AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY
NEGOTIATIONS WITH, AND CONDITIONS IN, AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY

Terms of the Armistice With Austria-Hungary, Signed November 3, 1918

(A) MILITARY CLAUSES

1. Immediate cessation of hostilities by land and sea and air.

2. Total demobilization of Austro-Hungarian Army and immediate withdrawal of Austro-Hungarian forces operating on front from North Sea to Switzerland.

Within Austro-Hungarian territory limited as in clause 3, below, there shall only be maintained as an organized military force a maximum of 20 divisions reduced to prewar effectives.

Half the divisional corps and army artillery and equipment shall be collected at points to be indicated by Allies and United States of America for delivery to them, beginning with all such material as exists in territories to be evacuated by Austro-Hungarian forces.

3. Evacuation of all territories invaded by Austria-Hungary since the beginning of the war. Withdrawal within such periods as shall be determined by the commander in chief of allied forces on each front, of Austro-Hungarian armies behind a line fixed as follows: From Piz Umbrail to north of Stelvio it will follow crest of Rhetian Alps to sources of the Adige and Eisach, passing thence by the Reschen and Brenner and the heights of Oetz and Ziller.

The line thence turns south, crossing Mount Toblach as far as present frontier of Carnic Alps. It follows this line as far as Mount Tarvis, thence to watershed of Julian Alps by Col de Predil, Mount Mangart, the Tricorno (Terglou) and watershed Podberdo, Podlaniscan, and Idria. From this point the line turns southeast toward the Schneeberg, excluding the whole basin of the Save River and its tributaries; from Schneeberg it descends the coast in such a way as to include Castua, Mattuglia, and Volosca in evacuated territories.

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Reprinted from S. Doc. 147, 66th Cong., 1st sess., p. 16; the convention infra is also reprinted from S. Doc. 147. Copies of the French text of the Armistice with Austria-Hungary and the military convention certified as authentic by M. Pichon, French Minister for Foreign Affairs, may be found under file No. 763.72119/6664. For correspondence concerning the Austro-Hungarian armistice negotiations, see Foreign Relations, 1918, supp. 1, vol. 1, pp. 341–447 passim.
It will follow the administrative limits of present Province of Dalmatia, including to the north Lisarica and Tribanica and to the south, territory limited by a line from the shore of Cape Planka to the summits of watershed eastward so as to include in evacuated area all the valleys and watercourses flowing toward Sebenico, such as Cicola, Karla, Butsmina, and their tributaries. It will also include all the islands in the north and west of Dalmatia from Premuda, Selve, Ulbo, Scherda, Maon, Pago, and Puntadura Islands, in the north, up to Meleda, in the south, embracing Sant’ Andrea, Busi, Lissa, Lesina, Tercola, Curzola, Cazza, and Lagosta as well as neighboring rocks and islets and Pelagosa, only excepting the islands of great and small Zirona, Bua, Salta, and Brazza.

All territories thus evacuated will be occupied by allied and American troops.

All military and railway equipment of all kinds (including coal) within these territories to be left in situ, and surrendered to the Allies and America according to special orders given by commander in chief of forces of associated powers on different fronts.

No new destruction, pillage, or requisition by enemy troops in territories to be evacuated by them and occupied by associated powers.

4. Allied armies shall have the right of free movement over all road and rail and water ways in Austro-Hungarian territory which shall be necessary.

Armies of associated powers shall occupy such strategic points in Austria-Hungary at such times as they may deem necessary to enable them to conduct military operations or to maintain order.

They shall have the right of requisition on payment for troops of associated powers wherever they may be.

5. Complete evacuation of all German troops within 15 days not only from Italian and Balkan fronts but from all Austro-Hungarian territory.

Interment of all German troops which have not left Austria-Hungary before that date.

6. Administration of evacuated territories of Austria-Hungary will provisionally be intrusted to local authorities under control of the allied and associated armies of occupation.

7. Immediate repatriation, without reciprocity, of all prisoners of war and interned allied subjects and of civilian populations evacuated from their homes on conditions to be laid down by commanders in chief of forces of allied powers on various fronts.

8. Sick and wounded who can not be removed from evacuated territory will be cared for by Austro-Hungarian personnel who will be left on the spot with medical material required.
1. Immediate cessation of all hostilities at sea and definite information to be given as to location and movements of all Austro-Hungarian ships.

Notification to be made to neutrals that free navigation in all territorial waters is given to the naval and mercantile marines of the allied and associated powers, all questions of neutrality being waived.

2. Surrender to the Allies and United States of America of 15 Austro-Hungarian submarines completed between years 1910 and 1913 and of all German submarines which are in or may hereafter enter Austro-Hungarian territorial waters. All other Austro-Hungarian submarines to be paid off and completely disarmed and to remain under supervision of the Allies.

3. Surrender to the Allies and United States of America, with their complete armament and equipment, of 3 battleships, 3 light cruisers, 9 destroyers, 12 torpedo boats, 1 mine layer, 6 Danube monitors, to be designated by the Allies and United States of America.

All other surface war ships (including river craft) are to be concentrated in Austro-Hungarian naval bases to be designated by the Allies and United States of America, and are to be paid off, completely disarmed, and placed under supervision of Allies and United States of America.

4. Free navigation to all war ships and merchant ships of allied and associated powers to be given in Adriatic, in territorial waters, and up River Danube and its tributaries, and Austro-Hungarian territory.

Allies and associated powers shall have right to sweep up all mine fields and obstructions, and positions of these are to be indicated.

In order to insure free navigation on the Danube, Allies and United States of America shall be empowered to occupy or to dismantle all fortifications or defense works.

5. Existing blockade conditions set up by allied and associated powers are to remain unchanged, and all Austro-Hungarian merchant ships found at sea are to remain liable to capture with the exceptions which may be made by a commission nominated by Allies and United States.

6. All naval aircraft are to be concentrated and immobilized in Austro-Hungarian bases to be designated by Allies and United States of America.

7. Evacuation of all the Italian coast, and of all ports occupied by Austria-Hungary outside their national territory, and abandonment of all floating craft, naval materials, equipment, and materials for inland navigation of all kinds.
8. Occupation by Allies and United States of America of land
and sea fortifications and islands which form defenses, and of dock-
yards and arsenals at Pola.
9. All merchant vessels held by Austria-Hungary belonging to
Allies and associated powers to be returned.
10. No destruction of ships or of materials to be permitted before
evacuation, surrender, or restoration.
11. All naval and mercantile prisoners of war of allied and
associated powers in Austro-Hungarian hands to be returned without
reciprocity.

The undersigned plenipotentiaries, duly authorized, signify their
approval of above conditions:
November 3, 1918.

Representatives of Austro-Hungarian
supreme command

Victor Weber, Edler von Webe-
nau
Karl Schneller
Y. von Liechtenstein
J. V. Nyékhégyi
Zwierkowsky
Victor Freiherr von Seiller
Kamillo Ruggera

Representatives of Italian supreme
command

Magg. Gen. Scipione Scipioni
Colonn. Tullio Marchetti
Colonn. Pietro Gazzera
Colonn. Pietro Maraviglia
Colonn. Alberto Parianti
Cap. Vasc. Francesco Accinna

Supplement to Protocol

Contains details and executive clauses of certain points of the
armistice between the allied and associated powers and Austria-
Hungary.

(1) Military Clauses

1. Hostilities on land, sea, and air, will cease on all Austro-Hun-
garian fronts 24 hours after the signing of the armistice, i. e., at 3
o'clock on November 4 (Central European time).

From that hour the Italian and allied troops will not advance
beyond the line then reached.

The Austro-Hungarian troops and those of her allies must retire
to a distance of at least 3 kilometers (as the crow flies) from the
line reached by the Italian troops or by troops of allied countries.
Inhabitants of the 3-kilometer zone included between the two lines
(above-mentioned) will be able to obtain necessary supplies from
their own army or those of the Allies.

All Austro-Hungarian troops who may be at the rear of the fighting
lines reached by the Italian troops, on the cessation of hostilities must
be regarded as prisoners of war.
2. Regarding the clauses included in articles 2 and 3 concerning artillery equipment and war material to be either collected in places indicated or left in territories which are to be evacuated, the Italian plenipotentiaries representing all the allied and associated powers, give to the said clauses the following interpretation, which will be carried into execution:

(a) Any material or part thereof which may be used for the purpose of war must be given up to the allied and associated powers. The Austro-Hungarian army and the German troops are only authorized to take personal arms and equipment belonging to troops evacuating the territories mentioned in article 3, besides officers' chargers, the transport train, and horses specially allotted to each unit for transport of food supplies, kitchens, officers' luggage, and medical material. This clause applies to the whole army and to all the services.

(b) Concerning artillery, it has been arranged that the Austro-Hungarian army and German troops shall abandon all artillery material and equipment in the territory to be evacuated.

The calculations necessary for obtaining a complete and exact total of the artillery divisions and army corps at the disposal of Austro-Hungary on the cessation of hostilities (half of which must be given up to the associated powers) will be made later, in order to arrange, if necessary, for the delivery of other Austro-Hungarian artillery material and for the possible eventual return of material to the Austro-Hungarian army by the allied and associated armies.

All artillery which does not actually form part of the divisional artillery and army corps must be given up, without exception. It will not, however, be necessary to calculate the amount.

(c) On the Italian front the delivery of divisional and army corps artillery will be effected at the following places: Trento, Bolzano, Pieve di Cadore, Stazione per la Carnia, Tolmino, Gorizia, and Trieste.

3. Special commissions will be selected by the commanders in chief of allied and associated armies on the various Austro-Hungarian fronts, which will immediately proceed, accompanied by the necessary escorts, to the places they regard as the most suitable from which to control the execution of the provisions established above.

4. It has been determined that the designations M. Toblach and M. Tarvis indicate the groups of mountains dominating the ridge of Toblach Mountains and the Valley of Tarvis.

5. The retirement of Austro-Hungarian troops and those of her allies beyond the lines indicated in article 3 of the protocol of armistice conditions, will take place within 15 days of the cessation of hostilities, as far as the Italian front is concerned.
On the Italian front, Austro-Hungarian troops and those of her allies must have retired beyond the line Tonale—Noce—Lavis—Avisio—Pordoi—Lavinallongo—Fałzarego—Pieve di Cadore—Colle Mauria—Alto Tagliamento—Fella—Raccolana—Selle Nevea—Isonzo by the fifth day; they must also have evacuated the Dalmatian territory indicated above.

Austro-Hungarian troops on land and sea, or those of her allies, not having evacuated the territories indicated within the period of 15 days will be regarded as prisoners of war.

6. The payment of any requisitions made by the armies of the allied and associated armies on Austro-Hungarian territory will be carried out according to paragraph 1 of page 227 of "Servizio in Guerra—Part II, Edizione 1915," actually in force in the Italian army.

7. As regards railways and the exercise of the rights confirmed upon the associated powers by article 4 of the armistice agreement between the allied powers and Austria-Hungary it has been determined that the transport of troops, war material, and supplies for allied and associated powers on the Austro-Hungarian railway system, outside territory evacuated in accordance with the terms of the armistice, and the direction and working of the railways shall be effected by the employees of the Austro-Hungarian railway administration, under the supervision of special commissioners selected by the allied powers, and the military Italian headquarters which it will be considered necessary to establish, the Austro-Hungarian authorities will give priority to allied military trains and will guarantee their safety.

8. On territory to be evacuated at the cessation of hostilities all mines on roads or railway tracts, all mine fields and other devices for interrupting communications by road or rail must be rendered inactive and harmless.

9. Within a period of eight days from the cessation of hostilities, prisoners and Italian subjects interned in Austria-Hungary must cease all work, except in the case of prisoners and interned who have been employed in agricultural pursuits previous to the day on which the armistice was signed. In any case they must be ready to leave at once on request of the commander in chief of the Italian Army.

10. Austria-Hungary must provide for the protection, safety, and supplies (expenses of these to be repaid) of the various commissions selected by the allied governments to take over war material and to exercise general control, whether in the territory to be evacuated or in any other part of Austria-Hungary.
1. The hour for the cessation of hostilities by sea will be the same as that of the cessation of hostilities by land and air.

Before that time the Austro-Hungarian Government must have furnished the Italian Government, and those of the associated powers, with the necessary information concerning the position and movements of the Austro-Hungarian ships, through the wireless station at Pola, which will transmit the information to Venice.

2. The units referred to in Articles II and III, to be surrendered to the associated powers, must return to Venice between 8 a.m. and 3 p.m. on November 6; they will take a pilot on board 14 miles from the coast. An exception is made as regards the Danube monitors, which will be required to proceed to a port indicated by the commander in chief of the forces of the associated powers on the Balkan front, under such conditions as he may determine.

3. The following ships will proceed to Venice:

- Teghethoff
- Prinz Eugen
- Ferdinand Max
- Saida
- Novara
- Helgoland

Nine destroyers of the Tatro type (at least 800 tons) of most recent construction.

Twelve torpedo boats (200-ton type).

Mine layer Chamaleon.

Fifteen submarines built between 1910 and 1918, and all German submarines which are, or may eventually be, in Austro-Hungarian waters.

Premeditated damage, or damage occurring on board the ships to be surrendered will be regarded by the Allied Governments as a grave infringement of the present armistice terms.

The Lago di Garda flotilla will be surrendered to the associated powers in the port of Riva.

All ships to be surrendered to the associated powers will be concentrated in the ports of Buccari and Spalato within 48 hours of the cessation of hostilities.

4. As regards the right of sweeping mine fields and destroying barrages, the Austro-Hungarian Government guarantees to deliver the maps of mine fields and barrages at Pola, Cattaro, and Fiume to the commander of the port of Venice, and to the admiral of the fleet at Brindisi within 48 hours of the cessation of hostilities and within 96 hours of the cessation of hostilities, maps of mine fields and barrages in the Mediterranean and Italian lakes and rivers, with additional
notification of such mine fields or barrages laid by order of the German Government as are within their knowledge.

Within the same period of 96 hours a similar communication concerning the Danube and the Black Sea will be delivered to the commander of the associated forces on the Balkan front.

5. The restitution of merchant ships belonging to the associated powers will take place within 96 hours of the cessation of hostilities, in accordance with the indications determined by each associated power which will be transmitted to the Austro-Hungarian Government. The associated powers reserve to themselves the constitution of the commission referred to in Article 5, and of informing the Austro-Hungarian Government of its functions and of the place in which it will meet.

6. The naval base referred to in Article VI is Spalato.

7. The evacuation referred to in Article VII will be effected within the period fixed for the retirement of the troops beyond the armistice lines. There must be no damage to fixed, mobile, or floating material in the ports.

Evacuations may be effected via the Lagoon canals by means of Austro-Hungarian boats which may be brought in from outside.

8. The occupation referred to in Article VIII will take place within 48 hours of the cessation of hostilities.

The Austro-Hungarian authorities must guarantee the safety of vessels transporting troops for the occupation of Pola and of islands and other places as provided for in the terms of the armistice for the land Army.

The Austro-Hungarian Government will give directions that the ships belonging to associated powers proceeding to Pola should be met 14 miles out by pilots capable of showing them the safest way into port. All damage to the persons or property of the associated powers will be regarded as a grave infringement of the present armistice terms.

The undersigned duly authorized plenipotentiaries have signified their approval of the above conditions.

November 3, 1918.

Representatives of the Supreme Command of the Austro-Hungarian Army

VICTOR WEBER, EDERER VON WEBERN
KARL SCHNEIDER
Y. VON LIECHTENSTEIN
J. V. NYÉKHEGYI
ZWIERKOWSKI
VICTOR FREIHERR VON SEILLER
KAMILLO RUGGERA

Representatives of the Supreme Command of the Italian Army

Ten. Gen. PIETRO BADOGLIO
Magg. Gen. SCIPIONE SCIPIONI
Colonn. TULLIO MARCHELLI
Colonn. PIETRO GAZZERA
Colonn. PIETRO MARAVIGNA
Colonn. ALBERTO PARIANI
Cap. VASC. FRANCESCO ACCINNI
Military Convention Between the Allies and Hungary, Signed at Belgrade, November 13, 1918

MILITARY CONVENTION REGULATING THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE ARMISTICE, SIGNED BETWEEN THE ALLIES AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY, IS TO BE APPLIED IN HUNGARY

1. The Hungarian Government will withdraw all troops north of a line drawn through the upper valley of the Szamos, Bistritz, Maros-Vásárhely, the river Maros to its junction with the Theiss, Maria-Theresiopel, Baja, Fünfkirchen (these places not being occupied by Hungarian troops), course of the Drave, until it coincides with the frontier of Slavonia-Croatia.

The evacuation to be carried out in eight days, the Allies to be entitled to occupy the evacuated territory on the conditions laid down by the general commander in chief of the allied armies. Civil administration will remain in the hands of the Government.

In actual fact only the police and gendarmerie will be retained in the evacuated zone, being indispensable to the maintenance of order, and also such men as are required to insure the safety of the railways.

2. Demobilization of Hungarian naval and military forces. An exception will be made in the case of six infantry divisions and two cavalry divisions, required for the maintenance of internal order and in the case of small sections of police mentioned in paragraph 1.

3. The Allies to have the right of occupying all places and strategic points, which may be permanently fixed by the general commander in chief of the allied armies.

The allied troops to be allowed to pass through or to remain in any part of Hungary.

The Allies to have permanent right of use, for military purposes, of all rolling stock and shipping belonging to the State or to private individuals resident in Hungary, also of all draft animals.

4. The rolling stock and railway staff usually employed in the occupied territory will remain (see paragraph 1), and a reserve of 2,000 wagons and 100 locomotives (normal gauge), and 600 wagons and 50 locomotives (narrow gauge), will also be handed over within the month to the general commander in chief. These will be for the use of the allied troops and to compensate for the deficiency of material from Serbia due to the war. Some portion of this material could be levied from Austria. The figures are approximate.

5. The ships and crews, usually employed in the service of the occupied territory will remain, in addition to monitors will be surrendered to the Allies immediately at Belgrade. The rest of the Danube flotilla will be assembled in one of the Danube ports, to be
appointed later by the general commander in chief, and will be dis-
armed there. A levy of 10 passenger vessels, 10 tugs, and 60 lighters
will be made on this flotilla as soon as possible for the use of the
allied troops, to compensate for the deficiency of material from Ser-
bia due to the war. The figures are approximate.

6. Within 15 days a detachment of 3,000 men from the railway
technical troops are to be placed at the disposal of the general com-
mander in chief, supplied with the material necessary to repair the
Serbian railways. These figures are approximate.

7. Within 15 days a detachment of sappers of the telegraph branch
are to be placed at the disposal of the general commander in chief
provided with material necessary for establishing telegraphic and
telephone communications with Serbia.

8. Within one month, 25,000 horses are to be placed at the disposal
of the general commander in chief, together with such transport mate-
rial as he may deem necessary. These figures are approximate.

9. Arms and war material to be deposited at places appointed by
the general commander in chief. A portion of this material will be
levied for the purpose of supplying units to be placed under the
orders of the general commander in chief.

10. Immediate liberation of all allied prisoners of war and in-
ternal civilians, who will be collected at places convenient for their
dispatch by rail. They will there receive directions as to time and
place of repatriation, according to the orders issued by the general
commander in chief. Hungarian prisoners of war to be provisionally
retained.

11. A delay of 15 days is granted for the passage of German
troops through Hungary and their quartering meanwhile, dating
from the signing of the armistice by Gen. Diaz (Nov. 4, 8 p. m.).
Postal and telegraphic communication with Germany will only be
permitted under the military control of the Allies. The Hungarian
Government undertakes to allow no military telegraphic communica-
tion with Germany.

12. Hungary will facilitate the supplying of the allied troops of
occupation; requisitions will be allowed on condition that they are
not arbitrary and that they are paid for at current rates.

13. The situation of all Austro-Hungarian mines in the Danube
and the Black Sea must be communicated immediately to the general
commander in chief. Further, the Hungarian Government under-
takes to stop the passage of all floating mines sown in the Danube
upstream from the Hungarian and Austrian frontier and to remove
all those actually in Hungarian waters.

14. The Hungarian postal service, telegraphs, telephones, and
railways will be placed under allied control.
15. An allied representative will be attached to the Hungarian ministry of supplies in order to safeguard allied interests.

16. Hungary is under an obligation to cease all relations with Germany and stringently to forbid the passage of German troops to Roumania.

17. The Allies shall not interfere with the internal administration of affairs in Hungary.

18. Hostilities between Hungary and the Allies are at an end.

Two copies made November 13, 1918, at 11.15 p.m., at Belgrade. Signed for the Allies by the delegates of the general commander in chief.

Voivode Misitch
Gen. Henrys

Signed for Hungary by the delegates of the Hungarian Government.

Béla Linder

708.72/12259

The Swedish Minister (Ekengren) to the Secretary of State

No. 5512

WASHINGTON, November 12, 1918.

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that I received on the 10th instant the following cablegram from the Royal Swedish Foreign Office:

"On the request of the Government of Austria-Hungary, you will make to the Government of the United States the following communication:

"According to information, German military forces have occupied Salesbourg [Salzburg?] in Tyrol. Besides other serious objection, there is ground to feel that it will involve awkward consequences for Austria-Hungary in consideration of the armistice terms. The Austrian Ambassador at Berlin has been instructed to protest against the entrance of German troops into territory of Austria-Hungary. A like protest has been lodged with the German high command."

Accept [etc.]

W. A. F. Ekengren

763.72119/2634: Telegram

The Ambassador in Italy (Page) to the Secretary of State

ROME, November 14, 1918—12 noon.

[Received November 15—10:25 p.m.]

2846. In connection with claims allied countries at approaching peace conference, a revival has been discussed in Italian newspaper

This word appears in the singular in the authentic text.

The following is a translation of the French text quoted by the Minister.
of Mazzini's idea regarding territorial expansion of Switzerland. Paper states that inhabitants of part of Alsace-Lorraine and part of Tyrol may wish to become Swiss, and in quotation from Swiss papers, it is stated that the Tyrolese Vorarlberg and Liechtenstein would prefer unite with Switzerland rather than Germany. It is not known whether such a solution of Tyrolese problem would please Italy, but some think it might as it would enlarge buffer between Italian Trentino and Germany. From what I hear of Swiss attitude towards such enlargement, Switzerland may be behind above-mentioned suggestion. I know that she is looking forward hopefully to extending her confines.

Nelson Page

763.72119/2633: Telegram

The Ambassador in Italy (Page) to the Secretary of State

Rome, November 15, 1918—noon.

[Received November 16—12:15 a. m.]

2356. My 2347 [23467]. In conversation with Swiss Minister, he said that he has had no instructions from his Government on the subject but Switzerland, he believes, would be willing to take in the small part of the Tyrol known as Vorarlberg, if the population there were substantially unanimous in desiring it, but would not be willing to go beyond this. To take in Tyrol would change completely the character of Switzerland.

Nelson Page

763.72119/2643: Telegram

The Ambassador in Italy (Page) to the Secretary of State

Rome, November 16, 1918—6 p. m.

[Received November 17—10:48 p. m.]

2356. My 2356, November 15. I received today memorandum from Swiss Minister referring to conversation I had with him, see 2345 [23567], and concerning question of uniting with Switzerland Vorarlberg and Tyrol, which has been [discussed] in press. He evidently wished to put in writing his position regarding matter, stating that if Vorarlberg should ask to be united with Switzerland, the Federal Government would examine seriously question,

* Supra.
* Post, p. 191.
taking inspiration from President Wilson's principles that Vorarlberg is territory more united Switzerland than to Austria and at the present moment he understands petition being circulated among population Vorarlberg in favor incorporation into Switzerland. Swiss Government, however, not yet approached on matter. Swiss would not refuse to examine desires neighbor populations, though has never expressed a wish of territorial expansion. He does not think question uniting Tyrol to Switzerland will arise. This memorandum closes with reference to fact that Switzerland, the small model society of nations, is happy to be able to count on sympathy and comprehension of great American democracy, which phrase, I think, refers to apprehended possibility that hereafter Italy might ask Switzerland to return to her Italian Ticino Canton, taking Tyrol as compensation.

NELSON PAGE

783.72119/2730

The Swiss Minister (Sulzer) to the Secretary of State

WASHINGTON, November 16, 1918.

Sir: I have the honor to inform your Excellency that my Government has been requested by the Government of German Austria to transmit to the Government of the United States the following communication. 5

"Under the terms of the armistice the Imperial German troops must vacate the territory of Austria-Hungary within 15 days or be disarmed and interned.

It is very hard for German Austria strictly to carry out this provision. German Austria is deeply interested in leaving in possession of their offices in Vienna, the representatives of the German chief of the military railway service, the German supervising office in Vienna and the representative of the Prussian War Office (the latter meaning a personnel of 3 officers, 1 representative of the office, and 7 non-commissioned officers and privates) as their activities in promoting the smooth working of the railway transportation and in economic questions are highly important.

As the German Government has now also concluded an armistice with the Entente, we beg you to obtain the Entente Governments' consent to the continuation of the German missions. The matter is extremely urgent, as the time limit set for the Germans expires on November 17."

Accept [etc].

HANS SULZER

*The following is a translation of the German text quoted by the Minister; the file translation has been revised.
The Secretary of State to the Special Representative (House)

WASHINGTON, November 16, 1918—5 p. m.

40. The Swedish Minister has confidentially transmitted to me a copy and [sic] urgent appeal addressed to the Associated Governments by the representatives of neutral powers in Vienna as follows:

"From the most reliable sources I have gathered that a revolution is on the point of breaking out in Vienna upon the inspiration and the attitude of the most radical elements of the socialistic party.

According to my opinion it is of the utmost importance that it should be pointed out to the Allied Governments in the most confidential manner that the moment has come to employ the means accorded the armies of the Entente in Art. 4, par. B of the Armistice convention of the 3rd of November.

The occupation by the Allied forces of Vienna as a strategic base should immediately put a stop to the sinister movement which may menace, as in Russia, the foundation of Society.

Under the menace of developments of such grave consequences the representatives of the different neutral nations at Vienna have convened under the presidency of His Excellency the Papal Nuncio and have resolved that the above communication should be made to their governments."

The Swedish Minister has also transmitted the following communication from the Austrian Government:

"Famine is threatening Vienna and other ports [ports] of the country. Prompt action is necessary to remedy the situation. It is requested that the Commission referred to in the Armistice in Article 5 of the sea terms be instituted as soon as possible. We ask of that commission that it allow a number of Austrian and Hungarian ships to sail to Argentina, the United States of America and the Indies for wheat, meat, and lard. The detailed program will be submitted to the Commission. It is requested that the Commission's headquarters be at a place where it will be easy for us to communicate with it."

The Swiss Minister has today presented two communications on the Austrian situation as follows: *

"The situation in Austria is very grave. The Commander of the forces in the Tyrol was compelled to instruct the troops in the Southern Tyrol not to withdraw North on account of the shortage of food supplies. He earnestly requests the Entente Powers to

*These two communications were forwarded by the Swiss Government as intermediary only. The Swiss Minister, in his note of Nov. 15, 1918, transmitting the first of these messages, stated that it had been originally forwarded by the Swiss Government Nov. 6, but that it had failed to reach him at that time (863.48/40).
occupy the Tyrol without delay, and to take steps for the revictualling of the army and the population. The Tyrolese National Council has made a similar urgent appeal, claiming this measure to be the only means of saving army and population from impending death by starvation and destruction. The papal nuncio at Vienna has called a meeting for the purpose of soliciting the intervention of the neutrals in favor of the revictualling of the city of Vienna which has only food up to and including November 14th. Switzerland would willingly do everything possible to avert this terrible catastrophe, but her stocks are very low and the pledges given to the Entente Powers render it impossible for her to take any action."

"I have the honor to inform your Excellency that my Government has been requested to bring to the attention of the Government of the United States the following propositions, formulated by the Austro-Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs with a view to facilitate the revictualling of Austria-Hungary:

1) To direct to Trieste, by radio, vessels of the Entente Powers carrying foodstuffs, especially flour and fats;
2) To authorize the departure of Austrian and Hungarian vessels, actually lying in Spanish ports, ports of the Adriatic, and the Black Sea, for the purpose of carrying food supplies to Trieste; and to supply these vessels at Pola with the necessary bunker stocks from Entente stocks;
3) To suspend the blockade for these transports in conformity with paragraph 5 of the terms of the Armistice;
4) To accompany, by troops of the Entente powers, trains carrying foodstuffs from Trieste to Vienna and other parts in want of food supplies;
5) To utilize as much as possible also the Arlberg route for the transportation of foodstuffs and to have such trains likewise escorted by Entente troops."

LANSING

703.72119/2976

The Swedish Minister (Ekengren) to the Secretary of State

No. 5582

WASHINGTON, November 16, 1918.

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to request Your Excellency to kindly transmit the following message of the Austrian Government, which I have received today through my Government, to the President of the United States:

"Mr. President: The Provisional National Assembly of German Austria on November 12, 1918, unanimously resolved to constitute German Austria into a democratic Republic which is to form part

*The following is a translation of the German text quoted by the Minister; the file translation has been revised. A translation of this note was sent to Colonel House in Department's telegram No. 83, Nov. 27, 1918, 4 p. m.*

807043—42—vol. II—18
of the Great German Republic. The German people of Austria, in the exercise of their right of self-determination, have thus made it known that they will not henceforth be subjected to any executive power other than that set up by themselves and that they want to restore the close political connection with Germany which, fifty-two years ago, was rent asunder by the sword. We hope, Mr. President, that you will give your support to these endeavors of the German people of Austria, in accordance with the principles so often proclaimed by you. You, Mr. President, have championed the right of the Poles, Italians and Jugo-Slavs who hitherto belonged to the Austrian State to unite with their National States outside of Austria. We are convinced that you will also concede the same right to the German people of Austria. We beg you, Mr. President, to offer us the earliest opportunity to enter upon preliminary peace negotiations. The Council of State of the German Austrian Republic is exclusively empowered to conduct those negotiations in our name; the powers of the former Austro-Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs have expired. The Austro-Hungarian Missions abroad are provisionally empowered to represent the Council of State until the German Austrian Republic organizes a representative corps of its own. We have read with special attention the warning given by you, Mr. President, to the liberated peoples of Austria to be firm and cautious. Our Government, which consists of representatives of all the parties in German Austria, has thus far fully succeeded in its efforts to maintain order and liberty in our land. These efforts however are at present hampered by the severe lack of food which prevails in our country. The continuance of the blockade threatens the German people of Austria with a danger all the more serious as the Slav National States which grew out of the soil of Austria also lock out the German Austrian Republic and refuse to deliver to the German Austrian industrials the surplus of their agricultural products. Under those circumstances a hunger catastrophe hangs over the German Austrian Republic. We therefore take note with the greatest satisfaction of your willingness, Mr. President, to come to the relief of German Austria by sending food products and beg you kindly to afford that relief with the utmost dispatch. Accept, Mr. President, the expression of our most distinguished consideration.

The Foreign Office of the German Austrian Republic. Dr. Bauer

Accept [etc.]

W. A. F. EKENGREN

863.00/112: Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Special Representative (House)

WASHINGTON, November 18, 1918—9 p. m.

46. The Swiss Minister, by direction of his Government, has delivered to the Department the following strictly confidential communication:

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*See telegram No. 3275, Nov. 5, 1918, 4 p. m., to the Minister in Switzerland, Foreign Relations, 1918, supp. 1, vol. i, p. 470.

**This communication was forwarded by the Swiss Government as intermediary only.
“In view of the revolution which threatens to break out at Vienna under the leadership of the extreme socialist party, the diplomatic representatives of the neutral countries at Vienna, under the presidency of the Papal Nuncio, decided to recommend to their Governments the immediate intervention with the powers of the Entente with a view to request the occupation, as a strategical point, of the city of Vienna by Entente forces, in accordance with paragraph 4 of the terms of the armistice. This measure alone could guarantee order.”

Advise Dept. of action contemplated.

LANSING

763.721.19/2865

The Ambassador in Italy (Page) to the Secretary of State

No. 1060

ROME, November 18, 1918.

[Received December 3.]

SIR: With reference to my telegram No. 2366, of November 16, 1918, I have the honor to enclose herewith a copy of the letter which was received from the Swiss Minister in Rome.

I have [etc.]

THOS. NELSON PAGE

[Enclosure]

The Swiss Minister in Italy (Wagner) to the American Ambassador in Italy (Page)

ROME, November 15, 1918.

EXCELLENCY: Referring to the conversation which I had the honour to have with you yesterday evening, I feel anxious to give you some particular details about the question concerning the relations between Switzerland, the Vorarlberg and Tyrol.

At first I should like to point out to you that I never expressed to your Excellency the desire of seeing Switzerland increased by new territories. To the question which was put to me by a member of the Embassy, if I remember well it was Mr. Richardson, I answered that if the population of the Vorarlberg should ask with overwhelming majority to be united with Switzerland, I thought that my Government would have to examine seriously the question, taking inspiration from the principles of the right of the peoples to dispose themselves of their fate, affirmed with so much authority by the President Wilson.

The Vorarlberg is a territory which, from a point of view of geography, is really more united to Switzerland than it is to Austria. All its rivers run naturally into the Swiss part of the zone of the Rhine. In the course of history it was already once conquered [conquered] and made part of the Confederation for some time. The
man language. But for the moment it seems that it has not manifested in a positive manner its desire to be incorporated into Switzerland. The only movement was to send a Delegation to Switzerland with the object of asking for provisions. We also know that a petition is actually circulating among the population in favour of an incorporation of the country into Switzerland. My Government has not yet had an occasion to deal with the matter and the Swiss newspapers have expressed different views on the subject.

Concerning the Tyrol, the idea of joining this country to Switzerland has had its birth in the foreign press. Neither on the Tyrolean, nor on the Swiss side, the desire of a union has been expressed and I think that this idea will not be taken up.

The whole Tyrol, as it was until now understood by Austria, had a million inhabitants and inclosed the Trentino and the Vorarlberg.

Putting the Vorarlberg apart and after the taking possession by Italy of the whole Trentino to the chain of the Alps, which latter is composed of 380,000 inhabitants of Italian language and about 100 to 200,000 inhabitants of German language, the rest of the Tyrol is formed by the about 180 kilometres long and partly narrow valley of the Inn, running from the Arlberg towards Kufstein. This remainder of the Tyrol would have about 300,000 inhabitants all of them of German language.

In any case, Switzerland would not refuse to examine the desires of her neighbour populations, but it has never expressed the wish of a territorial increase and in no case it could consent to enter into discussion with the Powers on the subject of whatever modification of her own actual territory.

I beg to thank especially your Excellency for the interest which you take in my country. In the moment, in which the nationalism, put on so an exclusive ethnical scale, menaces in Europe to continue the rivalry and provoke new fights, it is precious that the small model of the Society of Nations, which is formed by Switzerland and founded on democracy and on the respect of individualities and which has resisted to the prove [test] of centuries, should be able to count on the sympathy and the comprehension of the great American Democracy.

I beg to remain [etc.]

WAGNER

763.72119/2727: Telegram

The Minister in Switzerland (Stovall) to the Secretary of State

PONTARLIER (BERNE), November 19, 1918.

[Received November 21—7:27 a.m.]

5844. Austro-Hungarian Legation here has received despatch transmitted by Bauer, Representative for Foreign Affairs, addressed to
President Wilson by the Friedengesellschaft Bereitschaft [sic] of Vienna, message follows:

"We hail with all our hearts the coming of the final world salvation from the cruelties of war. At all times and during the whole war we unfailingly professed the idea of the Confederation of nations convinced that by it alone a lasting peace might be secured. To its creation and vitality it is however indispensable that justice should be granted to every nation and that no parts of a nation inhabiting contiguous settlements or larger districts of the same tongue should be submitted to any other nation. This ought to be the rule for the German parts of the population in Bohemia, Moravia, Tyrol and so on as for any parts of other nations. The nation itself must decide in free voting controlled by neutrals to which state they will belong. A humiliation and exploitation of a people as punishment for the crimes committed by their sovereigns would contradict the nature of the world confederation and make its realization impossible. You we entreat as the most powerful proclaimer and supporter of the idea of the world confederation to direct your influence to the fact that no nation should lose its full unlimited right of self determination for reasons of retaliation or that their free will should be sophisticated [sic] by abusing their present distress."

Stovall

864.00/27: Telegram

The Minister in Switzerland (Stovall) to the Secretary of State

Pontallier (Berne), November 19, 1918.

[Received November 21—2:16 p.m.]

5849. Following is translation of telegram for the President handed to me by former member of Austro-Hungarian Legation in Berne at present special representative of Count Karolyi of Hungary.

"Mr. President: It is with profound emotion and with a heart full of gratitude that the National Hungarian Council and Hungarian Government have learned of message which Your Excellency addressed to those people who until now formed a part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and which was transmitted to the people of Hungary. This message freed our souls and justified our moral consciences, since it proved peremptorily that of which we were always convinced, namely that the peoples of Hungary could count on the generosity of the western democracy from the moment in which it threw off the yoke of feudal regime and joined with all its forces the movement which wishes to regulate the internal and international life of peoples on the foundation of moral justice and integral equality. The victorious revolution of the Hungarian people has abolished the institutions which falsified and corrupted its own wishes. It has eliminated at the same time all the culpable politicians who oppress the people and

* See telegram No. 3275, Nov. 5, 1918, 4 p.m., to the Minister in Switzerland, Foreign Relations, 1918, supp. 1, vol. 1, p. 470.
who directly or indirectly declared, sustained and continued the most nefarious of wars. Finally it has intrusted the power to men [who] have for a long time been the pioneers of democracy in Hungary and who will do their best to justify this confidence. These men Mr. President, have adhered from the first moment without reserve and with enthusiasm and gratitude to the principles which Your Excellency proclaimed to civilized humanity and which constitute the only possible and fertile foundation of international life. These fourteen articles are the only solid and just foundation of an equitable and rational political condition for the government of Hungary, the only solution of the internal problems which have existed for such a long time in our country.

Your Excellency will certain[ly] permit men who have had such a past to address themselves to you with full confidence, Mr. President, and through [your] person to the civilized world and to bring to your attention the very serious condition in which our country, our nation and our young Hungarian democracy finds itself. This war declared without any scruples and prolonged with most culpable thoughtlessness has destroyed the economic life of Hungary and is pushing its social organization towards an abyss. The victorious revolution has put an end to the war and has thanks to an exemplary discipline been able to preserve order in the greater part of the country and above all in the capital. Nevertheless the new democratic regime perceives itself exposed to imminent dangers. On one side our frontiers are seriously menaced by armed troops who making pretexts of the known pretensions of their respective states but evidently without authority are preparing to invade a certain region of Hungary and to occupy a series of boroughs and communities. The population of these regions ignorant of the circumstances and lacking besides democratic discipline are turning the entire district into a disastrous and terrible anarchy. On the other hand an economic catastrophe is likewise menacing our country. Unless we have the possibility of importing coal from the exterior our factories will stop, and our railroads which will have been deteriorated by the long war will be forced to suspend their service. It is then that famine will spread over all of Hungary. Such is our situation. We bring it to your attention Mr. President in all sincerity and we add that our only hope, our only confidence, lies in that solidarity of civilized peoples in which we have always had faith even in the darkest days of the war.

Mr. President we appeal to your feeling and through your person to all the civilized nations of the world. Come to the assistance of the young Hungarian democracy. Supported [Support it!] in its efforts to restore and to rebuild the internal and external situation of Hungary on the basis of right and justice. Help us in this severe struggle against dissolution and against the menace of anarchy. If there is no other means allowed to our country a provisional peace while waiting for the final peace. We have full confidence and an absolute trust in the eternal solidarity of democracy. The only wish of the Hungarian nation is to avoid, to prevent and to render impossible the anarchy which threatens to engulf us, and at the same time to become a peaceful sincere and loyal member of the league of nations. We beg all civilized peoples and most particularly Your Excellency to listen to the appeal of the Hungarian nation which having broken the chains of tyranny is now working for its renaissance.
Accept Mr. President the expression of our very high esteem and our very sincere confidence. Signed Count Michael Karolyi, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, countersigned Bauer.  

STOVALL

763.72119/2658

The Swedish Minister (Ekengren) to the Secretary of State

No. 5861  
WASHINGTON, November 26, 1918.

EXCELLENCY: By request of the Foreign Department of the recently established Austro-German republic the following telegraphic appeal has by the Royal Foreign Office at Stockholm been forwarded to me for transmission to the President of the United States.

May I ask for Your Excellency's good offices in order that the desire of the applicants be granted.10

"To the President of the United States of North America, Mr. Woodrow Wilson:

"The provisional Government of Halycz the province of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire united to an independent Ukrainian State permits itself, aware of the call issued by you, Mr. President, to the peoples now freed from the oppression of the former Monarchy, to address to you, Mr. President, the following appeal for support.

"On constituting our State at Lemberg on October 19 of this year we drew the boundary line of our State which is only provisional pending your decision, Mr. President, taking pains to avoid any usurpation even of a strip of land whose population is not Ukrainian by an overwhelming majority, in keeping with the 14 righteous principles laid down by you, Mr. President, within that line, the National Council representing the State is endeavoring to maintain order and shrinks in horror from any inhuman act and any improper forcible use of the power it holds. It finds this task all the more arduous as the four and a half million Ukrainians heretofore oppressed in East Galicia especially by the Poles, in Hungary by the Magyars and in Bukowina by the Roumanians are, as may be easily understood, actuated in the great mass of the people by an impulse to shake off as soon as possible and without waiting for peaceable development of the changed conditions, the foreign and national administrative and economic system of oppression residing in the mastery of the Polish and Magyar nobility in former East Galicia and in Hungary. The exasperation of the masses of our Ukrainian population is further fanned by the action of a Polish adjustment Commission which has set itself up at Cracow in the name of the Polish Government at Warsaw and is striving with the manifest tacit consent of the former Austrian Emperor to bring about the annexation of all Galicia, that is to say also the Ukrainian provinces of the San and the Lemkowcezyna.

"With our own Ukrainian forces and not as has been falsely represented to you, Mr. President, by the Warsaw Government, with Ger-
man or Hungarian military forces, but thanks to the unexampled self-sacrificing spirit of our Ukrainian population we are defending our historic Ukrainian land on which a free democratic entity is to thrive as intended by you, Mr. President, and now troops sent by the Polish Government are trying to subject us again to foreign domination. On the other hand Roumania will, by the power of her regular army, gain possession of the whole of Bukowina, including the North and Northwest parts exclusively inhabited by Ukrainians. In both cases the principles you, Mr. President, magnanimously set up for the heretofore oppressed peoples are ignored. These we can most scrupulously fulfill and we beseech your intervention, Mr. President, so that without resorting to violence your final verdict and that of the Peace Conference concerning the ultimate demarcation of the boundaries of the new States, to which we Ukrainians unreservedly bow, may bring to us the coveted deliverance from foreign rule and give us existence as a free democratic State. Bolshevism and Nihilism have no footing in our Nation. These were but the offspring of a desperate mind and would make their appearance if the Ukrainian Nation were forsaken by the new triumphant democracies led by you, Mr. President, and again delivered up to its former foreign masters. “For the provisional Government of the Ukrainian State of Halycz, “Dr. Petruszewicz ”President of the National Council.”

Accept [etc.]

W. A. F. EKENGREN

763.72119/2730

The Secretary of State to the Swiss Minister (Sulzer)

No. 292

WASHINGTON, November 29, 1918.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note dated the 16th instant regarding the evacuation of the territory of Austria-Hungary by German troops within the period fixed by the terms of the armistice and to inform you that the substance of the communication from the Government of German Austria therein contained has been brought to the attention of the competent authorities of this Government. I beg to state, however, that this communication was received after the expiration of the period fixed by the terms of the armistice for the evacuation of the territory of Austria by German troops; namely, the 17th instant.

Accept [etc.]

ROBERT LANSING

763.72119/2877

President Wilson to the Assistant Secretary of State (Phillips)

WASHINGTON, 30 November, 1918.

My Dear Mr. Secretary: I have received the copy in translation of the note received from the Minister of Sweden, in charge of the
Austro-Hungarian interests in the United States, dated November 16th, 1918, and communicating a message addressed to me from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the German Austrian Republic regarding the formation of a Republic of German Austria, and beg that you will acknowledge the receipt of it by me to the Swedish Minister and ask him to say that I will of course take it under the most serious consideration in the conferences to be held in Paris.\textsuperscript{11}

Cordially and sincerely yours,

\textbf{W\textsc{o}odor\textsc{w} \textsc{W}ilson}

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\textsc{763.72110/2000}
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\textbf{The Swedish Minister (Ekengren) to the Secretary of State}

\textbf{No. 5945} \textbf{Washington, November 30, 1918.}

\textbf{Excellency:} By order of my Government I have the honor to ask Your Excellency kindly to communicate to the President of the United States the following telegram from the Swedish Minister in Vienna to the Foreign Office in Stockholm.\textsuperscript{12}

\begin{quote}
"Have just received the following note from the Department of Foreign Affairs of German Austria:

"Vienna, November 26, 1918.

"The Department of Foreign Affairs of German Austria has the honor to draw the attention of the diplomatic missions of the neutral states to a series of attempts committed lately by the troops of the Czecho-Slovak state on the integrity of the national territory and on the life and property of the purely German-born population.

The southern parts of Bohemia and Moravia were subjected to armed raids by the Czecho-Slovaks. Without the slightest regard for the situation, precarious as it is already, of the population, sorely tried by famine, the raiders did not hesitate either to lay hand on what remained of food and the necessaries of life, or to stop the shipment to Vienna of the merchandise indispensable to the needs of that capital. Public officers have been assaulted, constrained by oath to take allegiance to the Czecho-Slovak State, and threatened, if they refused, with prosecution on the charge of high treason. Many have been kidnapped, among whom was Monsieur Šoukup, a member of the legislative body; finally, the acts of violence in which the Czecho-Slovak troops indulged, resulted in the death of several sentries and even that of a public officer, killed while he was discharging his duties. In this way, the Czecho-Slovak troops are introducing the scourge of civil war in peaceable regions, spreading horror and misery and still renewing the warlike acts which henceforth are hateful to the whole civilized world. The German Austrian State, of course, did not fail to take, repeatedly, appropriate and urgent steps with the diplomatic representative of the Czecho-Slovak Republic at Vienna, with a view
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{11} Department's acknowledgment not printed.

\textsuperscript{12} The following is a translation of the French text quoted by the Minister; the file translation has been revised.
to stopping those aggressions. But notwithstanding its representations and protests repeatedly made and supported by official and detailed statements, the above-mentioned facts continue to occur day after day. Now German Austria, earnestly wishing the return of peace and asking for nothing better than to live in harmony with all its neighbors, abhors any territorial dispute between any free and sovereign nations. It fully adopts the principles of world-wide alliance of the civilized peoples and would have the end of disputed territories determined either by the peace conference or the free and independent vote of the people. It believes, nevertheless, that whatever differences of that character can be amicably settled, neighboring states should give reciprocal evidence of fairness and maintain a peaceful attitude by avoiding all acts of violence on their respective borders. As for itself German Austria, while energetically protesting against the attempts committed by the Czecho-Slovaks on the integrity of their territory and the vital interests of its citizens, confines itself to appeal to the intervention of all the free and civilized peoples to the end that the Czecho-Slovak Republic be asked to refrain from any encroachment and to respect its neighbor's inalienable rights of humanity and national sovereignty that it justly invokes for its own sake.

The Department of Foreign Affairs begs the diplomatic missions of the neutral states kindly to make the foregoing known to the Governments represented by them. The Department of Foreign Affairs takes the liberty of making, particularly to the representatives of the powers which, during the war, kindly assumed the protection of Austro-Hungarian interests in the enemy states, the special request that they will kindly forward without delay, this communication to the President of the United States of America, and to the several Governments of the Entente.'"

Accept [etc.]

W. A. F. EKENGREN

763.72115/2910

_The Italian Chargé (Minisoalchi-Erizzo) to the Acting Secretary of State_ 12a

WASHINGTON, December 4, 1918.

MY DEAR MR. POLK: In order to better ensure the Austro-Hungarian demobilization, to facilitate the repatriation of interned subjects and war prisoners, to gather data that may be of use at the Peace Conference, and to exercise the control of railways, the Supreme Command would deem it necessary to establish at Vienna a Central Commission with Sub-Commission for its various branches. The Central Commission as well as the Sub-Commissions, should include representatives of the Allies for all questions pertaining to them.

As it appears urgent to put this plan into effect, leaving it to the superior officers indicated by the Supreme Command to determine

12a Transmitted to Colonel House in Department's telegram No. 147, Dec. 7, 1918, 9 p. m. (not printed).
its modalities, its constitution and its functions, I am requested by the Royal Government to call, with the least possible delay, the attention of the United States Government on this matter, and to recommend that they participate in the said Commissions.

I shall therefore be much obliged to you for a reply as early as practicable on this subject, that I would hasten to communicate to Rome.

Thanking you in advance, I am [etc.]

F. MINISCALCHI

The Swedish Legation to the Department of State

MEMORANDUM

The Austro-German Government has communicated the following message to the Swedish Government: 13

"The Commander of the Jugoslav troops in Carinthia has just made known his intention to move his headquarters to Klagenfurt and to detail Jugoslav troops to other parts of Carinthia. In spite of every effort on the part of the Austro-German authorities these proceedings would create intense excitement among the people. Bloodshed and grave disturbances would unavoidably follow. The people earnestly pray that Klagenfurt be neutralized by means of occupation by American troops. The Austro-German Government protests to the Government of the United States against any unlawful occupation of German areas by Jugoslav troops and asks that its request be granted that the said territory be neutralized and a company of American troops be detailed to Klagenfurt and one to Villach. This would guarantee in accordance with humane considerations, quiet and order to those parts that have already been so sorely tried and at the same time would not in any way prejudice the decisions of the Peace Congress."

WASHINGTON, December 7, 1918.
No. 6000

The Acting Secretary of State to the Swedish Minister (Ekengren)

WASHINGTON, December 7, 1918.

SIR: During the last few weeks the Department has received from the Government of Austria through your good offices, various com-

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13 The following is a translation of the French text quoted within the Legation's memorandum; the file translation has been revised. A translation of the message was sent to Colonel House in Department's telegram No. 180, Dec. 10, 1918, 1 p.m.
munications addressed to the President or Government of the United States with regard to the terms of the armistice or to matters in which the other governments associated with the United States in the war are equally concerned. The communications received do not indicate whether or not they have been communicated to the other interested governments.

I should be grateful, therefore, if you would kindly request your Government to suggest to the Government of Austria that communications of this nature which pertain to the terms of the armistice and to matters in which all the associated governments are interested, should be sent to all the governments and not addressed only to the President or Government of the United States, and to inform your Government that the Government of the United States would prefer not to receive further communications of the above nature from the Government of Austria unless it is clear that they are being simultaneously communicated to the other governments concerned.

Accept [etc.]

[FRANK L. POLK]

763.72119/2953 : Telegram

Colonel E. M. House to the Acting Secretary of State

PARIS, December 9, 1918—10 p. m.

[Received 11:30 p. m.]

246. Your 147, December 7, 9 p. m.14 I have informally ascertained that the French Foreign Office believes that the establishment at Vienna of a central committee composed of representatives [of] the Allies would be unwise for the following reasons:

Such a commission could hardly establish itself in Vienna without armed detachment, which would create military and political complications. The railway system of the Austro-Hungarian Empire is already under the command of the Allies by the terms of the armistice. As Austria now forms only a small portion of the former Empire Vienna would no longer be a central point for the demobilization of the army or for the repatriation of interned subjects and war prisoners, and finally the terms of the armistice are being fairly well carried out.

I am inclined to concur in the above view. British Embassy here knows nothing about the matter. Suggest you wire London.

EDWARD HOUSE

14 See footnote 12a, p. 198.
The Acting Secretary of State to Colonel E. M. House

WASHINGTON, December 10, 1918—5 p.m.

163. The Swedish Legation at Washington in a Note dated December 7th has transmitted following communication to Department from Austro-German Government:

“Austro-German Government advises that the situation in Carinthia is growing more and more acute. The Jugo-Slavs are assuming a threatening attitude toward German cities and threaten to occupy Klagenfurt and Villach. As the result of conflicts with Jugo-Slav troops, the Railway and Postal employees have quit work and traffic is entirely stopped. The only way to avert bloody conflicts between Germans and Jugo-Slavs will be to have Klagenfurt and Villach occupied by an American or English half company each. Occupation by Italian troops would not be desirable and would greatly stir up the people. Klagenfurt and Villach are the only places where there is a purely local need of such occupation, and it would be neither necessary nor desirable to occupy territory beyond those two cities.”

POLK

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

No. 1377

MEMORANDUM

His Britannic Majesty’s Charge d’Affaires presents his compliments to the Acting Secretary of State and has the honour to inform him that a note from the Austrian Government has been communicated to the Foreign Office by the Swedish Minister in London, stating that the Commandant of the Jugo-Slav troops in Carinthia has announced his intention of moving to Klagenfurt, and of quartering Jugo-Slav troops in other parts of Carinthia. In the opinion of the Austrian Government this will inevitably lead to disorders, and they have made a request for the neutralization of the territory in question, asking at the same time that American troops may be quartered at Villach and Klagenfurt. It should be stated that the area affected is of course outside the terms of the armistice with Austria.

It is understood that a similar note has also been addressed to the United States Government.

His Majesty’s Charge d’Affaires is directed to state that His Majesty’s Government would be grateful for an expression of the views of the United States Government on this matter, and he is also directed

Not printed.

See telegram No. 163, Dec. 10, 1918, 5 p.m., to Colonel House, supra.
to indicate that His Majesty’s Government entirely agree with the view of the United States Government that such questions should be addressed to all the Allies. His Majesty’s Government consider that the French and Italian Governments should also be consulted before the matter is finally decided.

WASHINGTON, December 11, 1918.

763.72119/2979: Telegram

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

STOCKHOLM, December 12, 1918—12 a. m.

[Received December 13—2:53 a. m.]

3320. I have received following letter from King’s Chamberlain with an enclosure which King requests be sent to you. Letter reads:

“His Majesty the King has received telegram from Protestant churches in Hungary, of which copy is enclosed.

His Majesty, who takes the interests of all Protestant churches warmly to heart, desires me to ask whether you would be kind enough to forward telegram in question to your Government with view to having interests of any Protestant churches in Hungary brought up for consideration at forthcoming Peace Conference.”

Enclosure reads:

“Protestant churches of Republic of Hungary, numbering four millions of adherents, implore Your Majesty’s protection against threatening danger of dismemberment. The eventual disruption of the country, especially the loss of southeastern Hungary with her 1,200,000 Protestants, would strike death blow to vitality of these churches, and thereby would rob newly forming democracies in this part of world of most valuable moral and spiritual forces. During four centuries these churches served and suffered as furthest bulwark of western Protestantism in east of Europe. Now it is the turn of western Christendom to rescue future efficiency of these churches for immense tasks awaiting them.”

Morris

763.72119/3049

The Swedish Legation to the Department of State

MEMORANDUM

The Legation has received from the Royal Swedish Foreign Office, a cablegram requesting the Legation to transmit to President Wilson the following communication from the Austro-German Government:

“Repeated to the Commission to Negotiate Peace as Department’s telegram No. 47, Dec. 18, 1918, 7 p. m.”
The Austro-German Republic has felt it its duty to propose to the neighboring states, that is to say the Czecho-Slovak Republic, and the Jugoslav State, to submit to a decision by arbitration, the disputes regarding the frontiers which have come up before the conclusion of peace, and which have unfortunately caused severe acts of violence. The Austro-German Republic appeals to the sense of justice of the Powers and asks them to kindly use their influence with a view of bringing about that the said arbitrage and treaty be accepted and thus prevent further troubles and acts of violence, which are certainly not apt to bring nearer the conclusion of a general peace so much desired. The proposed treaties between the Austro-German Republic on one side, and the Czecho-Slovak and Jugoslav States on the other side, stipulate in article I, that the definite determination of the frontiers, the settlement by treaties of the economic and legal relations between the states in question, specially the regulation of questions of property which have necessarily been caused by the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy or Austria, shall be left to the peace negotiations.

In article II the States bind themselves to live in peace until that time, and to submit until then, all the conflicts, which cannot be settled at once through diplomatic negotiations, to an obligatory court of arbitration, in accordance with article III, composed of five members, of which each of the parties shall elect two, only one of whom shall be a citizen of the electing state, and the other a citizen of a neutral state. The 5th is to be elected by the other four, and in case of disagreement, by two neutral powers designated by the nations in conflict.

The abovementioned stipulations shall be valid only until the peace treaty is in force.

WASHINGTON, December 13, 1918.

763.72119/3049

The Department of State to the Swedish Legation

MEMORANDUM

WASHINGTON, December 18, 1918.

The Department of State is in receipt of a memorandum of December 13, 1918, from the Swedish Legation transmitting a communication from Austria addressed to President Wilson touching a proposal that the Czecho-Slovak Republic and the Jugoslav State submit frontier disputes to arbitration.

In this connection reference is again made to the Department's note of December 6 [?], 1918, in which it was stated that the United States would prefer not to receive further communications of this nature from Austria unless it is clear that they are being simultaneously communicated to the other governments concerned.
The Acting Secretary of State to the Italian Chargé
(Miniscalchi-Erizzo)

WASHINGTON, December 18, 1918.

MY DEAR MR. CHARGÉ D’AFFAIRES: I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your note of December 4, 1918, in which you state that the Supreme Command in Italy, with a view to insuring to a better degree the demobilization of the army in Austria-Hungary, to facilitate the repatriation of interned subjects and war prisoners, to gather data that may be of use at the Peace Conference, and to exercise the control of the railroads, deems it necessary to establish at Vienna a Central Commission with sub-commissions for its various branches, which Commission and Sub-commissions should include representatives of the Allies for all questions pertaining to them. You add that you are instructed by your Government to bring this matter at once to the attention of the United States Government and to urge that they participate in the Commission and Sub-commissions.

In reply I beg to advise you that it has been decided that this matter will be handled in Paris through the representatives of the United States and other powers in that City.

I am [etc.]

FRANK L. POLK

The Swedish Legation to the Department of State

MEMORANDUM

The Government of the Hungarian Republic has requested the Swedish Government that the following message, which has also been sent to the Governments of the Allies, be communicated to the Government of the United States: 18

"The Government of the Hungarian Republic applies to all the Governments of the Allied Powers and begs to be given the opportunity to renew the direct relations that were broken up by the war through the sending of special missions to the said Governments. There are two reasons why the sending of such missions is, in our opinion, not only to the interests of the Republic of the Hungarian

18 The following is a translation of the French text quoted in the Swedish memorandum; the file translation has been revised. A translation of the message was sent to the Commission to Negotiate Peace as the Department’s telegram No. 299, Jan. 18, 1919, 6 p. m., with the statement that the “Department has merely acknowledged receipt of the note adding that this question has been brought to the attention of the Mission.”
people but also, in part, to those of the Allied Powers. The Hungarian Government so far has succeeded in holding the young Republic of the people within the bounds of democratic order which was at all times proclaimed by the Allied Powers to be one of their foremost war aims. But the state of utter confusion and disorder in the districts invaded by the Czecho-Slovak troops and in those regions brought under the influence of the Roumanian national council, as well as the parts recently occupied by the Serbs, constitutes a danger to the ways of communication and an orderly distribution of food. In addition, the disastrous lack of coal which threatens an early destruction of economic life not only in Budapest but throughout the land, makes it more and more difficult for us to maintain the new democratic order. In order to ward off the peril of anarchy about to swoop upon the Republic of the Hungarian people, the urgent need is to put our Government in position directly to confer in the very near future with the Allied Governments about the means of averting or at least provisionally alleviating the impending difficulties. In support of its request the Hungarian Government further points to the fact that the armistice concluded with the Commander of the Allied forces expires on December 4 next and that it would be desirable to confer upon certain points before that date and thus assist us in maintaining order in the Republic of the Hungarian people. Taking into account the sympathies which the members of the present Hungarian Government always bore to the Allied Powers during the war and that have grown deeper and broader since the fall of the former regime, the Government of the Republic of the Hungarian people feels justified in hoping that the Governments of the Allied Powers will assent to a very early sending of special missions.

"In the name of the Hungarian Government:
Michel Károlyi, President of the Council."

The foregoing communication has been cabled by the Foreign Office in Stockholm to the Swedish Legation under date of November 25, 1918, but has never reached its destination. A copy of said cable has now been received by the Swedish Legation through the mail from the Foreign Office in Stockholm.

WASHINGTON, December 19, 1918.

No. 6277

Paris Peace Conf. 763.72114/7

The Minister in Switzerland (Stovall) to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

No. 33

BERNE, December 19, 1918.

Sirs: I have the honor to transmit herewith for your information a copy and translation of a note from the Swiss Political Department dated December 17, 1918, quoting a communication received from the Austro-Hungarian Legation at Berne relative to the critical situation

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in which the Austro-Hungarian prisoners-of-war who have been detained in Siberia and Turkestan now find themselves.

I beg to add that copies of the enclosed documents have been forwarded to the Department of State for its information and such action as it may deem advisable.

I am [etc.]

Pleasant A. Stovall

[Enclosure—Translation]

The Swiss Political Department to the American Legation in Switzerland

Allg. D. O. Int. 1

The Swiss Political Department has just received from the Austro-Hungarian Legation in Berne a note concerning the critical situation in which the Austro-Hungarian prisoners of war held in Siberia and Turkestan are likely to be.

The communication in question reads as follows:

"The deplorable situation of the prisoners of war in Siberia and Turkestan is made worse by the fact that for a long time, that is since the formation of the Czecho-Slovak front, they have been deprived of all communication with their families whose anguish concerning the fate of their 'nearest and dearest' in captivity is only increased by this condition of affairs.

The Secretary of State of German Austria appeals, therefore, to the feelings of humanity and justice of the governments of France, the United States and Great Britain with the most urgent request that these governments be so kind as to arrange that these prisoners of war be placed once more in a position to send to their families and to receive from them, telegrams and postal cards."

In requesting the Legation of the United States of America to be so good as to convey the preceding information to its government the Political Department takes the opportunity to renew its assurance of the utmost respect, to the Legation.

Berne, December 17, 1918.

________________________________________

Paris Peace Conf. 863,50/37 : Telegram

The Acting Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

Washington, December 21, 1918—10 p.m.

[Received December 22—8 p.m.]

96. Following note dated November 23rd received from French Embassy:

"My Government informs me, and Your Excellency will have no doubt received the same information, that according to a statement made by the Minister of Sweden to France, the Minister of Foreign
Affairs at Vienna expresses a wish that the Allied diplomatic missions at Berne be authorized to handle directly all revictualing questions and other questions of economic character, with the Austro-Hungarian Legation.

My Government instructs me to say to Your Excellency that it believes, for its part, that those questions must be handled by the Allied representatives in Switzerland, not directly with that Legation but in accordance with the normal rules, through the Swiss Government. It would, however, be acceptable to let Austro-Hungarian delegates take an unofficial part in the conferences, looking to settlement of certain details, but all official and direct intercourse between the Austro-Hungarian Legation and the diplomatic representatives of the Allies must be formally barred until peace is finally signed. My Government intends to return an answer in that sense to the proposals it has received. I shall be very thankful to Your Excellency if you will kindly let me know whether you take the same view of the questions put before us."

Following note dated November 29 received from the Swiss legation:

"By direction of my Government, I have the honor to transmit to Your Excellency the following communication of the Austro-Hungarian Ministry for Foreign Affairs:

'Austro-Hungarian Ministry for Foreign Affairs begs to propose that the diplomatic missions of the Entente Powers at Berne be authorized to enter into direct communication with the Austro-Hungarian legation in that city regarding all matters pertaining to the revictualling of Austria-Hungary and to economic questions. The earliest solution of these urgent matters is of interest to [an interest of] the whole of Europe.'"

Department is disposed to reply to [French Embassy] that it is the opinion of this Government that official and direct intercourse between [Austro-Hungarian] Legation at Berne and the diplomatic representatives of the Allies and the United States must await the signature of peace and that the suggestion of the French Government that these questions be dealt with by the Allied representatives [in Switzerland] through intermediary of the Swiss Government would be satisfactory to this Government provided it proved agreeable to the Swiss authorities. Department proposes to reply to the Swiss Minister that it is the opinion of this Government that direct communication with the Austro-Hungarian Legation representatives in Berne and the representatives of the United States must await the signature of peace. Do you approve of these proposed replies?

POLK

Paris Peace Conf. 863.50/37 : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Acting Secretary of State

[Paris,] December 23, 1918.

64. [From Lansing.] Your number 96, December 21st, 10 p. m. I approve of the proposed replies to French Embassy and Swiss
Legation. Suggest that you advise American Legation, Berne, if you have not already done so. Lansing.

AMERICAN MISSION

No. 53

BERNE, December 29, 1918.

Sirs: I have the honor to transmit herewith for your information, copy of a note from the Swiss Political Department dated December 27, 1918, suggesting at the request of the German-Austrian Government that a mixed commission be established on neutral territory, composed of representatives of the German-Austrian Government and the Governments of the Associated Powers, to discuss German-Austria's desire for peace, the economic and ethnographic conditions of their people and the international position of the new German-Austrian State, as well as to demand support against the imperialistic tendencies which are now manifesting themselves in the territory of the ancient Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

I beg to add that the substance of the enclosed communication has been transmitted to the Department of State by cable.

I have [etc.]

P. A. STOVALL

[Enclosure—Translation 19]

The Swiss Political Department to the American Legation in Switzerland

The Government of German Austria has communicated to the Swiss Political Department, for the information of the Government of the United States of America and the Governments of the Entente, the following proposals:

The German Austrian Government, being convinced that a just settlement of Austrian questions, so important to the general order in Europe, cannot be obtained unless an opportunity is given to all the interested peoples to state in detail their wishes and their needs, expresses the desire that a mixed commission of the German Austrian State enter into direct relations with a body representing the United States of America and the Entente, or, if more agreeable, that it meet on neutral territory with representatives of those Governments. The German Austrian commission would have the task of explaining the desire for peace in German Austria, the economic and ethnographic conditions (Siedlungsverhältnisse) of the people.

19 Translation from the French supplied by the editor.
and the international position of the new German Austrian State, as well as to ask for support against the imperialistic currents which are appearing in the territory of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

The Political Department would be greatly obliged to the Legation of the United States of America if it would bring the foregoing to the knowledge of its Government.

The Department takes this occasion [etc.]

BERNE, December 27, 1918.

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Paris Peace Conf. 763.72114/18: Telegram

The Acting Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

WASHINGTON, January 2, 1919—2 p. m.
[Received January 3—8:20 a. m.]

64. Following undated telegram received direct from Budapest:

"To the governments of the Allied states, Washington. Immediately upon assuming the powers of government the Hungarian Democratic Government regarded as its foremost duty that of releasing all prisoners of war including the interned civilians of all nationalities and did all that lay in its power to send them back to their homes as speedily as possible. At this time there are only left on the territory of the Hungarian Republic those prisoners of war who of their own will are endeavoring to build up their happiness or expect on family grounds to thrive here, also invalids who on account of their grave condition and the present transportation difficulties cannot be removed. To these we are giving the best attention. The Russian Mission in Hungary is cooperating with the Hungarian Government in the relief of prisoners of war; it is endeavoring alike to ameliorate the condition and expedite as far as possible the repatriation of the Russian prisoners. The Hungarian Government proposed to the Government of the United States to send similar mission to Hungary with the duty of inquiring into the condition of their prisoners who are left here in rather trifling numbers and of assisting in their repatriation. The new Democratic Government of Hungary has declared consistently with its peaceable belief as soon as the armistice was discussed that it does not wish to carry on the war and ordered the Hungarian troops to lay down their arms. The Allied Governments need not fear that the Hungarian prisoners of war who return to their homes will again take up arms. The Hungarian Government imbued with ideas of humaneness and mutual atonement among the nations is convinced that nothing stands in the way of repatriating the prisoners. In letting their prisoners of war join their families and resume their peace-time occupations, the Allied states also rid themselves of a burden which they need not carry. The latest events of war have broken off all relations and in particular the correspondence of prisoners of war with their relatives, with special reference to those who were taken prisoners in the last stages of the war and the prisoners in Siberia. Relatives and children, do not know whether their nearest kinsmen are still alive. The Democratic Hungarian Government is
convinced that the following propositions will be acquiesced in by the Governments of the Allied states. Let all prisoners of war send with the consent of the respective governments word to their families in postal cards with a printed text. Let also the families of the prisoners of war send word in the same manner. The printed text to be worded as previously agreed; for instance, I am in good health and doing well, would dispense entirely with the long drawn work of the censor. In as much as the exchange of invalid prisoners of war is already going on and as the Democratic Hungarian Government has already delivered all the prisoners that could stand transportation, it appeals to the humaneness of the Allied Governments to send theirs home as soon as possible. Further, referring to the untold sufferings caused by the long war, the Hungarian Government asks the Allied states to take the earliest possible measures towards sending all the prisoners of war home taking into account the time during which they were held prisoners. Owing to the transportation difficulties it would be desirable to send them home by sea by the way of Fiume. The Hungarian Government begs the Allied Governments kindly to consent to the immediate repatriation of interned civilians and the prisoners of war less than 18 and more than 50 years old. The Government of the Hungarian Republic hopes that its people now freed forever are no longer regarded as an enemy by any one and begs the Allied Governments kindly to alleviate the condition of all the Hungarian prisoners in a manner worthy of the greatness of the nations. Lastly and for the purpose of expediting as much as possible the imparting of information to the families of the prisoners and to themselves and also of recommending and according if need be proper treatment to the said prisoners of war, the Hungarian National Government asks the Allied Governments kindly to accredit to the states which hold prisoners of war relief committees whose field of action is sufficiently suggested by the name. The Hungarian Government is of opinion that the relief of prisoners of war in Siberia is particularly urgent under existing circumstances and since it cannot be sent over European Russia we beg the Governments of the Allies kindly to agree to the sending by sea of the above proposed mission by way of Vladivostok. The Hungarian Government is convinced that these requests which appeal to the humane sentiments of the Allies will be taken with favorable consideration by their governments and hopes it may begin at the earliest possible date to heal the wounds caused by the war. In the name of the Hungarian Democratic Government, Michel Karolyi, President of the Council."

No reply has been made by Department.

Polk

Tasker H. Bliss Papers

The French Ambassador to the United States (Jusserand) to the Secretary of State

Paris, January 8, 1919.

My Dear Mr. Secretary: As you are doubtless aware, an agreement had been come to in London, on Dec. 3rd ult. between the Brit-
ish, French and Italian Govts. concerning the military occupation of
Austria, as foreseen in the Armistice. It had been decided that the
Italian commander in chief, and the French one (Gnl Franchet d’Esperey) would settle together those matters, and in case their
proposals differed, would submit them to Marshal Foch who would
place the question before the interested Governments.

In accordance with the instructions I have received, I beg to in-
clude herewith 3 notes: one from General Diaz, one from General
Franchet d’Esperey (each expressing his point of view), and one
from Marshal Foch, submitting the question to the interested Gov-
ernments, and giving his own opinion.

I should be much obliged to you for letting me know whether the
Marshal’s conclusions meet with the approval of the American Gov-
ernment. A prompt answer would greatly oblige my Government.20

Believe me [etc.]

Jusserand

[Enclosure 1 21]

No. 15852 B. G. M. Rome, December 10, 1918.
To: His Excellency, Marshal Foch, Commander in Chief of The
Allied Armies in France.
Subject: Military occupation of the territories of the former Austro-
Hungarian Monarchy.

In reply to your Excellency’s note, transmitted by Colonel Mour-
rrier, I am sending you, in the inclosed memoir, the views and pro-
posals of the Italian High Command on the subject of the line of
demarcation between the zones of action to be assigned respectively
to the Italian High Command and to the Army of the Orient, in
the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

The officer who brings you this letter is qualified to furnish oral
amplification and any explanation that Your Excellency may require.

I think that I should add that on December 7, 1918, this same ques-
tion of the demarcation between the zones of action was presented to
His Excellency the French Ambassador at Rome, M. Barrère, and
that, consequently, similar communications have been made to your
government with a view to arriving at a perfect agreement on this
question.

Le Général d’Armée
Chief of the Army Staff

Diaz

20 The original bears the notation: “Not acknowledged. Copy and enclosures
sent to Gen. Bliss Jan. 9-19.”

The enclosures filed in the papers of General Bliss bear the additional nota-
tion: “Turned over to General Bliss with Navy plan of occupation of Fiume
Jan. 22, with French originals and unsent letter expressing Sect. views to Pres.
Wilson.”

21 Printed from copy filed under 763.72119/31994.
Military occupation of the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy beyond the limits determined by the armistice.

(1) It is proposed that the zones of action assigned respectively to the Italian High Command and to the Army of the Orient be separated by the following line:

The former frontier between the Empire of Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary, from the boundary of the province of Galicia (Beskids Mountains) to Brod (on the Kulpa River, on the boundary between Carniola and Croatia).

Line of the Treaty of London, leaving in the Italian zone of action the islands of Veglia and Arba.

(2) In each of the two zones of action the garrisons to be established in the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy will be formed, as a rule, by interallied contingents and will be placed under the authority of the Italian High Command or of the General commanding the Army of the Orient, according to whether they are in the zone of action assigned to the Italian Command or to the Command of the Army of the Orient.

(3) The interallied forces of occupation of the various centers will be under the orders of an Italian commander in the zone of action assigned to Italy, and under the orders of the commander belonging to an allied army in the zone of action assigned to the Army of the Orient.

The allied armies, represented each one in the different centers by a contingent belonging to it, will attach to the garrison commanders of the different centers a liaison officer of their nationality and of a rank inferior to that of the garrison commander.

(4) The Italian High Command foresees that it will be necessary on its part, and in the zone of action assigned to it, to occupy the following points:

The city of Vienna (1 division), the city of Graz (1 division), Lubiana (1 brigade), Linz and Salzburg (1 division for the two centers).

(5) To confer on the different garrisons an interallied character, it will be necessary that, in each center of occupation, the allied Commands be represented by forces such that, in each center, the sum of the allied forces shall not be superior to the force furnished by the army to which the commander of the garrison belongs.

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*Great Britain, Cmd. 671, Misc. No. 7 (1920): Agreement Between France, Russia, Great Britain and Italy, Signed at London, April 26, 1915.*
Saloniki, December 12, 1918.

From: General Franchet d’Esperey.
To: The Minister of War and the Marshal Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Armies.

1. I propose, as the line of demarcation between the zones of action of General Diaz and my own, the following line: Fiume—Laibach—Marburg—Course of the Raab-Raab, all these cities to be included in my zone.

Fiume, which is the only base of supplies possible for troops operating in the region of Belgrade and to the north, must be placed entirely under my authority, as well as the Fiume-Agram railway.

2. With a view to avoiding the multiplication of local commands, which complicates the exercise of authority, without always conferring sufficient authority to settle conflicts, it seems to me necessary to create, especially in the contested territories, territorial commands directly under my authority, the command and nature of which will guarantee a character of neutrality until the decisions of the Peace Congress.

These commands might be determined as follows:

(A) Territory of Fiume: from Voloczo [Volosce?], exclusive, to the north Dalmatian frontier, exclusive, with the islands not assigned to Italy, the eastern boundary being constituted by the watershed between the Save basin and the Adriatic; the command should be conferred preferably on an American general having at his disposition:

Tranié detachment: 1 battalion and 1 company of French Engineers, 1 Serbian battalion (already in place);
Italian detachment: 2 battalions (the rest of the Italian division at Fiume falling to the zone of Diaz);
English detachment: 1 general and 1 battalion (in place);
American detachment: If possible 2 battalions, one of which is already in place.

(B) The territories of Spalato and Ragusa would be limited on the north by the line defined by clause 3 of the Diaz armistice concerning the territories to be evacuated by the Austrians; on the south by Castelnuovo inclusive; on the west by the islands not assigned to Italy; on the east by the former boundary of Dalmatia.

Commander: English general to be appointed; seat, at Spalato; having at his disposition:

At Spalato: an Italian company, a French detachment, as well as English and American detachments to come from Italy, and a Serbian company already in place. Local commander: English general.
At Ragusa: a Serbian battalion already in place, a French Battalion.

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Territories of Montenegro and Cattaro:

Commander: seat, at Cattaro; General Venel, having at his disposition, as soon as he arrives:

(a) 2 Yougoslav battalions, already in the interior of Montenegro.

(b) International garrison of Cettigne: a French company to come from Cattaro and an Italian company; a Serbian company already in place. Local command: French.

(c) Garrison of Antivari: a French company, an Italian battalion in place, an American company to come from Cattaro. Local command: Italian.

(d) Garrison of Cattaro: 1 French battalion to come from Italy, a Serbian detachment, 1 Italian battalion instead of 3. 1 American battalion already in place. Local command: American.

All Italian garrisons in place, and not mentioned above, to be suppressed, especially those of Neagus [Njegusi?] and Virpazar.

(D) Territory of Scutari preserving its present form and composition.

(E) Yougoslav territory: bounded on the north by the Drave, on the south and south-west by the former frontier between Dalmatia and Montenegro, on the west by the line: Laybach—Marburg. Command: Serbian. Troops already in place.

(F) Territory of Neusatz: between the Danube and the line marked by: Baja—Theresiopol—Szegedin—the Maros—Nagylak, then parallel to the Nagylak—Temesvar—Weisskirchen railway and 10 kilometers west of this railway. 2 Serbian divisions. Command: Serbian.

(G) Banat of Temesvar—Bounded on the north by [the] Maros, south by the Danube, west by the line Nagylak—Temesvar—Weisskirchen inclusive, east by the line Lippa—Lugos—Karansebes—Mehadija—Orsova. Command: French, seat at Temesvar, having at its disposition 1 brigade of cavalry and 1 French division, exclusive of Roumanians and Serbians, whose common claims on this territory necessitate the presence of French troops to prevent conflict.

3. As I have already reported, I consider the occupation of Buda-Pesth necessary. This occupation, to be limited to the city, would be effected by a French division. This division being in place, another French division, echeloned along the Danube from Belgrade to Neusatz, would be liberated.

4. Concerning the territory of north Buda-Pesth, it is impossible, considering the weakness of my forces, to send troops into this region. It is indispensable, nevertheless, with a view to basing my relations with the present representatives of the power in Hungary on precise orders, which the commission of control in Buda-Pesth insists on having for the execution of your orders, to have definite information on the limits of occupation of the territory of Austria-Hungary by the Czecho-Slavs, and I beg you to send me this information.
No. 9690/0                                           GENERAL HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
                                                 December 22, 1918.

NOTE

In execution of the resolution of London of the 3rd of December last, Generals Diaz and Franchet d'Esperey have, at the request of Marshal Foch, formulated their propositions in regard to the occupation to be carried out in Austria-Hungary.

The examination of these propositions gives occasion for the following preliminary remarks:

a) Line of Demarcation.

The question of the occupation of the entire extent of the territory of the Double Monarchy is not to be thought of, therefore there would be no advantage in dividing this territory into two great regions, in which the Italian command and that of the Allied Armies of the Orient could respectively act with entire liberty.

The tracing of a line of demarcation between these two commands, from the northern frontier of Austria to the Adriatic, is not to be considered.

b) Occupation of Vienna.

By reason of the importance which this measure would have from a political point of view, it seems that this can be decided, in case of necessity, only after a special agreement among the Allied governments.

c) Occupation of Buda-Pesth.

On the other hand, the occupation of Buda-Pesth is necessary (but doubtless not sufficient), if we wish to secure for ourselves the means to make Hungary keep the terms of the armistice of November 3rd, especially insofar as concerns the Mackensen army.

It will not however be carried out until General [Franchet] d'Esperey has at his disposition the necessary means.

These points being admitted, the only questions left open by the comparison of the solutions presented by Generals Diaz and Franchet d'Esperey are those relative to the occupation of Laybach and Fiume.

Moreover, the experience of recent events demonstrates the necessity of regularizing and precisiong the existing situation which results from the application of Articles III and IV of the armistice of November 3rd, as far as concerns the occupation of the Adriatic coast.

These various questions are examined as follows:

d) The occupation of Laybach can have no other object than the maintenance of order.
The present Serbian-Yugo-Slav garrison provides for this; the intervention of the Italians could only give rise to conflict. There is therefore every reason for maintaining the status quo.

e) Occupation of Fiume—To remove all cause of conflict, the surest solution would be to install at Fiume a regime of strict neutrality, by organizing there, for example, an interallied occupation, under the orders of an American general, who would be directly responsible to the Higher Council of War.

Such a solution would be necessary as a last resort, if it seemed to be impossible to conciliate the conflicting interests.

In the present situation, it seems preferable to try to establish harmony by the adoption of a definite scheme of action based on the following points:

—the occupation of Fiume will be Italian and will be responsible to General Diaz.

—At the same time, there will be constituted, for the needs of the Allied Armies of the Orient, an autonomous base, directly responsible to General [Franchet] d’Esperey, and the Commander of which will be a French general.

—The French general appointed shall be put into possession, by the Italian command, of the part of the port, installation and equipment necessary for the organization and functioning of the base, as well as of a zone of cantonment sufficient for the establishment near by of a Franco-Serbian detachment assigned to this base.

Moreover, the General Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Armies of the Orient will have exclusive control of the Fiume-Agram-Semlin railway and will regulate its operation.

f) The Adriatic coast—

To avoid all conflict in the future, it would be necessary to provide:

1—That the occupation of the territories bounded by article III of the armistice, on the Italian border as well as upon the Adriatic, and the occupation of Albania (without Scutari) shall remain confided to the Italian command.

2—That, on the other hand, concerning the territories of the Adriatic coast not included above, and exclusive of the territory of Fiume, the occupation shall depend on the General Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of the Orient, to whose duty it will fall definitely to fix the conditions of the occupation (composition of the interallied garrisons and the division of the local commands among the allies), in such a way as to establish with entire impartiality a regime of order and neutrality.

These are the propositions which Marshal Foch thinks should be submitted to the decision of the allied governments.

Foch
AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY

Paris Peace Conf. 864.00/36

The Chargé in Switzerland (Wilson) to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

[No.] 80

BERNE, January 13, 1919.
[Received January 16.]

Sirs: I have the honor to report that Count Sigray, informal representative in Switzerland of the Karolyi Government in Hungary, has written me a letter, of which a copy is enclosed, concerning the possibility of elections in Hungary. Count Sigray brought this letter in person and endeavored to obtain an expression of opinion from me on its subject matter. I was, however, careful to refrain from expressing any opinion whatever in the premises, nor did I give him any promise of an answer from either the Peace Commission or the American Government.

I have [etc.]

HUGH R. WILSON

[Enclosure]

The Informal Representative in Switzerland of the Government of Hungary (Sigray) to the American Chargé in Switzerland (Wilson)

BERNE, January 11, 1919.

SIR: The Hungarian Government has decided to appeal to the people of Hungary and to set an early date for the elections of a constitutional Assembly.

Considering the fact that a great part of Hungary is at present occupied by the troops of the Allies, the Government wishes me to inquire what attitude the Allies would take towards the elections in Hungary and specially elections in the territories that are lying behind the line of occupation freed by the armistice of Belgrade.

The Hungarian Government and people take the standpoint that they have the right of making elections in the whole of Hungary because:

1. in the armistice of Belgrade it was understood that the administration of the whole country would remain in the hands of the Hungarian Government;
2. the Hungarian Government and people have not given up the right to any territories claimed by neighbours.

I should be greatly obliged to you if you would refer this matter to the Government of the United States and her Allies and if you would let me know as soon as possible the answer to my inquiry.

Believe me [etc.]

COUNT SIGRAY
THE COOLIDGE MISSION

Paris Peace Conf. 184.011/9a

The Secretary of State to the Minister in Switzerland (Stovall)

[Paris,] 26 December, 1918.

Sir: In order that certain observers of political conditions in the Central Empires, who are being sent out by the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, be afforded the necessary assistance by the Governments of the Countries in which they will be, you are hereby authorized to enter into appropriate negotiations with the Governments of Germany and Austria-Hungary.

I am [etc.] [File copy not signed]

Paris Peace Conf. 184.011/15

The Secretary of State to Professor A. C. Coolidge

Paris, December 26, 1918.

Sir: You are hereby assigned to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace for the purpose of proceeding to Austria for that Commission to observe political conditions in Austria-Hungary and neighboring countries.

Yours very truly, [File copy not signed]

Paris Peace Conf. 184.011/17

The Secretary of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew) to Professor A. C. Coolidge

Paris, December 26, 1918.

Subject: Observation in Eastern countries.

1. You are directed to proceed without undue delay to Switzerland, and as soon as the necessary preliminaries are settled then to Vienna or some other suitable point from which you can make arrangements for the forwarding of news to the Commission. You will also, as soon as is feasible, send agents for a longer or shorter time to such places as Prague, Agram, Budapest, Lemberg, and War-
saw. In view of the many uncertainties, and the changing nature of the situation, you will have to use your discretion as to where and when and how the agents under your control may best be employed at any given point, and they may be freely transferred from one place to another according to circumstances. The field of their observation will cover as much as possible the territories comprised in the former empires of Austria-Hungary and adjacent regions, particularly Poland. Though the course of events may make changes advisable, Vienna would appear the natural point you would choose for centralization and transmission of your news. It will be your headquarters from which you visit other places under the charge of your agents. Your duties and theirs, as at present instructed, will be to observe and to report frequently to the Commission matters that may be of interest.

2. You will make use of such means of communication as are available, and may authorize your agents to forward direct reports if valuable time is saved thereby.

3. The Commission will meet all proper expenses on your mission when duly supported by accounts and vouchers.

4. It is desired that you enter upon your activities with as little loss of time as possible, and to furnish the Commission with information, even if imperfect, at an early date.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.011/22

Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Secretary of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)

PARIS, 27 December, 1918.

DEAR MR. GREW: I beg to advise you that I am leaving tonight with the following men for Berne, for the purpose of proceeding to Austria Hungary as soon thereafter as possible:

Mr. Robert J. Kerner
Capt. Walter G. Davis
Lieut. F. R. King
Capt. W. A. Pashkowski
Lieut. H. G. Campagnoli
Lieut. R. C. Foster
Mr. F. E. Parker
Capt. Leslie Snow
Capt. Leo M. Czaja
Capt. Charles H. Wetter
Lt. Beckhart

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE
Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

No. 3

BERNE, December 31, 1918.
[Received January 4, 1919.]

Sirs: I have the honor to report that I had an interview yesterday with Dr. Leopold Baron Hennet, Dr. Rudolph Ritter von Schwarz-Hiller, and Dr. Adler.¹ Their arguments which they set forth at considerable length mostly came down to two main points about which they were insistent.

1st. German Austria is not in a position to support an undue share of any war indemnity. She has been drained of her wealth and she has not benefited by war expenditures for the creation or enlargement of factories, etc. These have been established elsewhere, notably in Bohemia. The fact that Vienna was the seat of the imperial government does not render the German Austrians as such peculiarly responsible for the war.

2nd. The German Austria of the future (of which Vienna contains about a third of the population) is economically of small resources and incapable of standing alone. Only two courses are possible for it:—either union with Germany which is favored by the Socialists not so much for nationalistic reasons as because they believe the socialistic cause in Austria would be strengthened by it, or a Danubian confederation. This (according to the speakers) is favored by a majority of the people for sentimental, historical, economic, and other reasons. To make it possible a fair modus vivendi with free interchange of products must be worked out between the different members of the confederation. In view of the recent events an understanding of this sort can hardly be brought about without strong moral support and perhaps direct pressure on the part of the Allies and of the United States. The speakers mentioned as among their own reasons for opposition to union with Germany, the fear that it would be looked upon with disfavor by the Allies, notably France. They also seemed to hold it as a threat or last resource if Austria were too severely treated at the final settlement. They expressed a desire that German Austria might have an opportunity to set forth her side of questions in Paris.

I have [etc.]

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE

¹Victor Adler, Austrian Social Democratic leader.
Berne, December 31, 1918.
[Received January 3, 1919.]

Sirs: I have the honor to report that I had an interview yesterday with Count Sigray who has been sent to Switzerland to get in touch as far as possible with the Americans.

His arguments were the familiar ones. Perhaps the most notable statement that he made and which he declared represented the official opinion of his government was that Hungary would be willing to submit the question of the future of the disputed territories—the Slovak region, the Banat, Transylvania,—to a plebiscite of the inhabitants provided the vote were taken under impartial supervision, that is to say American or British or perhaps American and Italian, but not French or that of any of the claimants directly interested. He said that Hungary had abandoned all claims to Croatia but needed to have a port. He is anxious that Hungary should have some chance of presenting her case in Paris. He complained that the armistice was not being carried out in Hungary in the spirit in which it had been made and declared that a statement on the part of the Allies that the settlement there would be made in accordance with justice rather than on the base of present military occupation would do much to tranquilize public opinion and maintain order in Hungary.

I have [etc.]

Archibald Cary Coolidge

Berne, January 1, 1919.

Dear Day: I have just had a long and interesting interview with Gueshov.2 As Bulgaria is perhaps out of the bounds of my vague bailie-wick, I am writing to you directly instead of reporting to the Commission. Gueshov, as you know, has been out of his country for some months and finds it difficult to keep in touch with it. He has almost no direct news from Bulgaria and not much from elsewhere except what appears in the papers. His main point was that according to the Eleventh of the Fourteen Articles the Balkan questions will be settled according to principles of justice and that justice is all.

* T. E. Gueshov, former Prime Minister of Bulgaria.
that Bulgaria asks for. I gently suggested to him that everybody else said the same thing, but he of course has no doubt in the justice of his own claims. He regards Macedonia as incontrovertibly Bulgarian and took the line that one ought to disregard all that was said by Bulgarians and Serbians, (he naturally has no use for Cvijich *), and confine oneself to the testimony of competent neutrals who were in a position to know. He instanced the Carnegie Report,1 the Encyclopedia Britannica (Bourchier), and the American Missionaries in the Balkans. I hinted that some of these authorities if neutral were not exactly impartial. A thing he laid particular stress upon, as do naturally the Austrians, Magyars and others here, was the unfairness of having their fate decided upon without their being consulted. Gueshov asserted that as Bulgaria had not been at war with the United States it would be unjust to her to have her destiny settled on the base of the Eleventh Article without her voice being heard. Incidentally he made the rather amusing point that if the Serbian view was accepted that the Macedonians were Serbians, why then so were the Slavs within the Greek boundaries, in which case the cry of a Serbia Irredenta would be soon be raised in a country much larger and more powerful than Greece.

I told Gueshov a little about the Division of Information in Paris and said that the Legation here could send to it any literature that he wished to furnish it, but advised him to spare you common or garden propaganda. He spoke bitterly of the Greek charges of Bulgarian atrocities, stating that it was just what the Greeks had done five years ago. They had cut off the Bulgarians from any communication with the outside world, and had then accused them of atrocities which were afterwards proved to be false. Here he referred to the Carnegie Report. He asked if I included anti-atrocity literature in the material it was useless to send. I said that the contradiction of any story was always worth while.

Gueshov took up the question of Bulgaria’s part in the present war. He declared she had been forced into it by the king and by her geographical position against the will of the great majority of the population and that the Bulgarian soldiers had been no more willing combatants against the Allies than had the Czecho-Slovaks and the Croatians. He adverted to the point that one of the three Yugo-Slav commissioners in Paris, the Slovenian Zolger, had been one of the chief aides of Seidler in Austria and contrasted this with the Bulgarian lack of representation. He said that he and the opposition had done everything they could to prevent the king from taking the fateful step, but unlike Venizelos they had had no Allied support to bring pressure,

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*Jovan Cvijich, Serbian author, professor at the University of Belgrade.

that they had asked for a landing at Saloniki, Dedeagatch or Varna, but they had been refused, that if Rumania had gone into the war when Italy did, as was expected, Ferdinand would never have dared to stir. He said that from Switzerland last summer he had implored the Malinov Ministry to prevent the king from going on his last visit to Germany, but that he supposed that Malinov had felt if he should do so, it would merely mean the recall of Radoslavov. He said that Ferdinand would never have come to Bulgaria if Alexander III had not refused to allow Prince Waldemar of Denmark to accept the crown offered to him, (in those days England was Ferdinand’s chief friend and supporter), that this foreign prince has brought untold evil on his people, and that it was most unjust that they should have to suffer for all the things he had done.

Finally he expressed the hope that if it was impossible for any Bulgarian representative to get to Paris, someone of you familiar with Balkan subjects might come to confer with him and others here.

I have also had an interview with Professor Constantine Stephanov, a professor in the University of Sofia. He is a Macedonian by birth and feeling. He declares that the Macedonians were largely responsible for the fact that Bulgaria joined the Central Powers in 1915 because their ill-treatment at the hands of the Serbians was such and their desire for the reunion of the different parts of their territory was so great that they did much to influence Bulgarian opinion. Professor Stephanov regards Macedonia as one and indivisible and also as overwhelmingly Bulgarian, though this last was not the line of argument he pursued. He declared that the only just thing to do as had already been indicated in the usual inevitable telegram to President Wilson was to have the whole of Macedonia occupied by impartial Allied troops and then a plebiscite taken of the wishes of the inhabitants. I asked him if that plebiscite were in favor of Serbia whether he would be willing to accept it for the whole of the country including even the most eastern and Bulgarian portion of it. He wriggled a little, but in general said yes, evidently not regarding the contingency as possible. I asked him how he should feel about the same plan being tried in Thrace. He expressed a willingness to which I do not believe Gueshov would agree. He repeated that the Macedonians had a strong local sentiment of their own and that they would prove practically impossible to govern against their own consent. We skirmished a little as to just what was Macedonia. He seemed to me not very practical, but sincere and interesting as expressing the Macedonian point of view.

We are delayed here by the length of the holiday but hope to get off Friday. Happy New Year.

Very truly yours

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE
Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

No. 5  
BERNE, January 2, 1919.  
[Received January 4.]

Sirs: I have the honor to report that yesterday I had another interview with Count Sigray. He was evidently worried by his latest news from Budapest and declared that the Bolshevik peril was increasing in Hungary as the government had no armed forces on which it could rely. He again declared that the best thing would be an American or even a British regiment at Budapest, and said that the French there only number some two hundred men so that no one takes them seriously, though their officers issue arrogant orders.

I have [etc.]

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE

The Secretary of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew) to Dr. S. E. Mezes

1. Will you kindly let me have a memorandum on the point raised in the marked portion of this report,6 and your recommendations for appropriate action in the matter.

[Paris,] January 5, 1919.

Dr. S. E. Mezes to the Secretary of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)


We have tried to get a copy of the Armistice mentioned, but without success.

The statement asked for is, of course, in full accord with the policy of our Government, and no doubt of our Associates. Moreover the purpose of the Armistice is military security, not territorial settlement, and the statement is not therefore strictly necessary. But I can think of no objection to securing a joint statement if the diplomatic wheels are revolving smoothly. A joint statement covering this Armistice as a whole might also ease the Italo-Jugo-Slav tension.

* The last sentence of Professor Coolidge's report No. 4, Dec. 31, 1918, p. 221.
Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Secretary of State

[No. 10(?)]

VIENNA, January 8, 1919.
[Received January 16.]

Sirs: I have the honor to report that I sent to you today en clair the following telegram: "British Embassy occupied publicly by British Military Representatives. Stop. Urge strongly for reasons of efficiency and economy that we be allowed to make use of available consular quarters". The need for me to use the consular premises is great. Work is coming on fast and I have a large staff for whom it is almost impossible to find suitable working accommodations. The city is very full and quarters of all kinds are exceedingly hard to obtain and command high prices. As I said in my telegram the British Military Agent is publicly installed in the British Embassy. The American clerk who is in charge of our interests in the Spanish Embassy has continued to use a portion of the former American Chancery. In any quarters which we might hire it would be almost impossible to obtain coal. In the American Consulate there is coal already and more might be procurable. I am going in the immediate future to lend some of my men for work for the Food Commission and such a thing may well happen again. Under these circumstances I trust that my request will be granted.

I have [etc.]

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE

Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

No. 11

VIENNA, January 9, 1919.
[Received January 22.]

Sirs: I have the honor to report that in this and some later despatches I shall take up certain questions concerning Austria and especially her future frontiers which will be determined by the Peace Conference. I shall usually confine myself to a brief exposition of the Austrian point of view, expressing it as clearly as I can without comment of my own. As I have been visited today by several representatives of the German part of Southern Tyrol to protest against annexation to Italy, I shall begin with that question.

The German speaking part of the Southern Tyrol, lying south of the Brenner Pass, is inhabited and has been for the last seven or eight hundred years by a purely German population, (except in the Ladin portion). The population is German to the core and intensely
so. The people are a race of mountaineers, fervently patriotic and proud of their country, to which they are devotedly attached. Their spirit and their indomitable love of freedom were well shown in the famous rising under Andreas Hofer against the French in which they took a notable part. It is inconceivable that this population should ever submit or become reconciled to Italian rule. There are few Italians among them except a certain number of day labourers who come and go, especially in the district of Botzen. This district, whose only political connection with Italy in recent centuries was when it was united for a few years with the Kingdom of Italy in Napoleonic times, was claimed by the Italians when they were asking for a reward if they should keep out of the war. They now desire not only Botzen, but the regions of Meran and Brixen and the whole territory up to the top of the Brenner. The Austrians declare that under the principle of self-determination as proclaimed by President Wilson which has been loyally accepted by them, (to this point they continually return), they do not see how this territory can possibly be taken away from them. They say that in the Southern Tyrol the linguistic division between German and Italian agrees remarkably well with the geographical lines made by the wild mountain ranges and that the national separation between the two peoples is as good as could be desired. Even at the main gateway, the passage is a narrow one.

Economically the German district south of the Brenner would suffer severely by separation from the country to the north of it. The great influx of German tourists would be much reduced if the country were under Italian rule. The land is comparatively poor and its products which are only obtained through hard labor have now an assured outlet in Austria. If it were a part of Italy they could not compete with similar Italian products grown on a more fertile soil under cheaper conditions.

This part of the Tyrolean land has always had a peculiar sentimental value to the German race. It is their one playground of their own in southern climes. It was the home of the minnesinger in the Middle Ages. The loss of it would deeply wound national feeling in German Austria and would be regarded as an intolerable injustice.

The case of the small Ladin district is rather different. The Austrians assert that although the Ladin language is Latin, not a Germanic one, it is an independent language and the people prefer Austrian to Italian rule. The region is barren, but economically its interests lie with Austria rather than with Italy.

I have [etc.] Archibald Cary Coolidge
Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

No. 12

VIENNA, January 9, 1919. [Received January 23.]

Sirs: I have the honor to report that since my arrival in Vienna I have been able to pick up a few impressions on the situation in Poland. They are not more than impressions, because I have been unable as yet to give much attention to the subject and have seen but few people and have not had a chance to control their reports. I have despatched one member of the party to Poland and am planning at short intervals to send off two more, so that I am hoping soon for more reliable information.

The general feeling here about Poland and among the Poles seems to be pessimistic enough. The abortive conspiracy of Prince Sapieha has probably done grave harm to the conservative cause. The government of General Pilsudski looks weak. It is said that what his army suffers most from is not lack of men but of arms and ammunition and that a supply of these would be invaluable to him. With them he might hope to check the progress of the Bolsheviks. Without them his position is precarious. It has been suggested that Austria could supply him with what he requires, but that she is not willing to do so even in return for a payment in such exports as Poland can furnish and Austria needs. Whether Bohemia would approve of Austrian assistance to Poland is uncertain. Present relations between the Czechs and the Poles are not good. The Czechs are much irritated at the recent seizure by the Poles of disputed territory in Silesia. The Poles on their part accuse the Czechs of imperialism and of a desire to get a corridor to the eastward. The fear of Bolshevism, however, oppresses to greater or less extent all the nations in this part of the world.

A promising suggestion that has been made is that a truce should be concluded between the Poles and the Ukrainians under the terms of which eastern Galicia should be left as an autonomous district in the hands of its present Ukrainian possessors, and Lemberg be ruled by a government half Pole and half Ukrainian, until the Peace Conference shall have determined the final boundaries. In the meanwhile the forces of both can be used against the Bolshevists. I believe that this plan will be submitted to the British Government with the hope it may be supported from that quarter.

I have been told that in Upper Silesia at the present time the great landowners are almost indifferent to their national fate, not knowing in what direction their interests will lie. This attitude is not likely to be permanent. The miners are rather in favor of continued union
with Germany, believing that it will be more of their interest to be part of the German economic union than of the Polish one. The agricultural population, on the other hand, are more national in sentiment and desire union with Poland.

I have [etc.]

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE

Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

No. 13

VIENNA, January 10, 1919.

[Received January 23.]

Sirs: I have the honor to report that the following are some of my first impressions in Vienna. It should be remembered that most of the people I have seen so far are high officials, though belonging to all the three parties who have combined to form the present government, namely the Socialist Democrats, the Christian Socialists and the German Nationalists, so I have chiefly got their point of view.

The government here feel almost overwhelmed by the magnitude and the multiplicity of the task with which they are confronted. They and the people also are oppressed by the terrible uncertainty of their future, and particularly as to what their boundaries are to be and how they are to get on their feet again financially. In very human fashion they tend to put all the blame for the faults and errors of the past on their former rulers and to look on themselves as victims who were no more to blame for the war than the other nationalities who took part in it. They therefore do not see why they should receive any particular punishment and should be forced to assume a disproportionate part of the huge national debt. They declare that if they have to do so, the only result will be bankruptcy and that this will drag down the other shares in the debt and holders of the vast mass of Austrian paper money, a conclusion from which, however unpleasant it may be, it is difficult to escape.

The government are much exercised as to when if at all they will be allowed to send representatives to the Peace Conference. I believe that the German Austrians are sincere when they express their admiration for President Wilson and say that their chief trust is that America will recognize the justice of their cause. Doubtless some emphasis is added for my benefit, but by accepting unrestrainedly the principles of the fourteen points and basing on them their claims in regard to the future national boundaries, they have adopted a very strong position, if their past is to be overlooked. They also hope for help or they say "justice" from England. France they regard as hostile.
The authorities are rather proud of the way in which they met the sudden and huge task of demobilisation and the despatching to their homes of the hundreds of thousands of soldiers who passed through Vienna, soldiers not from German Austria alone, but also from all the other parts of the empire. They point out that they did this without any serious disturbance or pillaging and that they never left any great number together long enough to become a menace to the public security. They are likewise proud of the order they maintain and contrast the quiet of Vienna with what has happened in Berlin, Warsaw, Budapest and elsewhere, and they express confidence in their national guard (Volkswehr), which is now chiefly made up of workmen of the better class and whose councils of soldiers have so far been helpful to them. On the other hand they believe their capacity to maintain order and carry on a government successfully depends above all things on their receiving a sufficient supply of food and fuel from outside. Without these they will answer for nothing. The number of unemployed workmen and of factories closed or working only part time is disquieting enough. There are Bolshevik agents here, apparently well supplied with money, and a paper with Bolshevik doctrines is published in Vienna. I enclose a copy as a specimen.

Internal affairs in the main attract little attention. The elections which are to take place in the middle of February excite a certain interest but no very decided result seems to be expected from them. There is curiosity as to how the newly enfranchised women will vote and a belief that they will strengthen the clerical party. The streets of the city are crowded but the physical condition of the people is obviously poor and the prices, especially of necessities, are terribly high.

I have [etc.]

ARCHIBALD CART COOLIDGE

Paris Peace Conf. 184.01102/6

Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

No. 14

VIENNA, January 11, 1919.

[Received January 28 (?) .]

Sirs: I have the honor to report that I have received from Lieut. Foster in Warsaw a letter dated January 9th, from which I enclose the essential paragraphs:

["Politics

The Coup d'Etat that you have read about in the papers most probably is considered by everybody as being a farce. It was the

* No inclosure. [Pencilled footnote on the original.]
creation of a few men only, Prince Eustache Sapieha being at the head of the affair. None of the details had been worked out and none of the other parties knew of it. Three members of the ministry were placed under arrest on Monday night by a small number of the Milice who had been brought into the scheme. They then placed the Chief of Staff of the army, General Szeptycki under arrest instead of simply guarding his dwelling as had been planned. He pointed out what it would mean in the way of demoralization to the armies now fighting if he did not resist arrest and the Milice let him go. He went at once to Pilsudski who had the ministers released and Sapieha arrested but Pilsudski realising that there was a demonstration against his ministry sent his Chief of Staff at once by special train to Cracow to get Paderewski and bring him to Warsaw. Paderewski and Pilsudski have been in conference since Tuesday and the report is that the possibility of a coalition ministry being formed is very good. Nothing has been said as yet and nothing may be actually done until the 12th when a general meeting is to be held of delegates from Posen, Galicia, Pomerania and Warsaw. The Coup d'État was not directed at Pilsudski, for whom there seems to be a general respect as a patriot if not for his political ability, but against his ministry which without doubt was absolutely inefficient—all save the ministers of Finance and Ravitaillement whom Kellogg reports as being able men. These two men would not join the ministry and have been serving outside. A Conservative said to me today that his party was the only one that the Pilsudski government would talk with and therefore he had hopes that if some sort of a coalition was decided upon that the Conservative party would be recognized in the Ministry. It is reported, however, that Pilsudski at first would hear nothing but Socialists. I will try and get in touch with some of those men tomorrow and may be able to send you a more detailed report.

Frontiers

Have had only general discussions of which the general trend are that that is a matter for the Peace Conference and the pressing thing now was to form a stable government and equip an army that can hold off the Bolsheviks.

Socialistic Theories

Discussion of the cutting up of the large estates for division among the peasants has brought several interesting points from the owners of large estates, both in Cracow and Warsaw. They state that the peasant in the first place is lazy and would not work his ground properly. This they prove with instances of peasants owning lands in the vicinity of their properties or of land that they have rented out to the peasant for periods of six years. Secondly agriculture demands a certain amount of intelligence and knowledge that the majority of peasants have not got. Beet growing was particularly instanced. Thirdly is the question of implements and fertilizers which the peasant cannot afford for a small tract of land. In answering the question as to the possibility of educating the peasant it was stated that the minute that a peasant could read and write he was through with farming. The answer of these large estate owners to the question of the disposition of these large estates was
taxation at a rate that would necessitate careful and intensive cultivation or else the sale of the property by those who did not wish to farm their property. One large property owner, only, advocated the parcelling out of estates and I learned afterwards that his property had been practically ruined by the war!

Pogroms

I am enclosing a series of newspaper articles taken from Jewish papers and gotten out by a Jewish organization that belittles certainly the reports of the Pogroms. The opinion seems to be that these so called Pogroms are nothing more nor less than bandit raids and that they hit the Jews particularly because in the towns the Jews are the small store owners and it is the small merchandise that the bandits take.

Bolshevism

This is a very serious and important subject and one that should receive immediate attention. The Poles all say "Why discuss politics and frontiers when the Bolshevists are practically at our doors and there will soon be no Poland left about which to discuss. What we need is the moral support of Allied troops and right away." Lemberg is three quarters surrounded just the railway line being open and trains passing over this line are constantly bombarded. The city is practically without food, the water supply has been cut off and there is no coal. Women and children are defending the city with the men, for it is understood that if the town falls it is to be turned over to the entering troops for pillage. The tales of death and torture by the Bolshevist troops for those who have come in their path are beyond belief in their barbarity. It is easy to understand their fear with troops threatening from the East and North and Germany just balancing on the edge.

In Cracow the streets were crowded with unemployed and it is said that the people do not want to work. The Austrian system of pensions by which the soldier drew not only his pay but also 120 crowns a month for a wife, 80 crowns for a mother and 50 crowns for each child has demoralized the people. They have tasted of good things without effort and they are not anxious to work again. It is reported that stealing is rife. The high cost of living has also upset conditions. Where a servant has to pay 500 crowns for a pair of shoes she has demanded more pay in order to clothe herself. Prices are very high everywhere for food and clothing. The housekeepers and hotel servants are now on strike here in Warsaw demanding exorbitant wages.

Military

The army is divided between the three fronts—Germany, Ukrania and Vilna. Its actual strength I have not determined but the impression is that with supplies of equipment and ammunition an army of about 500,000 could be put into the field in a comparatively short space of time, making use of the men returning from the Russian, Austrian and German armies. It is clothes and shoes as well as munitions that are actually lacking. They have German guns but no German ammunition; Austrian ammunition, but no Austrian guns etc. It has been stated that a general mobilization is
also feared on account of the number of men of bolshevistic tendencies that would get into the army. On the whole the country is considered to be strongly anti-bolshevistic and all that would be necessary would be a very small detachment of Allied troops to relieve the situation. Sort of a steadying nucleus. Every one is anxiously waiting news of General Haller and his troops which are reported to be on the way. They believe that these troops alone might save the situation. An officer at Cracow spoke of three wounded men from his regiment that had just returned from the Ukranian front who said that the Ukranian troops immediately gave way before any decided resistance or attack and that the peasants in those armies were tired of fighting. German and Austrian officers are reported as in command and that communication with those countries is kept up by airplane. A train of 200 cars of food supplies en route from Ukrania to Austria as payment for war supplies was caught by the Government of Cracow according to a report in the Warsaw papers tonight.

Four Jews arrived in Cracow from Russia well lined with Bolshevik money and people said that the effect in the town was felt almost immediately. It is all of that as well as the realization that they cannot expect much assistance from outside until a stable government of some sort is formed that lends hope to good results from the conferences now under way. Paderewski had a wildly patriotic reception but that does not mean necessarily that he is considered as a possible successor to Pilсудski.

All of the above is hardly of sufficient detail to be of great value but I hope that it will give you a bit of an idea of the conditions as they impressed me on arrival and also of the attitude of many of the people. I have met only those of the middle and upper classes as yet. I hope to arrange with the former secretary of the American Consulate to do work for our Mission. Someone to run around card and letter leaving and who knows the people and the city is very necessary. He can also read the press for me and knock around the lower parts of the city as well. He is now in the employ of the Spanish Consulate handling whatever American correspondence that comes up but it takes but one hour of his time daily which would be no inconvenience to us and I don’t think that his employment would be considered as meaning diplomatic recognition in any way as he is a Pole. I would give much to take over the old consulate, however, as it would be ideal for sleeping quarters and office space for our Mission.

A bit of gossip is that the upset in Posen at the time of Paderewski’s arrival was due to his being accompanied by Col. Wade of the English Mission. It has since been proved that Col. Wade had orders to accompany him though the newspapers came out with a statement to the contrary.

Later

Nothing has developed from the Pilсудski-Paderewski conference and it is said that Pilсудski still is holding out for an entire socialistic Ministry. The Coup d’État has strengthened the present socialistic government on account of its failure. If anything results from the present conferences it might almost be called a success, however.

* Commander of Polish troops on several fronts during the war.
The real uniting factor will be the approach of the Bolshevist armies. Vilna is definitely in the hands of the Bolsheviks and Lemberg cannot hold out much longer. I think that all the parties are beginning to realize that help from the Allies cannot be expected until some sort of a coalition government is formed and most probably this will be the result of the meeting of the delegates from the various parts of Poland "to-be" that takes place on the 12th. The men from Posen have already arrived Seyda at their head. It is curious the way that many people of all sorts and kinds speak about the political ability of the Posen Poles and their greater experience. There seems to be much confidence placed in them. This is of course due to their German education and comparative freedom in Governmental matters during past years whereas the Russian Poles have been given practically no opportunities. The attempt of the present socialist Ministry is an example of inefficiency.

The old Milice formed under German occupation has been replaced by a new Milice of Socialists almost entirely and this organization is being extended throughout Poland. How much it can be counted on is therefore a question. Last night there was shooting outside our house and inquiry brought out the fact that a guard down the street thought he saw someone entering the bank he was guarding and so fired several shots. The guard in front of the English Mission's house thereupon shot too just so as to let the other guards know that they were there on the job. Thank Heaven we have no guard outside of this building."

I have [etc.]

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE

Paris Peace Conf. 184.01102/7

Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

No. 15

VIENNA, January 12, 1919.

[Received January 19.]

Sirs: I have the honor to report that no question concerning the future of German Austria weighs more on the minds of public men here than does that of the German speaking portions of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. In the last few days I have heard a number of them hold forth long and eloquently on the subject and shall now try to give the pith of their views, as usual without comment of my own. I append for convenient reference an ordinary uncritical popular map.7

The German-Austrians, including those in Bohemia, accept a new independent Bohemia as a thing they have no power to change even if they had the wish. They regard separation between themselves and the Czechs as final and in many ways do not regret the dissolution of their former partnership. They are many of them will-

7 Map not reproduced.
ing to admit, with sadness, that the German islands in the middle of a predominantly Czech population must be regarded as lost, but they protest most strongly against the inclusion in the Czecho-Slav state of large blocks of thoroughly German population, and they contest on every ground the Czech arguments in support of such a course. It should be remembered that the German districts in dispute are divided into three separate and not really contiguous portions, namely—southern Bohemia and Moravia, Northern Bohemia and the so-called Sudetenlands of Eastern Bohemia, Northern Moravia and Silesia. Although these all abut on solid blocks of German speaking people, in only one of the three cases are these people in Austria. The other two are in Germany. The same arguments do not all apply with equal force in the three regions.

I. The Geographical and Economic Argument. The German Austrians admit the geographical, and to a certain extent, the economic unity of Bohemia (including Moravia), but they do not regard this as sufficient to outweigh other considerations, and they point out that the Czechs, who are so categorical in demanding this unity for Bohemia, refuse to pay the slightest attention to it in their demand for the Slovak territories of Hungary, a state whose natural geographical limits are equally well marked. They also point out that the argument of a natural frontier, though holding for Northern Bohemia and to a lesser extent for the eastern block of German territories in Bohemia, Moravia and Austrian Silesia, does not apply to the German speaking territories in Southern Bohemia and Moravia where there is no physical separation from the provinces of Upper and Lower Austria. The population on the two sides of the boundary is the same and belongs together. Its political separation is a matter of historical accident. The economic unity too of Bohemia, though in part natural, is largely a matter of historical growth and of protective tariffs. It is true that the manufacturing regions furnish the more agricultural central portion with goods and that the center produces food for the manufactories, but the great established Bohemian industries, most of which were founded by Austrians or by German Bohemians are in their hands, rest on a world-wide market, and not on that of their next neighbors. Naturally a division of Bohemia would produce great economic disturbances and cause suffering, just as the breaking up of the Austrian Empire is doing on a much larger scale at the present moment, but this is a transitory evil which has to be endured. The economic life of all these countries will readjust itself in time.

II. The Historical Argument. Here again the German Austrians admit the unity of the Bohemian state, (except for the Eger district which came in much later and whose separate entity was long recognized), though they claim a much greater share in its history and
glory than is accorded to them by the Czechs, and here again they point out the analogous case of Hungary, a country that has also had a unified history, and one not without many glories, but is none the less being subjected to partition. They admit too that the Czechs are the older as well as the more numerous population, although there were Germans there at an earlier period, but they declare that it is absurd to regard the Germans who colonized Bohemia some seven or eight hundred years ago and whose descendants have lived there to the present day, as intruders without rights. If one goes back as far as this, where does one stop short of the cave-dwellers? The territory in which the Germans settled was at the time of their coming practically vacant. The Czechs, not being numerous enough really to fill the whole of it, had taken up the central and more fertile parts. German colonists came in with the cordial encouragement of the Bohemian princes, and peopled the poorer lands around the edges, which have been German ever since in their history and their sentiment, although loyal to their country, in whose history and development they have often taken the leading part. Now, however, that a new state is being established on nationalistic principles hostile to themselves, they claim the right of not being forced into it. The German Austrians say that in conformity with their loyal acceptance of President Wilson's principles of self-determination they now regard historical arguments as no longer of much value. They have not urged them in the question concerning the boundaries between themselves and the Jugoslaus, where also one finds a unity that has lasted several centuries, and they do not feel that they should have weight in the case of Bohemia.

The great argument on which the Germans of Austria and Bohemia rest their case is, as they are never tired of repeating, the principle of self-determination. They declare that they have accepted President Wilson’s fourteen points without qualification and have acted accordingly. When after the cessation of hostilities the Czechs, instead of disarming, called their men to the colors and occupied the German parts of Bohemia, people in those regions were inclined to resist by force. The government of Vienna, however, forbade all such resistance, declaring that the matter could be settled only by the Peace Conference in Paris, and that the Germans of Austria and Bohemia should peaceably await its decision trusting to the justice of their case. They meet the Czech statement that many of the German Bohemians wish to belong to the new state for economic reasons with the reply that in these districts they are willing to submit the matter to a popular vote, provided that vote be taken under an impartial neutral administration. The territory now seized from them by the Czechs is German to the core and has few Czechs in most of it, except in Northern Bohemia where the industrial development of recent years
has led to a large influx of Czech workmen. To tear away some three millions of Germans from their fellows and to unite them against their wills to a Czechish population of barely double their numbers would not only be a most flagrant violation of the principles which the Allies and especially the United States have proclaimed as their own and which have been accepted by Austria, but would utterly destroy any hope of a lasting peace. It would create an Austria Irredenta, conquered provinces less contented and harder for the conqueror to assimilate than ever were Alsace and Lorraine, supported as they would be by equally intense regret and sympathy from the country which had lost them. Anything like good relations between the Czecho-Slovak state and its German and Austrian neighbors would be as impossible as they have been for the last century between Germany and France. The German Austrians are now powerless to resist any decision which the Allies and the United States may impose upon them, but a decision which shall place one third of them under the heel of a foreign people who have already begun to take steps to denationalize them will mean an end to any hope of permanent peace in this part of the world. Sooner or later the question must and will come up again, and in the meantime the "Balkanization" of the former territories of Austria will be a source of woe and peril, not only to the territories themselves but to the rest of the world. In the eyes of the German Austrians today the issue is a clear one between the new doctrine of self-determination from which so much is hoped and naked imperialism of the old discredited type.

I have [etc.]

Archibald Cary Coolidge

Paris Peace Conf. 184.01102/74

Professor A. C. Coolidge to Professor W. E. Lunt, of the Commission to Negotiate Peace

[Vienna,] January 13, 1919.

Dear Lunt: I am afraid that the question of getting some evidence with regard to the present national tendencies of the Ladins is a rather special one. It would take much time on the part of some one particular person, who ought to go into the Ladin district and talk with the people as much as the authorities would let him. When I have scattered my crowd to their various posts I shall have only a few left here, and they would be obliged to confine themselves to pretty broad general subjects of current interest. I shall tell them, however, to keep the Ladin question in mind. The only contribution of my own that I have to offer is that among the Tyrolese delegates who
visited me the other day there was a representative from the Ladin region. He told me that his people speak Ladin in their daily life but that many of them knew German (and some of them Italian), and that they lived on the best of terms with their German neighbors, indeed they had always done so, and had no desire to be detached from them now. He and others have emphasized the fact that Ladin is an independent language, not a dialect of Italian, and that even if it is akin to Italian this is no reason why the people who speak it should be united to Italy when they prefer Austria. Of course the feeling of the people may be quite different, and especially in these times of confusion and uncertainty the Ladins may want to join the winning side. I give the above statements for what they are worth.

Hoping that all goes well with you, I remain

Yours very truly,

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE

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Paris Peace Conf. 184.011/49: Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Chargé in Switzerland
(Wilson)

PARIS, January 16, 1919.

37. [From Lansing.] Your 88, January 9th. Please inform Professor Archibald Cary Coolidge Vienna that I approve his suggestion to make use of available consular quarters there. Department also telegraphed its approval January 15th. Lansing.

AMERICAN MISSION

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*Not printed; it transmitted the message quoted by Professor Coolidge in his report of Jan 8, 1919, p. 225.*