusions. Reference to the Diet for its conclusions of Bills upon other business concerning Finland indicated in artt. 2 and 3, depends upon the Council of Ministers, and is made likewise before introduction of such Bills to the State Duma.

Bills concerning Finland (artt. 2 and 3) on which the conclusions of the Finnish Diet have not been asked by the Council of Ministers may be referred to the Diet for its conclusions in virtue of a resolution of the State Duma, provided that such reference shall be made only before the acceptance of the Bill by a General Assembly of the State Duma.

Bills to be referred to the Diet for its conclusions by resolution of the Council of Ministers or of the State Duma, are communicated to the Diet by the President of the Council of Ministers through the Governor-General of Finland. The conclusions of the Diet on Bills referred to it in this way are made in the course of the same, ordinary or extraordinary, session in which they were introduced to it, if the reference of the Bill to the Diet took place not later than two months before the closing of the session ; otherwise in the course of the next ordinary or extraordinary session. These conclusions as also all supplementary matter relating to them are communicated, in the Russian language, through the Governor General of Finland to the President of the Council of Ministers who directs them further as required. If no conclusion of the Diet follows in the course of the above-defined term the Bill in question is directed further as required without such conclusion.

8. The publication in general statutory order by the Ruling Senate of laws and regulations indicated in Sec. (1) of art. 1 shall be deemed publication also in Finland.

The Governor-General of Finland on his part takes appropriate measures for the translation of these laws and regulations into the

Finnish and Swedish languages and for acquainting the local population with their contents.

9. The supreme supervision over the execution of laws and regulations indicated in Sec. (1) of art. 1, as also their explication and confirmation and likewise the decision of disputes and dubieties arising from them, belongs, on the general basis, to the Ruling Senate. The Governor-General of Finland on his part takes the necessary measures to have the decrees of the Ruling Senate duly enforced in Finland.

10. Laws and regulations promulgated in the general order of legislation (art. 1, Sec. (1)) abrogate of themselves all rulings not in accordance with them of Finnish laws and regulations promulgated in the special order (art. 1, Sec. (2)), and are operative notwithstanding any opposing rulings of the aforesaid local statutes whatsoever.

11. Laws and regulations promulgated in the special order of legislation (art 1, Sec. (2)) cannot abrogate nor amend or supplement, nor stay, nor explain laws and regulations promulgated in the general order (art. 1, Sec. (1)).

II

Members from the population of the Grand Duchy of Finland to be included in the Council of State and the State Duma by election on the basis of the Statutes of the Council of State and the Principles of elections to the State Duma, with the following amendment and additions.

A.—In elections to the Council of State.

1. The Finnish Diet elects for a term of three years two members of the Council of State from the number of those persons competent to take part in elections for the Diet and satisfying the requirements laid down in artt. 3 and 4. Detailed by-laws on the order of election of the aforesaid members of the Council of State are drawn up by the Diet.

2. In the Grand Duchy of Finland the following, over and above the persons indicated in Art. XX. of the Statutes of the Council

of State (Code of Laws; Vol. I., Part II., Ed. of 1906, and Supplement of 1908) are not eligible for election to the Council of State : (1) Persons who have been tried for criminal acts punishable according to the provisions of the local Criminal Code by imprisonment in a penitentiary or deprivation of confidence as a citizen, or disability for the public services of the country, when not acquitted by sentence of a court of law, even though relieved of the penalty by lapse of time, in virtue of an Imperial Grace or by special order of His Majesty ; (2) persons removed according to sentences of courts of law in the Grand Duchy from the execution of the duties of their service—for the space of three years from the moment of such removal, even though they should have been relieved of the penalty by lapse of time, in virtue of an Imperial Grace or by special order of His Majesty ; and (3) persons charged with criminal acts indicated in Sec. (1) of this article or involving removal from the execution of the duties of their service.

3. Persons ignorant of the Russian language cannot be elected members of the Council of State.

4. Electoral proceedings of the Diet (art. 1) as also protests of irregularity in elections and explanations on these protests of the Talman of the Diet are presented in the Russian language within one month after the elections to the Governor General of Finland, who directs them as laid down in the statute as required (Statutes of the Council of State, Ed. 1906, art. 22).

B.—In elections to the State Duma.

1. Four members from the population of the Grand Duchy of Finland enter the State Duma.

2. Members of the State Duma from the population of Finland are elected by the Finnish Diet from among the number of persons having the right to take part in elections to the Diet and satisfying the requirements indicated below in arts. 3 and 4

Detailed bye-laws on the order of election of the aforesaid members of the State Duma are drawn up by the Diet.

3. In the Grand Duchy of Finland the following, over and above the persons indicated in arts. 9 to 11 of the Principles

of elections to the State Dumâ (Code of Laws, Vol. I., Part II., Ed. of 1907) are not eligible for election to the State Duma :

(1) Persons who have been tried for criminal acts punishable according to the provisions of the local Criminal Code by imprisonment in a penitentiary or deprivation of confidence as a citizen, or disability for the public services of the country, when not acquitted, by sentence of a court of law, even though relieved of the penalty by lapse of time, in virtue of an Imperial Grace or by special order of His Majesty ; (2) persons removed according to sentences of courts of law in the Grand Duchy from the execution of the duties of their service—for the space of three years from the moment of such removal even though they should have been relieved of the penalty by lapse of time, in virtue of an Imperial Grace, or by special order of His Majesty ; (3) persons charged with criminal acts indicated in Sec. 1 of this article or involving removal from the execution of the duties of their service.

4. Persons ignorant of the Russian language cannot be elected members of the State Duma.

5. Electoral proceedings of the Diet (art. 2) as also protests of irregularity in the elections conducted by it and explanations on these protests of the Talman of the Diet are presented in the Russian language within one month after the elections to the Governor-General of Finland, who presents the list of persons elected to the State Duma to the Ruling Senate for publication for the general information, and forwards the electoral proceedings, protests and explanations to the State Duma.

III

The expenditure on the statutory payment of members and reimbursement of travelling expenses for Members of the Council of State and the State Duma from the population of the Grand Duchy of Finland (Statutes of the Council of State, Ed. of 1906, Art. XXVIII. ; Statutes of the State Duma, Ed. of 1908, Art. XXIII.) is to be charged upon the State Treasury with reimbursement of equivalent amounts from the Finnish fisc.

The President of the Council of State
(Signed) M. AKIMOV.