

The U.S.S.R. and FINLAND



HISTORICAL
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Facts and
Documents



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CONTENTS

THE U.S.S.R. AND FINLAND— <i>by Alter Brody</i>	5
FINLAND'S RULERS	26
STATEMENTS BY LEADING ENGLISHMEN	29
WORLD-WIDE ATTACK ON THE U.S.S.R.....	32
DOCUMENTS OF THE CRISIS	52
a) SOVIET NOTES TO FINLAND	52
b) MOLOTOV'S BROADCAST TO THE SOVIET PEOPLE	54
c) DECLARATION OF FINNISH PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT .	57
d) TEXT OF MUTUAL AID TREATY WITH FINNISH PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT	63

*(The material in this pamphlet was compiled and edited by
the editorial staff of Soviet Russia Today)*

THE U.S.S.R. AND FINLAND

On September 29, 1939, the Soviet Union concluded a mutual assistance pact with Esthonia which was implemented by the leasing of strategic bases on Esthonian islands dominating the Gulf of Finland and the Gulf of Riga. Thus in the midst of a dangerous war situation the Soviet Union moved to preserve peace in the Eastern Baltic and end long-standing menaces to the security of its second largest city and one of its chief industrial areas.

This pact was followed by similar pacts with Latvia and Lithuania. In the pact with the latter state, which unlike the other Baltic states had never participated in anti-Soviet attacks, the Soviet Union ceded the city and district of Vilno, ancient Lithuanian capital, seized from Lithuania by Poland.

In addition to the security which these pacts brought to the three Baltic countries, they gained distinct economic advantages. Not only was their trade with the Soviet Union increased at a time when the war had cut their trade with other countries, but by getting access to the Soviet Baltic-White Sea Canal and the Soviet Railway to Murmansk, they were able to reach the Atlantic by a route safe from war hazards.

The remaining sections of the edifice of East Baltic security remained to be completed by a mutual assistance pact with Finland. Occupying the entire northern shore of the Gulf of Finland, and strategic islands in the center, Finland is in a position to scuttle any plan for ensuring Soviet security. With a width of forty-five miles the Gulf is at once too wide to be commanded by batteries from the newly-acquired ice-free Soviet bases on the southern shore and not wide enough for the Soviet fleet to move from Kronstadt to these new bases without exposure to submarine attacks and mine fields. A glance at the map will also show how Kronstadt, the fortress covering Leningrad, is exposed to attack from the islands in the eastern end of the Gulf. (See page 33.)

Thus, in the Gulf, Finland was in a position to nullify the benefits secured by the mutual assistance pacts signed

with the other three Baltic states. On the land borders Finland was similarly emplaced to threaten the security of Leningrad. Only a small strip of land on the Karelian Isthmus, well within range of Finnish batteries, separated Leningrad from the Finnish border troops.

During the Civil War and intervention (1917-1920) this constant threat from Finland prompted the Soviets to move the capital from Petrograd to safer Moscow. But with its huge population and its vital industries Leningrad, even without a capital status, is too important to face such risks. As our own diplomatic representative in Riga noted in 1920, any Russian state, whatever its form of government, would sooner or later have to rectify this situation. (See page 19.) And no other major power would have tolerated it as long as the Soviet Union did. The outbreak of the second World War, and the efforts to turn it against the U.S.S.R., gave the problem of the defense of this vulnerable approach to Leningrad a new urgency.

Negotiations with Finland

On October 7, 1939, in the spirit of the non-aggression pact which it had signed with Finland, the Soviet Union invited the Finnish Government to discuss a peaceful solution of these problems. The answer of the Finnish Government was to mobilize first and send a delegation afterwards. Such a general mobilization, always construed as an act of war, was a flagrant breach of the Soviet-Finnish Non-Aggression Pact. It was in this spirit that the Finnish Government conducted the negotiations throughout. The Soviet attitude, on the other hand, was patient and conciliatory. The Soviet Government waived its request for a mutual assistance pact such as had been concluded with the other Baltic States. For every concession it requested, it offered more than balancing territorial concessions elsewhere. It pared down its terms to the absolute minimum required for the security of Leningrad, of Murmansk and the Baltic-White Sea Canal—its own Panama Canal in the North, through which it has access for its fleets and its commerce to the Arctic and Atlantic Oceans, and which is the main artery of the new world, being created in the

North by socialist enterprise and industry.

The negotiations were protracted for a month, with the Finnish delegation confining itself to saying “no” while the Soviets made all the concessions. Since all the vital demands of the Soviets were rejected, the negotiations broke down. Making the ambiguous statement that “circumstances” would dictate which country would reopen negotiations, the Finnish delegation went home.

The implications of this statement and of the Finnish attitude throughout were not lost upon the Soviet Government. General Mannerheim had been unable to crush the revolutionary masses of his own little country without German bayonets—a whole German army corps. It was not likely that the delegates were speaking with only their own military resources in view. It was clear that offstage there were prompters—powerful forces with aims and motives of their own. And it was because of the presence of these very forces that the Soviet Union was determined to protect its security once for all. Two things were made clear by the Finnish drawing-out of the negotiations—the presence of that very danger, and the fact that there was a play for time; that gave notice that time was limited and that a decision must be made.

Cajander Takes the Offensive

Finland not only retained its unfriendly intransigence but had the effrontery to attack the Soviet mutual assistance pacts with the other Baltic States. In a public address, former Premier Cajander, to use *The New York Times*' characterization of his remarks, “expressed the deepest sympathy for Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania—’three prosperous states which, after being independent nations, have suddenly become more or less dependent on Soviet Russia. Finland feels especially concerned for the fate of her dear sister nation Esthonia.’”

Any politically-minded person reading this speech was prepared for startling developments. At the very time that the Finnish Government was proclaiming its willingness to make peace with its powerful neighbor it was making suspicious overtures to Esthonia with whom it had long ago

suggested union, taking in the Leningrad area as the point of fusion. It was this that precipitated the storm of protest in the Soviet press, that our press pretended to find so inexplicable. But the Soviet Union knew what another Finnish premier had said regarding itself and its "dear sister nation Esthonia."

What the Cajander speech meant—whether it was to be taken as the outburst of a diplomatic pyromaniac or as the first evidence that Cajander had the backing of other nations in his incendiary intervention in the good relations established between the Soviet Union and the other smaller Baltic states—was soon made clear.

Two days after these verbal fireworks of Premier Cajander, there was artillery fire which resulted in thirteen casualties of Red Army men in the suburbs of Leningrad. Then it was made clear what Cajander's apparently mad statement meant. The class interests of the Swedo-Finnish ruling class were being placed above the life and liberty of the Finnish people. This ruling class which had been selling Finland back and forth throughout its history, from Sweden to Tsarist Russia, from Tsarist Russia to Hohenzollern Germany, from Hohenzollern Germany to Britain, from Britain to Nazi Germany and now back to Britain—was willing to drag Finland into war rather than to loosen, even a little, its exploiting grip on the Finnish masses.

Since then, the sudden offers of English aid, and the aid of other nations, aid that was conspicuously withheld from Poland, is a significant revelation of the sinister situation against which the Soviet Union has had to act.

When the Soviet Government, exasperated by Finnish provocations, severed diplomatic relations, the Cajander Government went out of office. It was hoped then that the new Government would be one with which the Soviet Government could entertain new negotiations for a peaceable and complete settlement of the issues between the two Governments. It appeared, however, that the rulers of Finland had turned out the Cajander Government for fear that it would come to a peaceful settlement after all. The change in Government turned out to be a further provoca-

tion. The new Ryti Government was a mobilization of known anti-Soviet politicians.

The Soviet Government then had no recourse but to turn from that Government and open negotiations with the Finnish People's Government established in Terioki. In its declaration to the Finnish people the Terioki Government scored the readiness of the Finnish bourgeoisie to serve as a tool of the "imperialist enemies of the Finnish and Soviet peoples." It condemned the rulers of Finland for having plunged the fatherland into war with "the great friend of the Finnish people," the Soviet Union. In the critical situation it proclaimed it to be the right and duty of the masses of the Finnish toiling people to take the fate of the fatherland into their own hands. Their first act was to make a complete and mutually advantageous settlement of all outstanding issues between Finland and the Soviet Union.

The Helsinki Government in the meanwhile has shown its dependence upon foreign support. As the December 1, 1939, release of the McClure Syndicate points out:

"An ominous phrase 'two months' echoes through Finnish dispatches. Finland cannot hold out forever against Russia, but believes she can hold out 'two months.' This, it seems, is her function. What does Britain expect in two months? Possibly a consolidation of the Balkans through Turkey's good offices, while Moscow is busy in the north? Or a *coup d'état* in Germany, engineered by Thyssen and Schacht from exile—both, incidentally, good friends of Montague Norman too? Or is the cryptic reference to the American Congress, which will have time to meet and act by the end of January? Britain has a two months' plan which requires that the Finns tie the Russians up that long."

THE PRESENT AND THE PAST

Two twin facts stand out in the history of Finland and no propaganda smokescreens can erase them. The first is that after seven hundred years of Swedish domination and one hundred years of Tsarist Russian domination, without

even an attempt by the Swedo-Finnish ruling class of Finland to fight for independence, Finnish independence was finally achieved through the Russian Revolution, under the official signatures of Lenin and Stalin. The second is that while General Mannerheim and the rest of his Swedo-Finnish confreres were loyally polishing the boots of Nicholas II, the fight for Finnish freedom was led by the Social-Democratic Party of Finland which, until most of its militant members were butchered by General Mannerheim, was as revolutionary as the party of Lenin. Thus it was the revolutionary workers of Finland who fought for Finland's independence and the revolutionary workers of Russia which bestowed it on them in line with the Soviet policy toward nationalities, formulated by Stalin.

The Swedo-Finns and the Finns

Today the Swedo-Finnish ruling class of Finland, many of whom cannot speak a word of Finnish, are posing as the champions of the Finnish people against the "Russian invaders." Yet the unerasable historical record is that even under Tsarist domination this Swedo-Finnish aristocracy, of which General Mannerheim is a scion, continued to suppress the Finnish language and culture. Ethnologically and linguistically, the Finnish people, as distinct from their rulers, are much closer to certain peoples of Northern Russia and Siberia (hence the mad claims of Finnish imperialists to Russia "as far as the Urals") than to their suddenly acquired "Nordic cousins." In the Soviet fraternity of nations, where all races are absolutely equal and it is no disgrace to belong to a "non-Aryan" race, the true cousins of the Finns—the Karelians, the Mordvinians, the Ostiaks, the Kalmucks, the Samoyeds, the Marii and kindred nations—do not have to hide their linguistic affinity to the Mongolian (Uralo-Altaic) family of languages.

Until Finland was conquered by Sweden, and Karelia by the Russian city-state of Novgorod, the scattered Finnish tribes roamed those regions without territorial or racial cohesion. Christianity came to the pagan Finns as it came to the pagan Teutons—by the sword. In the end the Eastern Finns in Karelia became Russified and Greek Ortho-

dox, while the Western Finns in what is now Finland became subjects of Sweden, and Roman Catholics and Lutherans in succession.

Finland continued to be under Swedish domination from 1154 until its annexation by Tsar Alexander I in 1809. The local autonomy which Finland enjoyed as a Grand Duchy of the Swedish crown helped to give Finland a territorial unity. But culturally and linguistically the Finnish nation was in the process of being obliterated by the culture and language of the Swedish ruling class. The Swedish army of occupation intermarried with the Finns and gradually a Swedish-speaking, Swedo-Finnish colony was developed in Finland holding itself contemptuously aloof from the Finnish masses like the Anglo-Irish colony in old Ireland.

The Finnish National Revival

The Finnish peasants did not always meekly submit to the yoke of their Swedo-Finnish masters. In 1596 they rose against their oppressors in a savage Jacquerie known as the Club War. The revolt was drowned in blood.

It is significant comment on bourgeois "patriotism" that it was this same Swedo-Finnish ruling class which initiated the movement for the separation of Finland from Sweden and its annexation by Tsarist Russia. This phenomenon becomes less anomalous when the class motivation is analyzed. In the heyday of Swedish monarchical power, Finland enjoyed a high degree of local autonomy. In effect it meant that the Swedo-Finnish ruling class of Finland was free to oppress the Finnish masses without hindrance from Sweden.

In the eighteenth century when the Swedish Diet began to wrest power from the Crown, a centralized regime on a class, rather than on a regional, basis was instituted in the Swedish kingdom. Concurrently trade was increasing in Finland, particularly with England, stimulating the growth of a local bourgeoisie that did not like the competition of the Swedish bourgeoisie. As a result the Swedo-Finnish ruling class began to flirt with the idea of an autonomous Finland under the suzerainty of Tsarist Russia.

They looked enviously across the Gulf of Finland to Russian-occupied Courland and Livonia and hoped that they too would be allowed to exploit the Finnish peasantry as ruthlessly as the German Baltic barons were allowed to exploit the Esthonian and Latvian peasants.

When in 1809 Napoleon invited Alexander I of Russia to help himself to Finland in return for aid against Britain, the Russian army was welcomed by the local Swedo-Finnish aristocracy. In his book *Finland*, the historian J. Hampdon Jackson writes:

“When the Russian troops entered Turku, the capital, they were met with a civic reception. Sweden’s cause in Finland had been betrayed by the Swedo-Finnish gentry.”

Alexander I was very generous—to the Swedo-Finnish aristocracy. He gave them the “Home Rule” that they were yearning for, the rule of the 10 per cent Swedo-Finns over the 90 per cent Finns.

The aim of the Swedo-Finnish ruling class to stamp out the Finnish language in Finland was stubbornly resisted and in the latter half of the nineteenth century a nationalist Finnish revival, like the Neo-Gaelic movement in Ireland, took roots among the Finnish masses and petty bourgeoisie, flowering in a Finnish literary school. Aid came from an unexpected quarter. Realizing that a Swedish-speaking Finland might possibly rejoin Sweden, Alexander II became a patron of the Finnish revival as a political measure.

At the turn of the century, Nicholas II, under the influence of the fanatical head of the Russian Church, Pobedonostsev, initiated the only Russian attempt to Russify Finland.

The Finnish Socialist Movement

Meanwhile a new power had arisen on the political horizon of Finland, the Social-Democratic Party of Finland, which grew from a membership of 8,300 in 1902, to a party which won a clear majority in the Finnish Diet in 1916, the first Socialist Party in the world to get a parliamentary

majority.

This may be explained by the social composition of the rural population of Finland which in 1901 comprised 88 per cent of the total. Only 111,000 families or less than a quarter of the rural population owned any land at all; the rest were tenant farmers; torpparits or sharecroppers, and landless agricultural laborers. It was this vast reservoir of rural exploitation which enabled the Socialist Party of a dominantly rural country to win a majority in the Finnish Diet.

In 1905, when the first great revolutionary wave swept through Russia, the Swedo-Finnish bourgeoisie remained loyal to Tsarism. But the Finnish Social-Democratic Party rose to the occasion and struck a blow for a free Finland, a democratically-elected Diet and for social reforms. A general strike was so complete that even the local police went on strike. All the Socialist demands were granted by the Tsarist government. The Social-Democrats won 80 out of the 200 seats in the first democratic Diet of Finland.

In the counter-revolutionary period which followed upon the 1905 revolution, the national, social and political gains of 1905 were largely lost in Finland as in the rest of the empire. But the militant Social-Democratic Party of Finland knew that their time would come again and organized for the occasion. In the 1916 Diet the Social-Democrats won 103 out of the 200 seats.

The Bolshevik Revolution Brings Finland Its Independence

When the Tsarist regime was overthrown in March, 1917, the Provisional Government grudgingly restored to Finland the autonomy that the Social-Democratic Party won in 1905. But both the Lvov and Kerensky Governments refused to grant complete independence to Finland. The only Russian political party that was in favor of granting complete independence to Finland was the Bolshevik Party. Lenin always had a great admiration for the splendidly organized militant Social-Democratic Party of Finland, then in control of the Finnish Diet, and knew that a Socialist Russia would have nothing to fear from an inde-

pendent Socialist Finland. While he was still abroad, in his Letters from Afar, he wrote: "The Finnish workers are better organizers; they will help us in this and, in their own way, bring nearer the establishment of a Socialist Republic."

In his speech on the National Question he attacked the stand of the Provisional Government. "We stand for giving the Finns complete independence. That will insure their confidence in Russian democracy and when they are given the right to secede they will not do so."

In Finland, meanwhile, the Finnish Social-Democratic Party, which had been the sole champion of the Finnish people against Russian Tsarism, foreseeing the inevitable drift of Russia to a Socialist Revolution, was now becoming opposed to a complete separation from Russia. For that very reason the Swedo-Finnish bourgeoisie, which had enthusiastically collaborated with a reactionary Russia in the past, was now becoming rabidly separatist and anti-Russian.

But separation from a potentially Socialist Russia was only part of the program of the Finnish bourgeoisie. The more important part of its program was the organization of a counter-revolutionary putsch to wrest the local government from the Social-Democratic majority of the Diet and forcibly suppress the Finnish Socialist movement and the Finnish trade unions. In this the Finnish bourgeoisie were only emulating the example of the Kerenskys, Miliukovs, Kornilovs and Kaledins in Russia.

The Finnish Counter-Revolution

White Guard units sprang up throughout Finland disguised as "fire brigades" and "athletic societies." The revolutionary Finnish Social-Democratic Party of 1917 was not caught napping. On October 20 the leaders of the Finnish Trade Unions (solidly Bolshevik) announced:

"As the bourgeoisie is now feverishly arming itself against the laborers in order to stifle their most important endeavors for reform, the leaders are of the opinion that in self-defense and to provide against all

contingencies, the laborers should immediately raise corps of Guards up and down the country.”

In 1917 the bourgeois leaders vociferously denied that they were arming, but in 1923 when they were flushed with success at having suppressed the remnants of the revolutionary movement of Finland, they boastfully confessed the truth. A pamphlet (Finland’s Civil Guards) published in English by the White Guards declared:

“Happily enough at the end of October and the beginning of November, 1917, the central organization succeeded in importing one shipload of rifles, cartridges, machine guns and pistols, altogether 6,500 rifles, 25 machine guns, 2,500,000 cartridges, 800 pistols and 5,500 hand grenades.”

The boat referred to was the John Grafton commanded by a certain John Smith. The arms that were to be used to massacre the militant workers of Finland came from the same country which is now supplying arms to the Finnish fascists to attack the Soviet Union. Yet Britain was at that time an ally of Russia in the World War and Russia had not yet signed a separate peace with Germany.

How bourgeois Finland won its “independence”—from Socialism rather than from Russia—can best be told in the words of the Encyclopedia Britannica. Not that the Britannica tells the whole truth about that most fateful period of Finnish history, but even the half truths admitted in the Britannica will be startling revelations to an American public which has been blinded to the truth about Finland by a smokescreen of lies in the press and on the radio.

“The Diet resolved that it alone was competent to pass laws in Finland relating to home affairs and finance. This law of July 18, 1917, reflected the standpoint of the Social-Democratic majority which was ready to recognize Russian supremacy in military and foreign affairs. The advent of the Bolsheviks to power deepened the pro-Russian sympathies of the Finnish Social-Democrats while the Swedo-Finnish and Finnish propertied classes sought to cut adrift from Russia. On December 6, 1917, the Diet and the now bourgeois Senate drew up a declaration of independence

which is held to mark the birth of Finnish freedom. The Bolsheviks on January 4, 1918, declared that this step conformed to their policy.... The Finnish Social-Democrats, almost all Maximalists (Bolsheviks), pinned their faith on the Muscovite connection.... A hurriedly organized White army under Baron Mannerheim proved insufficient to maintain order.... Sweden refused to help but Germany did not hesitate. They sent a division initially 12,000 strong under General Rudiger and General von Golz. The German victory over the Reds contributed to Mannerheim's decisive victory at Viborg April 28, 1918, and by June 27, 1918, 73,915 Red rebels, including 4,600 women, were prisoners of war. But the cruelty of the Red insurrectionists led to a White counter-terror. Some 15,000 men, women and children were slaughtered."

To this thread, supplied by the official organ of British imperialism, one needs only string the following comments:

1. That the only democratically-elected government that Finland ever had, in declaring itself independent from Russia, freely and of its own volition recognized special Russian military and diplomatic rights exceeding those which the Soviet Union is now asking from Finland.

2. That the Finnish so-called War of Independence of 1918 was no struggle with Russia but a civil war started by the Finnish bourgeoisie, with foreign aid and instigation against the legal Social-Democratic Government of Finland for the purpose of crushing the dominant revolutionary Socialist Party and trade unions.

3. That Swedish money, arms and "volunteers," in addition to German armies, intervened on the side of the White Guards.

4. That the White-Guard putsch of the bourgeois minority would have been summarily crushed by the Socialist majority had there been no German intervention.

5. That in the heat of the first imperialist war when the British, French and German armies were slaughtering each other by the millions on the Western front, British and German imperialism were nevertheless willing to collaborate in crushing Socialism in Finland—Britain by arm-

ing the Finnish White Guard and Germany by sending an expeditionary force to aid them.

6. That the Britannica figures of the White holocaust in Finland are grossly underestimated, the figures reported in the contemporary British liberal press being about 50,000 killed in the Civil War and about 30,000 executed in cold blood, a total of 80,000 victims in a population smaller than that of Chicago. But even accepting the Britannica figure of 15,000 executions it would be equivalent proportionately to 150,000 executions in Spain and 400,000 in Germany.

Finland Becomes the First Fascist State

With the Social-Democratic majority of the Finnish Diet either killed, or in exile, the fascist rump Diet called for new elections in which all the workers and peasants who had resisted the White Guards (the Britannica underestimates it as 46 per cent of the electorate) were officially disfranchised.

This illegally-elected Diet is the parent of the present Finnish Government. One of the first acts of this fascist Diet, presided over by the notorious anti-Soviet plotter Svinhufvud, was to declare Finland a German protectorate and invite a brother-in-law of the Kaiser, Prince Friedrich Karl of Hesse, to become King of Finland. Thus the status of Finland for the rest of the war was that of a willing ally of Germany; in other words, an "enemy country" so far as Britain, France and the United States were concerned, whereas Russia, even after the Treaty of Brest Litovsk, were merely neutral. Yet a British apologist has this to say of Finland's pro-German policy in 1918: "In asking for a German monarch the Whites were putting Finland under the protection of the Power which was predominant in the Baltic, and this after all was Finland's traditional position."

Mannerheim's Role in the Allied Intervention

With the victory of the Allies it might normally be expected that the Finnish fascists would be penalized for having bet on Germany. But Britain readily forgave General Mannerheim all his pro-German sins for his meritori-

ous service in massacring the militant working class of Finland. Besides, the British had fresh work for General Mannerheim in his own line—the crushing of the militant Russian working class—and needed Finland as a base for their anti-Soviet military and naval intervention.

The role of the Finnish fascists in the Russian Civil War and Intervention has confused many historians. The Britannica records:

“When at the end of May, 1919, a British expeditionary force under General Maynard reached Lake Onega, General Mannerheim offered cooperation in return for Petrozavodsk [Soviet Karelia]. The offer being declined, a Finnish volunteer force assaulted the town nevertheless, but without success. Again, at the end of the year, when General Yudenich marched on Petrograd, General Mannerheim sounded out the Allies on Finnish intervention.”

The confusion of bourgeois historians over this period directly reflects the cross-purposes of anti-Soviet diplomacy during the intervention. The Finnish fascists, as the Britannica testifies, were more than willing to offer their expert services to help crush the young Socialist Republic. But they nursed imperialist dreams (based on the racial and linguistic affinity of the Finns to some of the Mongolian peoples of Northern Russia) of a Greater Finland stretching to the Urals and including Esthonia via Lenin-grad. The Poles had similar dreams of a Greater Poland stretching across Byelo-Russia and the Ukraine to the Black Sea.

On the other hand the White Russian generals, with whom the British were chiefly cooperating, dreamed of a strong Russian imperialist state, including the whole of the old Russian empire with all the States that had been severed from it restored. In this the White Russian leaders had qualified support from Britain and France and unqualified support from the United States. As late as 1920, when our Government was considering de facto recognition of the Baltic States, (with the exception of Finland, none of the Baltic States were at that time recognized by the Allies; only the

Soviet Union against which they were fighting had given them full recognition) our special representative at Riga said in a dispatch to the State Department:

“The leading men here (in the Baltic States) are under no illusion as to the future relation of these States to Russia, and realize full well that with an orderly well-established Government in Russia the Baltic provinces will again become part of what will probably be a federated Russia.”

Why the Finnish Rulers Made Peace with the Soviet Union

This prospect of being returned to “an orderly well-established”—i.e., capitalist—Russian government was the nightmare that haunted the dreams of the Finnish fascists while they were participating in the interventionist campaigns against the first Socialist Republic. It is true that Britain and the United States were liberally paying them for their services in the “War to Make the World Safe Against Socialism” by generous loans which were disguised subsidies. (The present Finnish “war debt” to the United States, of which the American public has heard so much, was one of these “loans.”) But it was a war in which it might be as dangerous for the Finnish fascists to win as to lose. They knew that no capitalist Russia would permit itself to be cut off from the Baltic or tolerate a frontier twenty miles from Petrograd.

Like his disciple Stalin, Lenin was not at all averse to signing treaties with states which were the prototypes of fascism, providing Socialism gained by the transaction. He cleverly played on the suspicion between the White Guard Finns and the White Guard Russians and broke the anti-Soviet united front by inducing Finland to sign a treaty of peace with the Soviets in the fall of 1920. But the Finnish fascists, knowing Soviet Russia’s desperate need for peace, compelled Russia to cede to Finland the Pechango district settled by Russians from Medieval Novgorod and containing Russia’s only ice-free port on the Arctic. Finland never had had any frontage on the Arctic. This province, which

was never part of Finland, as any pre-war map of the Grand Duchy of Finland shows, gave Finland its present outlet on the Arctic. It also gave the International Nickel Co. one of the richest nickel deposits in the world. The Finnish Government is clamoring that the cession of a few square miles on the Karelian Isthmus and the Hangoe and Rybachi Peninsulas would violate its integrity, but it is silent about the fact that its sacred territory includes a whole admittedly Russian province.

The Treaty of Dorpat by which Finland gained the Province of Pechango only whetted the appetite of the Finnish fascists. The following year Finnish "volunteers," initiating the technique which Mussolini and Hitler were to imitate in Spain, invaded Soviet Karelia. The attempted putsch failed and the volunteers were driven back to Finland. But the Finnish fascists continued to nurse their pipe dream of a Greater Finland "stretching to the Urals."

"Democratic" Finland

In the post-war years Finland, like Poland, went through the formality of becoming a "democracy." But behind the facade of "democracy," though Finnish cabinets came and went, there loomed the figure of General Mannerheim, as the figure of General Pilsudski loomed behind all Polish governments during his lifetime. And General Mannerheim's power was not based on the mere prestige of being an "elder statesman" or the "savior of his country."

Mannerheim's power rested on the Civic Guard.

"This body," says J. Hampdon Jackson in his Finland, "was a survival of the White Guard of 1918 which had been given legal recognition and a State subsidy under the Republic, on the understanding that it would act as a territorial militia to guard the country against foreign invasion and Communist conspiracy. Its numbers had grown to no less than 100,000 men and its officers were in close touch with those of the regular army."

The regular Finnish army numbers only 28,000. It is a significant comment on the fascists' distrust of the Finnish

masses that, instead of relying on a regular army to defend its borders and maintain order, the Finnish Government has to maintain an army of 100,000 storm troopers to guard against a "Communist conspiracy" in a country with one-twentieth the population of Germany.

The Finnish "democracy" outlawed the Communist Party from the very beginning, but it permitted the existence of a Social-Democratic Party just as the Hungarian dictator Horthy permitted it in White Hungary. When the emasculated Social-Democratic Party developed a Communistic Left wing calling itself the Finnish Labor Party, which won 27 seats in the elections of 1922, the Finnish fascists dropped the mask of "democracy," suppressed the Labor Party as Communist and threw its 27 deputies into prison.

The militants changed their name and by 1930 there was another Left party in the political arena with 23 seats in the Diet. In 1930 the Finnish fascists acted again, forming the notorious Lappo movement, an organization of Finnish kulaks from the district of Lappo, to "force" the Government to act against the Communists and trade unions. The Government of the anti-Soviet plotter Svinhufvud, which had itself connived at the Lappo putsch, pretending to yield to it, suppressed the new party and arrested its 23 deputies.

But the Finnish fascists never had any reason for suppressing the regular Social-Democratic Party of Finland that had developed into a party which would have made the butchered Finnish Social-Democrats of 1918 turn in their graves. Nor did the fascists do anything to alleviate the land hunger of the landless Finnish peasantry and the oppression of the Finnish proletariat that was the chief "Communist propaganda."

In 1922 a government in which the Social-Democratic Party participated (headed by Premier Kallio, now President of Finland) made a pretense at land reform and "expropriation of the large estates." The land laws which it passed, the Lex Kallio, were a mockery of the needs of the Finnish peasantry. "In the case of 500 acres and under there could be no expropriation; in estates of 1,250 acres

the maximum with which landlords could be forced to part was 62½ acres; only in estates of over 1,250 acres could expropriation reach the legal limit of 50 per cent of the uncultivated land.” Expropriation, he explained, meant that the landlords were to be liberally paid by the State in Government Bonds bearing 7 per cent interest; and the peasants were to repay that money to the State at the rate of 7 per cent per annum of the cost price, the new cottagers (the landless, houseless farmhands) paying 9 per cent.

On such terms it is obvious that only a small percentage of the impoverished landless peasantry were able to take advantage of the Lex Kallio. More than half of the Finnish peasantry is still landless. This is not a disturbing phenomenon to the Finnish timber barons, lords of Finland’s largest industry. It means there is a large class of landless agricultural laborers who lose their means of subsistence during the winter, insuring a plentiful supply of cheap labor during the lumbering season. And the Finnish trade union movement which has been crushed by the fascists every time it showed signs of recovering from the massacre of 1918 (in 1923 and again in 1930), and has since been further weakened by the reactionary leadership of the present Social-Democratic Party, is in no position to protect these exploited workers.

A special U.S. Department of Commerce bulletin of November 30, 1939, declares in part:

“Trade unions, although they have played some part in wage disputes in Finland, have little influence in comparison with the trade unions in the Scandinavian countries and the organized labor movement is not highly developed.”

And this in a country where a so-called Socialist Party is by far the largest political party, with 84 out of the 200 seats in the Diet. The much touted Finnish cooperative is an organization controlled by the Finnish kulaks, a Finnish edition of the Associated Farmers of California.

Preparations for a New Intervention

But the Finnish fascists had other interests. Until Nazi

Germany took their place, Finland, Poland and Rumania were regarded as the spearheads of the contemplated Anglo-French attack on the Soviet Union that was to have been launched in 1930. Defense against this attack, delayed by the world depression, was a factor in rushing the completion of the First Five-Year Plan.

With the emergence of Nazi Germany and the consequent threat to Poland and Rumania, the participation of these two countries in the anti-Soviet drive became less certain. But never that of Finland. The Finnish "democracy" turned to Nazi Germany like a flower to the sun and never wavered in its loyalty until the rude shock of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact. Only the other day The New York Times editorially reproached Hitler for "betraying his Finnish friend and protégé."

At a meeting in Rominten, East Prussia, in 1935, plans for an attack on the Soviet Union were discussed. Goering represented Germany, General Mannerheim represented Finland, Prince Radziwell represented Poland and Premier Goemboes represented Hungary. The London Times (October 15, 1935), said of the meeting that not only air armaments had been discussed but that naval and military ideas had been exchanged, and "Finland (whose strategical position for naval operations is talked of) and even Rumania have been drawn in. Even Japan is suspected of figuring in these dreams of the future." During this period Germany took a hand in fortifying Finland for an eventual anti-Soviet attack. Finland, all told, has an estimated air-drome space ten times her own requirements and adapted for use by foreign powers.

So long as the post-war status quo was maintained in the Baltic, the Soviet Union accepted the precarious position of Leningrad, its chief sea outlet and military key to all of Northern Russia. The Soviet Union knew that the East Baltic countries were economic colonies of British imperialism—its creatures and its tools. But it was reassured by the distance that separated British imperialism from its dangerous tools. With the re-arming of Germany under the Nazis, a re-arming fostered by Britain for its own purposes, the situation in the Baltic was radically altered so far

as the Soviet Union was concerned.

The Soviet Union was well aware of the fact that not only its chief sea outlet but the entire Soviet North, which was connected to Leningrad by the great Baltic-White Sea Canal, was at the mercy of any great power that controlled the Baltic States. And there was no doubt about which great power was the preference of these States. The Baltic States themselves made it brazenly clear. As recently as last summer, during the negotiations for a proposed Anglo-French-Soviet Alliance to halt Nazi aggression, The New York Times was full of the iterations of the Governments of Finland, Latvia and Esthonia about preferring Nazi Germany to Communist Russia in a crisis, just as the Polish landowners went down in history as preferring Nazi conquest to permitting the Red Army to pass through their Ukrainian and Byelo-Russian estates.

The sudden desire of Finland to fortify the Aland Islands dominating the northern Baltic was a concrete instance of this preference which the Soviet Union could not ignore. It was the Anglo-French refusal during the Anglo-French-Soviet negotiations to accede to Soviet demands for measures to insure against foreign control of the strategic Baltic States which helped to convince Soviet diplomacy that Chamberlain's anti-Nazi protestations were not genuine and that his real purpose was still the organization of a four-power pact against the Soviet Union. Finland now announces that the Aland Islands, which it had pledged itself not to fortify, in accord with a League of Nations decision, are already partly fortified.

Through the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact the attempt to organize an anti-Soviet London-Berlin alliance was temporarily thwarted. But the position of the Soviet Union in the Baltic remained precarious. Leningrad, which with the surrounding regions is one of the vital Soviet industrial centers, remained exposed. A successful surprise thrust at Leningrad through the Finnish Gulf, which was controlled up to the very gates of Leningrad by States that had already served as bases for anti-Soviet adventures, might cut the country in two. In a period of imperialist war, with powerful belligerents watchful to take advantage

of every changing situation, the Soviet Union could afford no risks.

A warning of what might happen was given in the escape of an interned Polish submarine, with the connivance of the Esthonian Government. A Soviet ship was sunk and revealed how easily Soviet shipping could be blocked in the narrow Gulf of Finland.

Bolting the Door on Intervention

Then and there the Soviet Union decided to stabilize finally the Baltic situation by declaring what amounts to a Soviet Monroe Doctrine over the Gulf of Finland and its Baltic approaches. This called for military, naval and aviation bases; and just as the United States leased Guantanamo Bay from the sovereign state of Cuba and the Panama Canal Zone from the sovereign state of Panama, giving all the Americas security, so the Soviet Union, for the protection of the entire East Baltic area, leased bases from Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania. But there is this difference. The action of the Soviet Union has nothing in common with the imperialist exploitation which American business interests have carried on behind the cloak of the Monroe Doctrine.

These agreements were peacefully negotiated and accepted by Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania with satisfaction because of the economic advantages and the security achieved for them through these pacts. To complete the process the U.S.S.R. opened similar negotiations with the Finnish Government.

A peaceful agreement was desired not only by the Soviet people, but by the Finnish people, and the people of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania who did not wish to see their newly-achieved security menaced by an Achilles heel in Finland. But the rulers of Finland, acting as they have done before, in alliance with foreign interests against the interests of the Finnish people, preferred the bloody gamble of war to the course of peaceful negotiation. They preferred to try to keep Finland as what the London Times had declared it to be in 1919: "The key to Petrograd; and Petrograd is the key to Moscow."

ALTER BRODY

FINLAND'S RULERS

Shortly before the outbreak of the war between Germany and the Allies an illuminating book, called *Tory M. P.*, appeared in England.

The book analyzed the financial connection, the social ties, the club affiliations and the publicly expressed opinions of a considerable number of the Tory Members of Parliament, whose party has openly ruled England since the betrayal of Ramsay MacDonald. What emerged from this study was a sort of group portrait of the British ruling class which revealed its fascist face and made understandable its readiness to sacrifice the small European peoples and finally its own people to its class imperialist interests.

A similar study of the leaders of the Finnish ruling class would be of equal value here. We have not the space here for a detailed analysis, but sufficient facts are available concerning leading members of the present rulers of Helsinki to make their class connections clear, and explain their readiness to sacrifice the Finnish people to their class interests.

Let us begin with the present premier, Risto Ryti. While the White Terror in Finland was still at its height in 1919 he became a deputy to the Finnish Diet. In 1921 he was appointed Finance Minister. In 1923 he became the head of the Bank of Finland and has remained at its head ever since.

United Press dispatches refer to him as an "international banker connected with leading banking circles in London and Wall Street and a friend of Montague Norman, head of the Bank of England." At the London Economic Conference in 1933 this representative of an "independent power" voted loyally for Britain on every issue. He holds a British honorary title, Knight Commander of the Royal Victorian Order. The *New York Evening Post*, December 1, 1939, commented:

"The British Crown confers such honors only on foreign royalty or on prominent individuals who have earned the gratitude of the British Government for being unusually cooperative. Ryti rated his title because as Governor of the Bank of Finland he worked

hand in hand with the Bank of England. He kept Finnish currency closely tied to the pound sterling.”

Former Prime Minister Eljas Erkko is a rich man by inheritance who has added to the family fortunes. He is the owner of one of the biggest Finnish newspapers. The Helsinki Sanomat. In 1918 he was an officer of the White Guard, the Finnish counterpart of the Storm Troopers, which has kept Finland in a vigilante atmosphere ever since 1918. Although he has always had a pro-British orientation he had no objections to bringing in German soldiers to help crush the Socialist Republic established in independent Finland.

The political party to which he belonged—the Progressive Party—has had a liberal wing and a reactionary wing. Erkko is one of the leaders of the latter. He has been a close coworker of T. M. Kivimaki, Prime Minister in the pro-fascist administration of President Svinhufvud, just as he has been a bitter opponent of Holsti, who belonged to the liberal wing of his party. Holsti, as the first foreign minister in the Cajander cabinet, won the hatred of Erkko by advocating friendlier relations with the Soviet Union and admitting, on a visit to Moscow, that Finland owed its independence to the Bolsheviks. Erkko forced Holsti’s resignation and became Foreign Minister in his place.

Vaino Tanner, Ryti’s Foreign Minister, is a Social-Democrat. He has followed the compromising policy that has disgraced the Social-Democrats everywhere. The Social-Democrats have, from the beginning of Finland’s independence, been the largest party in the country; but after the Mannerheim butchery of its predominantly Bolshevik membership in 1919 they offered no resistance to reaction and have made compromises with Finnish fascism. During the worst period of the Lappo (Finnish fascist) drives, Tanner placed the responsibility for the outrages on the chief victims—the Communists. He defended the inaction of the Finnish Government during the outrages in these terms: “The Social-Democrats consider that the Government has no other way out, for who could expect it to dispatch troops to protect Communist printing plants?” At

another time he made the statement that "The Social-Democrats pursue the same aims as the Lappo movement."

The military head of the Government is General Carl Gustave Mannerheim, to whom the Finnish people gave the name, "The Butcher." Member of the old Swedish aristocracy that still strongly tinges the upper class of Finland, he had a high position at the court of Tsar Nicholas II, and was one of the two officers who escorted the Tsar at his coronation. Following the bloody suppression of an uprising in Persia Mannerheim received recognition as a butcher for imperialism by a gift of a golden sword from the Tsar. Mannerheim served the Tsar again in the Russo-Japanese and the World War. When Finland won its independence and a Socialist government was established, Mannerheim headed the White counter-revolution, and with the help of a German army he destroyed the young democracy of Finland. A German prince was appointed king but never reigned, the Allied victory making this unfeasible. Mannerheim acted as regent, until the "republic" which he has controlled ever since, in Pilsudski style, was established in 1919.

Mannerheim cooperated with the Russian White Guard General Yudenich, who was supported by England, in the attack upon Petrograd and later organized the attack on Soviet Karelia and was the central figure in all anti-Soviet aggression plans. He won his butcher's title during the White Terror in 1918-19, when some 30,000 workers were killed and 90,000 were put in concentration camps. The cruelties he practiced shocked even the capitalist world, which now conveniently forgets them. In the Mannerheim blood debauch even schoolboys were executed at his orders.

When after ten years the Finnish labor movement revived, Mannerheim was behind the organization of the Finnish fascist Lappo movement which by lynching and destruction, winked at by the Government, again destroyed working class organizations and newspapers.

These four figures are a representative sampling. It remains to be noted that in the reactionary Ryti cabinet the Minister of Labor is the banker, R. von Fiantt.

STATEMENTS BY LEADING ENGLISHMEN

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

“No power can tolerate a frontier from which a town such as Leningrad could be shelled when she knows that the power on the other side of the frontier, however small and weak it may be, is being made by a foolish government to act in the interests of other great powers menacing her security.

“Finland would probably not have refused the Russian offer had she been acting on her own or in her own interests, but Russia believes that Finland thinks she has the backing of America and other Western powers.”

Asked, “what conceivable defense can you make for this Soviet attack on Finland?” Shaw replied without hesitation: “I think the explanation is perfectly simple. Finland had been misled by a very foolish government. She should have accepted Russia’s offer for the readjustment of territory. She should have been a sensible neighbor?”

He said the Finns obviously believed that they had the support of the United States or they would not have taken the stand they did against a nation so much stronger.

“It is not at all a question of Russia, a great power, attempting to subject Finland, which is a small power,” he said. “It is a question of Russia seeing to her own security. In Russia’s view Finland can have no defensible objection to the carrying out of the exchange of territories for which Russia asked—unless she is allowing herself to be used by America or another Western Power.

“There can be no possibility of Finland planning any attack on Russia by herself, nor would any of the territories, which Russia asked her to transfer, enable her alone to defend herself effectively against Russia.”—London Daily Mail, Dec. 2.

VERY REVEREND HEWLETT JOHNSON,
DEAN OF CANTERBURY

“It would have been wisdom and kindness on our part if we had urged Finland to meet Russia’s desire to remove the possibility of guns placed only twenty miles away from

the heart of the area which possesses a quarter of her industrial activities.

"I deplore the situation which might have been wholly avoided, together with the war itself, had we not spurned Russian friendship and thwarted her efforts to make the League of Nations a success.

"Russia feared with reason a united Western attack. We through many years desired Germany to be the spearhead of that attack. Many influential persons still desire and work for it. Russia knows that."

H. G. WELLS

"There is much to be said for the preventive security measures being taken by the Soviet Government."

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS, M.P.

"In the long run, I am convinced, it is of supreme importance to the workers all over the world that a strong and powerful Russia should survive.

"And I, for one, see no reason for blaming Russia, in a situation into which she has been driven by the capitalist governments of the world, for taking every step to strengthen her position.

"But for the German Nazi influence in Finland and the anti-Soviet feeling stirred up, it is probable that the exchange of territory would have been accepted and everyone would have commented on how sensible it was.

"Now, naturally, all of Russia's enemies talk about the sacredness of Finnish democracy, not because they love democracy but because they hate Russia."

CAPTAIN HARRY GRENFELL, M.P.

"This government [England] has already made secret commitments with Esthonia and Finland for the use of the airdromes in those countries for British aircraft operating against the U.S.S.R.... The commitments appear to have been in existence at least ten years." —Labour Monthly, June, 1939.

JOSHUA WEDGEWOOD, LABOR M.P.

“Mannerheim crushed in blood the revolt of the Finnish workers and farmers in 1918 against the dictatorship of the White Guard Finnish generals, bankers and landlords....

“Nonetheless Mannerheim continues to rule Finland. Neither from a humanitarian viewpoint nor from considerations of liberty can one regret the changes which will lead to Mannerheim’s removal.”—London News Chronicle, December 9, 1939.

WORLD-WIDE ATTACK ON THE U.S.S.R.

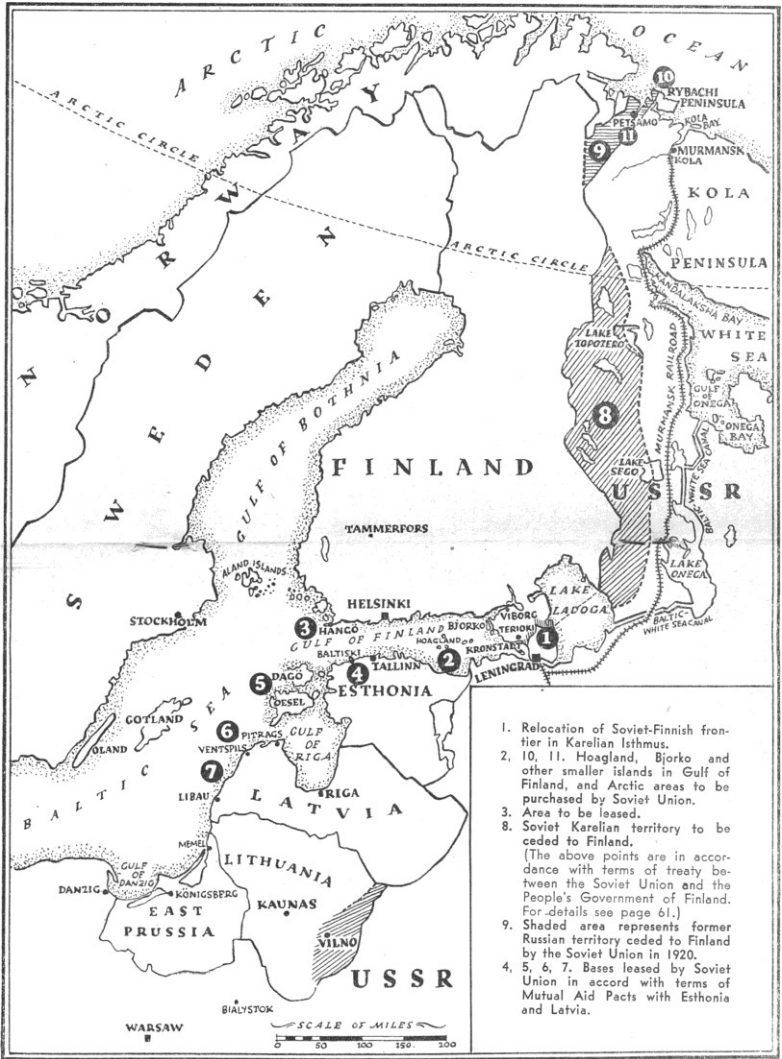
INTERVENTION—1917-1939

From the moment the Soviets took power, the forces of world imperialism lined up to destroy the first Socialist Republic. Internal divisions among these forces have prevented a united attack, and the inherent powers of growth and progress in the Soviet Union have strengthened it continuously as its opponents have grown weaker. Nevertheless, though it has taken new forms, that war has never stopped.

Fourteen countries participated in armed intervention to overthrow the Bolsheviks. Counter-revolutionary generals who found no support within Soviet Russia were supplied by the Allies with money, material and munitions. But armed intervention and counter-revolution failed. The people's will prevailed. So new methods were sought to fight the Soviets.

The anti-Soviet ring used starvation as one of its weapons. By blockade they sought to prevent the Soviets from building a stable state. By setting up a cordon sanitaire in the Baltic they sought to choke Socialism at home and keep it from spreading abroad. By the organization of terrorism, assassination, sabotage, they sought to destroy it from within. By the wildest forgeries they sought to discredit the Soviet Government and to keep it an outlaw in the society of nations. By an unceasing campaign of lies and vilification they sought to blind the world to Socialist progress and achievements.

Turning their attention to the grooming of other powers for an anti-Soviet drive, British and French imperialism helped to re-arm Germany, and by their hypocritical "non-intervention" policy encouraged Berlin, Rome and Tokyo to seize Manchuria and continue the dismemberment of China; and to destroy the independence of Ethiopia, Austria, Spain, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Memel. They expected their fascist Frankenstein to turn then against the Soviet Union and engage it in a mutually destroying combat.



1. Relocation of Soviet-Finnish frontier in Karelian Isthmus.
- 2, 10, 11. Hoagland, Bjorko and other smaller islands in Gulf of Finland, and Arctic areas to be purchased by Soviet Union.
3. Area to be leased.
8. Soviet Karelian territory to be ceded to Finland.
(The above points are in accordance with terms of treaty between the Soviet Union and the People's Government of Finland. For details see page 61.)
9. Shaded area represents former Russian territory ceded to Finland by the Soviet Union in 1920.
- 4, 5, 6, 7. Bases leased by Soviet Union in accord with terms of Mutual Aid Pacts with Esthonia and Latvia.

The Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact Upsets Intervention Plans

Meanwhile, however, the Soviet Union struggled valiantly for the peace it needed to complete the building of Socialism, and to save the workers of the world from a new blood bath. But the forces of peace and progress within the imperialist nations were themselves too weak and divided to prevail over their reactionary governments. When it became clear that the British and French Governments, under the cover of peace negotiations, were still working to turn fascist aggression against the land of Socialism, the U.S.S.R. took the only possible alternative. It concluded a Non-Aggression Pact with Germany, smashed the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis, and shattered the whole structure of anti-Soviet strategy.

Great Britain and France then declared war against Germany. The Soviet leaders knew this was not the war for which Chamberlain and Daladier had planned. The next phase of Allied strategy soon became apparent—setting up a new government in Germany which would carry out the role assigned to Hitler, and finding other nations to act as catspaws. If all else failed, there remained the possibility of turning their own guns against the Soviet Union.

By another swift and brilliant stroke, the Soviet Union moved into Eastern Poland when the Polish Government, lacking support at home and not receiving the support promised by Britain, collapsed. This move cut off Hitler's drive down through Southeastern Europe. It cut off his approach to the Soviet Union through the Baltic. It liberated 13,000,000 oppressed White Russians, Ukrainians and Jews, and extended the area of Socialism and peace.

Following this the Soviet Union secured itself against possibility of invasion through the Baltic by the pacts with Esthonia, Lithuania and Latvia. A similar pact with Finland would have brought complete security for the Soviet Union and for the whole East Baltic region. When Finland refused to grant even the minimum Soviet requirements, it became clear that it was not acting alone and that the

forces of world imperialism were making a final desperate effort to keep open this last avenue for invasion of the Soviet Union.

The Role of Finland in Intervention

It was not “little Finland” with its 3,670,000 inhabitants that menaced the mighty Socialist country of 183,000,000. It was and is the combined anti-Soviet forces throughout the world, determined to destroy the workers’ and farmers’ state, daily increasing in might and influence.

To understand this it is helpful to examine the special role assigned to Finland in the succession of plots to destroy the Soviet Union. Particularly illuminating are the volumes issued by the State Department, Foreign Relations, 1918, Russia, Vols. I and II and Foreign Relations, Russia, 1919, from which the quotations in the following pages are taken.

These volumes reveal that while never assuming as aggressively hostile an attitude as the British, the United States tailed along after the British throughout the whole intervention period, permitted the slaughter of hundreds of American and Russian soldiers in a lawless, undeclared war against the Government which had the support of the people, while supplying arms, food and materials to the counter-revolutionary forces, repudiated and defeated by the Russian people.

With regard to Finland, the volumes reveal that American representatives opposed its independence under the regime of the Provisional Government and supported its independence after the establishment of the Soviet regime in Russia—and then only after the Finnish reactionaries were in the saddle.

Thus, on July 24, 1917, we find North Winship, American Consul at Petrograd, reporting to the State Department on the results of what he terms a “mutinous rising” of the Bolsheviks on July 16, 17, 18:

“A further evil result of the mutiny lies in the excuse it gave the Social-Democratic majority of the Finnish Seim to pass its law declaring Finland’s inde-

pendence of Russia in all respects except as to foreign affairs and the military necessities of war.”

Two months later David R. Francis, last American Ambassador to Tsarist Russia, cabled to the Secretary of State that the situation in Finland was bad. The army and fleet were refusing to obey the orders of the Government to prevent sessions of the Diet.

While Ambassador Francis had cabled for and secured prompt recognition of the Provisional Government, when the Bolsheviks took power he urged the United States Government to take no action that could in any way be construed as recognition of the new regime. He even interfered openly in the affairs of the Soviet Government, attempting to incite the people against it: “A powerful enemy is at your gates. A desperate foe is sowing the seeds of dissension in your midst.... I appeal to you to be watchful of your true interests, and I make this appeal on behalf of my Government and my people....”

On March 3, 1918, the Soviet Republic was forced to sign the robber peace of Brest-Litovsk with Germany to save the Revolution.

Germany, in violation of the terms of the treaty, advanced against the Soviet Republic, in cooperation with Finland. During the next few months reports by American representatives to the State Department contained repeated rumors of an impending German-Finnish advance into Murman Peninsula. This caused consternation among the Allies chiefly because their own troops had been stationed there, on the pretext of protecting the Murmansk Railroad. Reporting these rumors Ambassador Francis added: “Finland is still covetously endeavoring to secure more Soviet territory.”

American Armed Intervention

June of 1918 found the American Ambassador still wishfully prophesying the quick collapse of the Soviet Government, striving to make his prophecy come true by supporting anti-Soviet movements and violently agitating against American recognition of the Soviets.

In July, DeWitt C. Poole, United States Consul in Moscow, telegraphed the Secretary of State in Washington urging "immediate intervention in Siberia for the purpose of supporting the Czechoslovaks and the new Siberian Government." The sequel was the dispatch in August of the ill-fated American military expedition of 7,000 men to Siberia. The story of Siberian intervention has been told fully by General William S. Graves, its commander, in his *America's Siberian Adventure*. General Graves himself sought valiantly to carry out the ostensible purposes of the expedition, which were to help bring the Czechoslovak deserters from the Austrian army to the western front, and to protect Allied supplies. Actually he found himself expected to help the Czechs wage war on the Bolsheviks, to aid Japan in cutting off the Soviet Far East, and to be a party to the counter-revolutionary attempts of the notorious scoundrel, Semionov.

The occupation of Archangel by the Allied forces took place on August 2. The local Soviet was deposed and the counter-revolutionary "Supreme Government of the Northern Region" headed by Tchaikowsky was set up. Ambassador Francis had already moved his embassy to Archangel in defiance of Soviet requests to come to Moscow.

Ambassador Francis cabled to Secretary of State Lansing:

"New Government claims jurisdiction over six provinces, but freedom of action limited exclusively to territory occupied by Allied forces.... British military complain because some Russians suspicious of British and French intentions and resent foreign domination.... I think new government should be encouraged and strengthened in every way possible, as its overthrow would prolong civil dissension and greatly strengthen Bolsheviki and perpetuate Soviet Government..."

Later Francis reported that this Government "would not have succeeded if the Allied forces had not landed, neither would it survive if Allied troops were taken away..."

On September 4, 4,800 American troops on three

transports arrived at Archangel to help this counter-revolutionary "government" of the North in its attempts to overthrow the Soviets which came to power by the will of the Russian people.

When the local population rose against the "Supreme Government of the Northern Region," the Allied Ambassadors themselves stepped in and brought the deposed ministers back again. American Consul Cole at Archangel, reporting on the reception of British General Poole and the Allied troops, remarked "the working class was conspicuously absent." Thereafter Allied troops under the British General Ironside took part in shooting and imprisoning loyal Soviet workers. The interventionists supported a local White army under command of General Miller, which was supposed to join forces with Kolchak. By October 10 Ambassador Francis was urging that the Allies take Petrograd and Moscow.

Enter Mannerheim—and the Germans

In considering the role of Finland during this period, it must be remembered that after Soviet recognition of the independence of Finland early in 1918, the Finnish bourgeoisie sought help both from the Allies and Germans in fighting its own revolutionary workers, offering Finland as a base for anti-Soviet attacks. At the end of January the Finnish Bolsheviks were gaining control, and the British Minister to Sweden telegraphed his Government to encourage Sweden to send aid to the Finnish reactionaries.

By February 7 well-armed White Guards, under command of General Mannerheim, suddenly appeared all over Northern Finland. Shortly after, Ira Nelson Morris, American Minister to Sweden, advocated withholding recognition of Finnish independence since the Reds were in Helsingfors and urged sending food to the Northern section where the Whites were in control.

On February 19, Ambassador Francis cabled approvingly of Mannerheim:

"The White Guards, comprising an army of patriots totaling about 50,000 well-drilled and disciplined

men and under command of Mannerheim, a Russian-Finnish general distinguished in the present and in the Russo-Japanese war, who is virtually dictator, is in absolute control of all Finland north of line Bjorneborg-Tammerfors-Viborg..."

Meantime, however, the Finnish Whites had entered into relations with Germany. On March 11, Thornwell Haynes, American Consul at Helsingfors, cabled:

"According to arrangement with White Guards, Germans are landing at Hangoe to take Helsingfors and drive Reds from Finland in order to restore order. German airplanes over Helsingfors."

The Germans captured Helsingfors for the Whites. Six days later the British recognized the Finnish Government, put into power with the bayonets of Britain's enemy. Mannerheim, to hold German support, made this extraordinary statement:

"The Germans' victorious and mighty army landed in Finland to help against the infamous Bolsheviks, and to help the friendship the Finnish people have always had for the noble Kaiser and mighty German people.... I greet the brave German troops and hope that every Finn will realize the great sacrifice of the noble German people who are helping them in an hour when every man is needed on the Western front."

But now the Germans had no further use for Mannerheim, who went to Stockholm to seek Allied support. Wrote Minister Morris from Sweden to Assistant Secretary of State Polk, on June 14:

"General Mannerheim has severed his connections with the Finnish Government.... He states that with the German situation in Finland what it is he does not desire personally to live there. In future it may be well to bear this in mind should some opportune time come in which General Mannerheim could be of service to us."

A few weeks later, Morris telegraphed again:

“I have had several conferences with General Mannerheim.... Regarding intervention in Russia he felt that this was the correct thing to do...”

Mannerheim and the Allies

But the path of intervention was not entirely smooth. Haynes noted in alarm the pro-Bolshevik sentiment among the Finns, and reported that the withdrawal from production of 75,000 Red prisoners (the work of that great patriot Mannerheim) accentuated famine conditions. In November, however, he was advocating recognition of Mannerheim as Regent of a new government.

“Notwithstanding the increasing peril of Bolshevism,” he wrote on November 12, “Finland under the new regime hopes to be able to defend itself on the eastern frontier if the United States will help it.... It seems advisable that naval and military forces be ready to come at the earliest opportunity.”

The war between the Allies and Germany came to an end. The undeclared war on the Soviets went on. On November 16 Haynes reported:

“According to a decision reached yesterday, the Senate and the Diet have agreed to entrust General Mannerheim with the forming of a new government.... New general elections are fixed by February or March, by which time it is hoped that the Entente will be able to cope with the Bolshevik danger, which has been hitherto the principal objection to leaving existing mooted questions to the decision of the people....”

On November 22, Mr. Polk notified Haynes that although the Department was not yet ready to recognize Finland's independence, 5,000 tons of food were on their way to Mannerheim. At that very time Mannerheim was involved with a certain Trepov in a plot to make Grand Duke Alexander Mikhailovich Tsar of Russia. Morris, Minister to Sweden, reported on December 16 to the Secretary of State:

“...Through Mannerheim’s mediation Trepov received 500,000 marks in advance from the Finnish treasury and it was planned he would follow Mannerheim’s troops on entering Petrograd. In compensation Finland was to receive Karelia and would be guaranteed that Aland would not be ceded to Sweden....”

On October 12, a month before the armistice, Whitehouse, the American Chargé in Stockholm, indicated how much greater was Allied hostility to the Bolsheviks than to their enemy Germany:

“It is the opinion of those American, English and French officials with whom I have talked that the departure of the German and Austrian troops from the Baltic provinces and Ukraine would lead immediately to disturbances and shortly thereafter to Bolshevik intervention. In the event of an armistice with the Central Powers it would seem, therefore, advisable not to insist on the immediate evacuation of these territories until we are in a position to send Allied troops. There can be no doubt that the Bolshevik cause would be greatly strengthened by the evacuation of these territories and the task of restoring Russia correspondingly more difficult....”

With the signing of the armistice, the pretext of Allied occupation of Archangel for the purpose of protecting Allied supplies from falling into the hands of the Germans was removed, but the Allied troops continued their undeclared war on the Soviets. By now, according to Poole, American Chargé at Archangel, there was “an obligation to the inhabitants of this region who would be exposed if we withdrew to severe Bolshevik reprisals... and an even more important obligation to all Russia to protect her from economic exploitation by creditor nations...”

Mannerheim was consolidating his rule by a terror that was arousing indignant protest throughout the world. But this did not deter the Allies from continuing to support him. On February 20, 1919, Grant Smith, the American Chargé in Copenhagen, reported:

“In interview with naval attaché yesterday Gen-

eral Mannerheim stated that his army was willing and capable of defeating the Bolsheviki in Northern Russia. Mannerheim stated his willingness to commence hostilities immediately if encouraged to do so by the Allies and assured that the United States would hasten sending food supplies to Finland.”

Robert W. Imbrie, American Vice Consul at Viborg, also urged haste. On March 2 he wrote:

“Have had several conferences with heads of Russian Whites. They have, with the knowledge and consent of the Finnish Government, perfected a military organization numbering 10,000 volunteers. The object of this organization is the capture of Petrograd, and afterward Moscow and the overthrow of the Bolsheviks.... If the United States Government thinks favorably of sending food in support of the Whites, I cannot too strongly urge necessity of immediate action.... Even a month’s delay may be fatal to the project.”

In due time Herbert Hoover came to the aid of Mannerheim and of the counter-revolutionary General Yudenich. Foodstuffs stored at Reval and Viborg, sent for the relief of starving Russian children, went to the army of intervention.

“The Way Lies Through the Finnish Army”

On July 11 Imbrie reported:

“...From the Finnish-Russian border Petrograd was menaced with an advance and in the opening days of the month a volunteer Finnish army advancing into Karelia took Olonetz and threatened Petrograd from the north.... Early in May the Russian White detachment which had originated in Pskov... advanced in the direction of Petrograd finally stopping at Gatchina, 45 versts southwest of the city.... They were, however, without sufficient food... the force therefore ceased its advance, merely taking steps to protect its flanks. In this latter operation Krasnaya Gorka, on the Finnish Gulf, was, with the assistance of the British fleet, captured.... There re-

mains, however, one way, aside from a campaign by an international expeditionary force in which the capture of Petrograd and the consequent overthrow of the Bolsheviks may be accomplished. This way lies through the Finnish army.”

Imbrie outlined the plan:

“...The Finnish Government is aware that its political salvation is dependent upon the overthrow of the Bolsheviks before its own country becomes impregnated with the leprosy of Bolshevism, It is aware that its economic salvation is contingent upon the opening up of Russia so that what is now the closed door of Finland may become the open front door.... From sources so high that they may almost be considered official, I have been informed that the Finnish Government only awaits the sanction of the Allied Governments to launch its attack.

“An agreement has been reached between the Russian Whites, under which General Yudenich, representing the Kolchak Government, and the Finns are willing to attack. What these terms are, I have been unable to ascertain, but in all probability they embrace the granting of an open, ice-free port to Finland in the White Sea and possibly the cession of the west shore of Lake Onega.

“The Finnish army is quite capable of taking Petrograd and no time seems as propitious as the present. If the Bolsheviks are not crushed this summer their strength and prestige will be increased not only in Russia but in contiguous countries. Certainly it may be expected that Finland may very well fall under the disease....

“I trust the Department may not consider it presumptuous on my part to point out, for I feel it my duty to do so, that the consummation of this condition may be effected, as I have indicated, without the loss of a single American life or the expenditure of a single American dollar, by giving sanction to the advance of the Finnish forces and that I may be permitted to urge that such sanction and approval be communicat-

ed by our Government to the Finnish Government.”

Permission to launch the attack here outlined came from the American Peace Mission at Versailles. On July 16 a cable from the Mission requested the Allied representative at Helsingfors “To inform the Government of General Mannerheim that in case he thought he ought to follow up the request for action of Admiral Kolchak, the Allied Governments, without bringing any pressure on the Finnish Government, would have no objection to raise against this operation...

On August 16 Imbrie reported that the British had loaned £6,000,000 to the Finnish Government on condition that the Finns should mobilize for an offensive on Petrograd.

Secretary of State Lansing gave his blessing to the whole affair in a message to the Chargé in Russia, on September 4:

“Regard with deep and sympathetic interest efforts now being made by . . . elements associated with Admiral Kolchak, and is hopeful that means will develop by which Russia may be assisted toward a happy outcome of the efforts of her people to regain control of their own affairs [sic].”

Armed Intervention Falls

Intervention failed in its counter-revolutionary designs. Mutinies were spreading among Allied troops. White Generals were everywhere meeting defeat. The bulk of the American forces were withdrawn from Archangel in July, 1919, and the British forces withdrew during August and September; but the anti-Soviet intrigues went on.

No longer able to rely upon their own war-weary soldiers the imperialist powers now had to be content with building up bases in the Baltic states against the time when a more active intervention could be resumed, with backing the Polish attack and supporting the counter-revolutionary remnants still to be found within Russia. On January 2, 1920, a conference was held in Helsingfors of representatives of the Finnish, Polish, Lithuanian and Es-

thonian Governments to consider “their mutual interests.” When the Finnish Minister in Washington inquired of Breckinridge Long, Assistant Secretary of State, what support could be expected from America, Long reported his reply:

“I told him... that he might feel that the Government of the United States viewed sympathetically any action which the Government of Finland might take which would react to strengthening that government, and which might also act as a barrier against the spread of Bolshevism.”

The role of England and Finland was analyzed by Lenin in his speech on December 1, 1920, at the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets:

“Churchill, who is pursuing a policy similar to that pursued by Nicholas Romanov, wants to fight and is fighting, and is completely ignoring Parliament; he boasted that he would mobilize fourteen states against Russia—this was in 1919—he would take Petrograd in September and Moscow in December. He was a little too loud in his boastings. He staked everything on the fact that everywhere in these small states there is a hatred for Russia, but he forgot that these small states clearly understand who Yudenich, Kolchak and Denikin are. There was a time when they were a few weeks removed from complete victory. During Yudenich’s advance, when he was not far from Petrograd, the Times, the richest English newspaper, published a leading article—I myself read this leading article—in which it begged, ordered and demanded of Finland: Help Yudenich, the eyes of the whole world are turned upon you, you will save liberty, civilization and culture throughout the world—march against the Bolsheviks! This was England speaking to Finland—England who has the whole of Finland in its pocket, England speaking to Finland who is up to her neck in debt, who does not even date to squeak, because without England she has not enough bread to last her a week....” (Lenin on Britain, page 186.)

Against the time when intervention could be tried again, a British military mission, headed by General Kirke of the British Army Staff, visited the Helsinki Government in 1924-25. The purpose of the visit was joint supervision, with General Mannerheim, of the construction of the present "Mannerheim line" of fortresses and trenches along the coast of Finland and the Isthmus of Karelia, facing the Soviet Union.

The Intervention Conspiracies of 1927-1930

In the trial of the leaders of the so-called Industrial Party in 1930 there came to light details of new Franco-British plans for armed intervention, originally set for 1928, then postponed to 1930 and again postponed to 1931. Here, again, Finland figures conspicuously.

The Industrial Party consisted of a small group of intellectuals who had never accepted the Revolution. Because of their technical training, many had been given important positions in the State Planning Commission and in various industrial commissariats. Here they organized a counter-revolutionary group and attempted to lay the groundwork for a counter-revolutionary attempt, by widespread sabotage and wrecking activities. Realizing that the Soviet State could not be destroyed from within, they began, in 1927, to make contacts with the interventionists, through a group of former Russian industrialists known as the Torgprom, living in France. By these gentlemen they were put in touch with the British and French general staffs and British capitalists, among them representatives of Vickers, the munitions manufacturers, and the oil magnate, Deterding. From these sources, the conspirators obtained funds to finance their wrecking activities and received instructions for the correlation of their counter-revolutionary work with the interventionist plans. They also acted as espionage agents, transmitting military information.

Ramzin, the leader of the Industrial Party, testified that in 1927 "very active communication set in with the White émigrés as to the organization of intervention and its proximity, in so far as it was set for 1928." Ramzin testified further:

“At the audiences which Poincaré granted to the members of the Torgprom, he expressed complete sympathy with the idea of organizing intervention against the U.S.S.R. and stated that this question had already been turned over to the French General Staff to be worked out.... Further in this report Denisov [one of the Torgprom group] stated that a special commission of the French General Staff, headed by Colonel Joinville, to organize intervention against the U.S.S.R., already existed.... There were also representatives from the British General Staff....

“It was pointed out that France herself did not propose to intervene with military forces; at the most she would furnish military instructors, perhaps the help of the naval and air fleets, and that the real military forces... would be those of Poland, Rumania and the Baltic border states. Further, hope was given of the use of White emigrant forces, that is, the Wrangel army which was maintained abroad.”

Ramzin further described the nature of the assistance which was to come from Britain: “England, apart from some financial help,... was supposed to lend assistance through its fleet in the Black Sea and in the Gulf of Finland.”

Planning Provocations

Methods for working up war sentiments against the Soviet Union and the provocation of an incident which would provide the immediate pretext for hostilities were fully worked out. Yurovsky, one of the conspirators, testified:

“The immediate grounds for the beginning of military operations, according to their plans, were to be such circumstances as the agitation of the Communist International—either in European countries during some labor movement, or in colonial countries, or some reference to the inacceptability of the commercial policy of the U.S.S.R.... It was stressed that the Soviet Government must bear the entire responsibility for everything ascribed to the Communist International, and of which the latter was accused.”

Another witness, Osdachy, threw more light on the role in which the Anglo-French imperialists had cast Finland.

“Of the border states, Finland was definitely referred to as a country aggressively inclined against the Soviet Union and which had apparently great experience in provoking all kinds of frontier incidents.... My impression was that it was mainly in Finland that provocative action was to be taken, such as would supply a pretext for intervention.”

The interventionist plan included not only the restoration of capitalism but the dismemberment of the Soviet State among the participants. Yurovsky testified:

“On the part of Rumania, the official recognition by the future Government of Russia of the annexation of Bessarabia by Rumania, as well as a demand to cede Odessa with certain adjoining territories. Poland demanded part of the Ukraine on the right bank of the Dnieper, as well as part of White Russia. Esthonia and Latvia advanced a demand for such a rectification of the frontier as would materially increase their respective territories. So far as Finland was mentioned, there was talk of adding to it a part of Karelia.”

The trials of 1936, 1937 and 1938 revealed what other tools the imperialists were willing to use. Thus with the coming to power of Hitler in Germany and a fascist-military clique in Japan, the job of overthrowing the Socialist State and restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union was taken over by these powers, with British and French connivance.

The trials revealed in full detail how Trotsky and the Bukharinites became the servants of fascism in preparing for military intervention. Their long list of crimes had a single objective: to undermine the defensive power of the country and open the borders to the invader. The plans for intervention not only contemplated the restoration of capitalism but the dismemberment of the Soviet Union as well. Japan was to receive the Soviet Maritime Region; Soviet Byelo-Russia was to go to the Poles; Germany was to get the Ukraine. Finland, obviously, would come in for her

share of the booty.

The exposure of the conspiracy and the execution of the traitors robbed the fascist adventurers of the internal support upon which they had been reckoning. This together with the growth of Soviet strength to proportions which, as the Japanese learned, spelled certain defeat for an invader, forced the fascists to abandon their interventionist plans. Hitler turned from the Soviet Union to easier pickings.

Finland as the Gateway of Intervention

That world imperialism today, as in 1919, counts on Finland as its gateway to the Soviet Union, is revealed indisputably in the authoritative British bulletin *The Week* of December 6, which says:

“It had been supposed not only in London but in Stockholm and Helsinki that there was time, at least until spring, in which to ‘prepare the position’ for a large-scale showdown on the Soviet proposals to Finland. There is no question that in Scandinavia and London alike—and apparently in Washington too—information from agents has been to the effect that the Communists would ‘play it slow,’ would be alarmed at the possible ‘repercussions of world opinion’ and would therefore be unable to take violent action to close the Gulf of Finland until spring.

“This ‘preparation for position’ is confirmed particularly in Sweden: for it was hoped—and with some reason—that by spring it would be possible to have secured a government in Sweden which would be willing to act against the Soviet Union and—more important still—it was believed that by then, American aid to Sweden in military action against the Soviet Union would be secured.

“It is important to note, even twenty-four hours before the Soviet move, that well-informed Conservative circles in London were offering even money on the proposition that Sweden and the United States could be militarily and financially aligned against the Soviet Union’s proposals. And these proposals were of a particularly alarming nature, inasmuch as their suc-

cess would profoundly change the world power position by removing the possibility of a direct threat by the 'Capitalist World' to one of the principal industrial regions of the 'Communist World.'...

"There was a moment of acute nervousness when Paasikivi, then the Finnish delegate to Moscow negotiations, was discovered to be willing to reach an agreement on Soviet terms.... The appointment of M. Tanner... was made with the object of 'stiffening' the Finnish delegation and reversing the position reached by Paasikivi.

"That having been accomplished, it was thought a long period of diplomatic and financial pressure by the Russians would set in and last all winter, the Helsinki Government in the meantime receiving increasing support from the United States.

"The suddenness of the Russian move, therefore, dislocated all plans—diplomatic and otherwise—based on this assumption. It also seems probable that it was responsible for the lack of coordination in Western propaganda on the matter. For instance, while some British and American newspapers were freely reporting the 'massacre of civilians' in Helsinki, neither the correspondent of the London Times, the correspondents of Swiss newspapers nor the official Finnish radio station in Lahti at that time said anything about the matter at all, though some of them got into line later."

The Anti-Soviet Drive Today

Add the mad hysteria being whipped up against the Soviet Union all over the world. Add copious evidence from Britain of efforts to patch up peace with Germany and make common cause against the Soviet Union. Add the American credits to Finland—that great humanitarian Herbert Hoover's appeals for food—the eagerness in all quarters to supply arms and munitions to the Finns. Add the falsification of the news from Finland, the war-inciting editorials in all the papers, and especially the New York Herald Tribune—"It is idle to suppose we can save either Finland or civilization from Stalinism with moral indigna-

tion and a few pennies' worth of credits." Add the British pawns in the Ryti Cabinet and "Butcher" Mannerheim, and the picture is complete.

But the Soviet Union has moved to put an end to intervention forever, to erect indestructible safeguards over the precious structure of its Socialist State, and to keep unharmed in the world the pattern of a new society that has forever ended human exploitation.

DOCUMENTS OF THE CRISIS

SOVIET NOTES TO FINLAND

We publish below two notes issued by the Soviet Government in the days immediately preceding the crisis with Finland, and referred to in Molotov's broadcast of November 29.

The text of the November 26 note of V. M. Molotov to the Finnish Government, protesting border provocations, is as follows:

Mr. Minister, according to a report of the General Staff of the Red Army today, November 26, at 3:45 P.M., our troops, stationed on the Isthmus of Karelia at the Finnish border near the village of Manila, were suddenly subjected to artillery fire from Finnish territory.

Altogether seven shots were fired as a result of which three Red Army men and one junior commander were killed and seven Red Army men and two commanders wounded. Soviet troops, having received strict orders not to give way to provocation, refrained from opening fire in reply.

In informing you of this, the Soviet Government deems it necessary to emphasize that already during recent negotiations with Messrs. Tanner and Paasikivi, the Soviet Government pointed out the danger created by the concentration of large numbers of Finnish regular troops at the very frontier near Leningrad.

At present, in connection with provocative artillery fire from Finnish territory on Soviet troops, the Soviet Government is constrained to place on record that concentration of Finnish troops near Leningrad not only creates a menace for Leningrad, but in actual fact, represents a hostile act against the U.S.S.R. and has already led to attack on Soviet troops and to loss of life.

The Soviet Government does not intend to place undue emphasis upon this provocative act of attack by Finnish army units, who are perhaps not under proper discipline. But it would not wish similar provocative acts to occur in the future.

In view of this, the Soviet Government, in registering its determined protest in connection with this occurrence, proposes to the Finnish Government that it immediately withdraw its troops further from the frontier on the Isthmus of Karelia, for a distance of 25 kilometers and thus avert the possibility of a repetition of these provocations.



The text of the November 28 note of V. M. Molotov to the Finnish Government denouncing the Soviet-Finnish Non-Aggression Pact is as follows:

Mr. Minister, the reply of the Government of Finland to the note of the Soviet Government is a document reflecting the profound hostility of the Government of Finland toward the Soviet Union, and is calculated to carry to extremes the crisis in the relations between the two countries.

1. The denial by the Government of Finland of the outrageous shelling of Soviet troops by Finnish troops which resulted in victims cannot be explained except by a desire to lead astray public opinion, and cast derision upon the victims of the firing. Only the absence of a sense of responsibility and a contemptuous attitude toward public opinion could explain this shocking incident as artillery salvos fired in the course of "training drills" of Soviet troops very near the frontier line, before the eyes of Finnish troops.

2. The refusal of the Government of Finland to withdraw the troops responsible for the villainous shelling of Soviet troops, together with the demand for the simultaneous withdrawal of Finnish and Soviet troops, formally proceeding from the principle of equality on both sides, betray the hostile desire of the Government of Finland to keep Leningrad under threat. In reality we do not here have equality in positions of Finnish troops and Soviet troops, but, on the contrary, an advantageous position for the Finnish troops. Soviet troops menace no vital centers of Finland, being removed from these centers for hundreds of kilometers; while Finnish troops, stationed 32 kilometers [about 20 miles] from Leningrad—a vital center of the U.S.S.R. with a population of 3,500,000—constitute an

immediate threat to it. Properly speaking, there is no room for withdrawal of Soviet troops since their withdrawal would mean stationing them in the Leningrad suburbs which is obviously absurd from the viewpoint of the security of Leningrad. The proposal of the Soviet Government regarding the withdrawal of the Finnish troops twenty to twenty-five kilometers constitutes a minimum; since its purpose is not to eliminate this inequality in the positions of the Finnish and Soviet troops but only to reduce it to some extent. If the Government of Finland declines even this minimum proposal that means that it intends to keep Leningrad directly menaced by its troops.

3. By concentrating large forces of its regular troops and thus placing under immediate threat a most important vital center of the U.S.S.R. the Government of Finland has committed a hostile act against the U.S.S.R. incompatible with the non-aggression pact concluded between the two countries. Moreover by refusing to withdraw its troops at least twenty to twenty-five kilometers, following the villainous shelling of Soviet troops by Finnish troops, the Government of Finland has shown that it continues to maintain a hostile attitude toward the U.S.S.R. and does not intend to pay regard to the provisions of the non-aggression pact, and has decided to keep Leningrad under threat in the future as well. However the Government of the U.S.S.R. cannot reconcile itself to a situation where only one side would undertake to carry out this pact. In view of this the Soviet Government deems itself compelled to state that from this date it considers itself free from obligations undertaken under the non-aggression pact concluded between the U.S.S.R. and Finland. Accept, Mr. Minister, assurance of my perfect respect.

MOLOTOV'S BROADCAST TO THE SOVIET PEOPLE

At midnight, November 29, Viacheslav Molotov, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, broadcast the following speech:

Men and women, citizens of the Soviet Union, the hos-

tile policy pursued by the present Government of Finland towards our country compels us to take immediate measures to insure the external security of our State.

You know that in the course of the past two months, the Soviet Government has patiently conducted negotiations with the Government of Finland concerning proposals which, in the present alarming international situation, it regarded as the minimum essential for insuring the security of our country and especially for the security of Leningrad.

In these negotiations the Government of Finland adopted an attitude of irreconcilable hostility towards our country: Instead of finding ground for agreement in a friendly manner, the present rulers of Finland, to please the foreign imperialists who instigate hostility towards the Soviet Union, took a different course.

Despite all the concessions we made, the negotiations ended without yielding any result. The consequences of this are now known. In recent days abominable provocations have been initiated by the Finnish militarists on the frontier between the Soviet Union and Finland, including even artillery firing on our troops near Leningrad, which caused grave losses in the Red Army units.

Attempts of our Government to forestall repetition of these provocations by means of practical proposals addressed to the Government of Finland, far from finding any support, again met with the hostile policy of the ruling circles of Finland. As you know from yesterday's note of the Soviet Government, they replied to our proposals by a hostile refusal and a brazen denial of the facts, by a derisive attitude toward the victims we have lost and by undisguised striving to continue to keep Leningrad under the immediate threat of their troops in the future.

All this has definitely shown that the present Government of Finland, which became entangled in its anti-Soviet ties with the imperialists, does not wish to maintain normal relations with the Soviet Union. It continues in its hostile attitude towards our country and has no wish to pay due regard to the provisions of the non-aggression pact concluded between our countries. It desires to keep our

glorious Leningrad under military threat. From such a Government and from its thoughtless military clique, we can now expect only fresh, insolent provocations.

The Soviet Government was therefore compelled yesterday to declare that henceforth it considered itself free from the obligations undertaken under the non-aggression pact concluded between the U.S.S.R. and Finland, and violated in an irresponsible manner by the Government of Finland. In view of the fresh attacks of the Finnish military units on Soviet troops at the Soviet-Finnish frontier, the Government has now been compelled to adopt new decisions. The Government can no longer tolerate the present situation, responsibility for which fully rests with the Government of Finland. The Government of the U.S.S.R. has arrived at the conclusion that it can no longer maintain normal relations with the Government of Finland and has therefore found it necessary immediately to recall its political and economic representatives from Finland. Along with this, the Government has given orders to the Chief Command of the Red Army and Navy to be ready for any surprise and immediately to check possible fresh sallies on the part of the Finnish military clique.

The hostile foreign press asserts that the measures being taken by us are aimed at the seizure of Finnish territory or its annexation to the U.S.S.R. This is malicious slander. The Soviet Government has had no such intentions. More than that, if Finland herself pursued a friendly policy towards the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government, which always strove for friendly relations with Finland, would be ready to meet her half-way in regard to territorial concessions on the part of the U.S.S.R. Under this condition the Soviet Government would be ready to consider favorably even such a question as the question of re-uniting the Karelian people inhabiting the main districts of present Soviet Karelia with kindred Finnish people in a single and independent Finnish State. For this, however, it is necessary that the Government of Finland should maintain not a hostile but a friendly attitude toward the U.S.S.R., which would correspond to the vital interests of both states.

Others assert that measures carried out by us are

aimed against Finland's independence, or at interference in her internal and external affairs. This is equally malicious slander. Irrespective of the regime existing in Finland, we consider her an independent and sovereign state in her external and internal policies. We firmly hold that the Finnish people should itself decide its internal and external affairs in the manner it deems necessary.

At the proper time the peoples of the Soviet Union did what was necessary for the creation of an independent Finland. The peoples of our country are ready also in the future to render the Finnish people assistance in assuring its free and independent development.

The Soviet Union has equally no intention of prejudicing to any extent the interests of other states in Finland. Questions of the relations between Finland and other states are the exclusive concern of Finland herself, and the Soviet Union does not consider itself entitled to interfere in this matter. The only purpose of our measures is to insure the security of the Soviet Union and especially of Leningrad with its population of 3,500,000. In the present international atmosphere, heated by war, we cannot make the solution of this vital and urgent state problem dependent on the ill-will of the present Finnish rulers.

This problem will have to be solved by the efforts of the Soviet Union itself in friendly cooperation with the Finnish people. We have no doubt that a favorable solution of the problem of insuring the security of Leningrad will provide the foundation for an indestructible friendship between the U.S.S.R. and Finland.

DECLARATION OF PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT OF FINLAND

Following is the text, as published by Tass, official Russian News Agency, of the declaration issued December 1 by the People's Government of the Democratic Republic of Finland (received in Moscow by radio and translated from Finnish).

By the will of the people, indignant at the criminal policy of the contemptible Government of Cajander, Erkkö

and Tanner, a new government of our country—the People's Provisional Government—was formed today in Eastern Finland.

This Government hereby calls the entire Finnish people to a determined struggle for the overthrow of the tyranny of hangmen and war provocateurs. The reactionary, avid plutocracy which in 1918, aided by the troops of foreign imperialists, drowned the democratic freedom of the Finnish toiling people in a sea of blood, transformed our country into a White-Guard hell for toilers.

Having sold the interests of the country's independence, the plutocratic rulers of Finland, jointly with all kinds of imperialist enemies of the Finnish and Soviet peoples, ceaselessly hatched plans of anti-Soviet war provocations and finally plunged our country into the furnace of war against the Socialist Soviet Union—the great friend of the Finnish people.

In this critical situation wide masses of the Finnish toiling people, who always desired and desire to live in peace with the peoples of the country of the Soviets, consider it their elementary right and their sacred duty to take the fate of the fatherland into their own reliable hands.

The people have already risen in various parts of the country and proclaimed the formation of a Democratic People's Republic. Part of the soldiers of Finland's army already have sided with the new Government, backed by the people.

The Soviet Union, which never threatened or disturbed Finland, which always respected her independence and for some twenty years tolerated vile war provocations on the part of adventurist rulers of White Finland, has now been confronted with the necessity of putting an end to these threats to its independence, by the forces of the Red Army.

This aim also fully corresponds with the vital interests of our people. That is why the masses of the people of Finland meet and welcome the valiant and invincible Red Army with tremendous enthusiasm, being aware that it is marching to Finland not as a conqueror but as a friend and liberator of our people.

The People's Government of Finland, being deeply convinced that the Soviet Union pursues no aims directed against the independence of our country, fully approves and supports actions by the Red Army on the territory of Finland. It regards them as invaluable assistance to the Finnish people on the part of the Soviet Union for the purpose of eliminating as soon as possible by joint efforts the most dangerous seat of war created in Finland by the criminal government of war provocateurs.

To accomplish this task as early as possible, the People's Government of Finland invites the Government of the U.S.S.R. to render the Democratic Republic of Finland all necessary assistance by the Red Army forces.

For participation in a joint struggle, hand in hand with the heroic Red Army of the U.S.S.R., the People's Government of Finland already has formed the First Finnish Army Corps, which in the course of forthcoming battles will receive reinforcements by volunteers coming from revolutionary workers and farmers and must become the strong backbone of the future People's Army of Finland. To the First Finnish Army Corps is accorded the honor of bringing the banner of Finland's Democratic Republic into the capital and hoisting it on the roof of the Presidential Palace to the joy of the working people and to the awe of the enemies of the people.

Our State must be a democratic republic serving the interests of the people, unlike the plutocratic republic of Cajander and Erkko, serving the interests of the capitalists and landlords.

However, our State is not a State of the Soviet type because the Soviet regime cannot be established by the efforts of the government alone without the consent of the whole people, in particular the farmers. In conformity with the above, our government is a People's Government of the Democratic Republic of Finland. It will rely for support on the broad people's front of toilers.

The People's Government in its present composition regards itself as a provisional government. Immediately upon its arrival in Helsinki, capital of the country, it will be reorganized and its composition enlarged by the inclu-

sion of representatives from various parties and groups participating in the people's front of toilers. The final composition of the people's government, its powers and actions, are to be sanctioned by a Diet elected on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage, with the secret ballot.

The People's Government of Finland regards as its primary task the overthrow of the government of the Finnish White Guards, the rout of its armed forces, the conclusion of peace and the ensuring of independence and security to Finland by means of the establishment of lasting and friendly relations with the Soviet Union.

The People's Government of Finland addresses to the Government of the U.S.S.R. a proposal to conclude a pact of mutual assistance between Finland and the Soviet Union and to comply with the age-old national hope of the Finnish people for a reunion with the Karelian people with it in a single and independent State of Finland. The People's Government of Finland has every ground to hope that its firm course of establishing friendly relations with the Soviet Union will enable the Government of the U.S.S.R. to comply with this proposal.

The People's Government desires to maintain friendly relations also with other States. It recognizes the economic and financial obligations of Finland toward other States insofar as these obligations do not contradict Finland's sovereignty and in so far as any of these States will not take hostile steps against the Democratic Republic of Finland and its People's Government.

In its internal policy the People's Government sets itself the following tasks:

I

Creation of the People's Army of Finland.

II

The institution of State control over large private banks and large industrial enterprises and the realization of measures assisting medium and small enterprises.

III

The realization of measures for the complete elimination of unemployment.

IV

Reduction of the working day to eight hours, provision for a two weeks' summer vacation for workers, and reduction of house rents for workers and employees.

V

Confiscation of lands belonging to big landowners, without touching the lands and properties of farmers, and transfer of the confiscated land to farmers having no land or possessing small allotments.

VI

Exemption of farmers from the payment of tax arrears.

VII

State assistance in every form for the improvement of economies for the poor farmers, in the first place by allotting to them additional land, pastures and when possible also forests for their domestic needs, from lands confiscated from large landowners.

VIII

Democratization of State organization, administration and courts.

IX

Increase of State subsidies for cultural needs and reorganization of schools, to insure the possibility of attendance at schools to children of workers and other needy people; also provisions of every form for the development of public education, science, literature and the arts in a progressive spirit.

It turns out that the plutocratic government of Cajander and Erkko was hated by the people, a government which did its utmost to ruin our country, resigned to having lost all the support of the people. This hated gov-

ernment was replaced by Tanner's Government, but Tanner is an enemy of our people like Cajander. Tanner's Government is not a single jot better, if not worse, than Cajander's Government.

Chase these hangmen as far as possible from Finland; throw off this entire bankrupted Government gang!

Arise, long-suffering, toiling people of Finland! Rise to the courageous fight against the tyranny of your oppressors and hangmen! Arise, all citizens to whom the future of our country is dear! Let us throw off the black load of reaction from the shoulders of our people! Let us clear the road for the progress, welfare and culture of the people, for the realization of the age-old national aspirations of our people! May the cause of the workers, peasants and working intelligentsia of Finland triumph!

Under the banner of a free and independent democratic republic of Finland, onward to victories!

OTTO KUUSINEN, Chairman of the People's Government and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Finland.

MAURITZ ROSENBERG, Assistant Chairman of the People's Government and Minister of Finance.

AKSEL ANTTILLA, Minister of Defense.

TUURE LEHEN, Minister of Internal Affairs.

ARMAS EJKIJA, Minister of Agriculture.

INKORI LEHTINEN, Minister of Education.

PAAVO PROKKONEN, Minister of Karelian Affairs.

The Town of Terioki, December 1, 1939.

NOTES ON MEMBERS OF THE PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT

The available biographical data on members of the new Finnish People's Government, established in Terioki, shows them to be men and women who have worked devotedly at the risk of livelihood and life, in the interests of the Finnish working class.

Its Premier and Foreign Minister, Otto W. Kuusinen, became active in the Finnish Social-Democratic Party after the Revolution of 1905, and at various periods was a member of its Central Committee. After the October Revolution he was active in the Left wing of the Social-Democratic movement in Finland and later became one of the founders of the Finnish Communist Party. In the Finnish revolution of 1918, Kuusinen was the People's Commissar of Education.

Armas Ejkija, Minister of Agriculture, was an active member of the Young Socialist movement in Finland after the Civil War and has won prominence in working class activities.

Inkori Lehtinen, Minister of Education, is not only herself a veteran working class leader, but is a daughter of J. K. and Sandra Lehtinen, well-known leaders in the Finnish working class movement before the Civil War.

Mauritz Rosenberg, assistant-chairman and Minister of Finance, was a locomotive engineer on the Finnish State Railway until 1918 when he was expelled for his political affiliations. Continuing his activities in the Left wing of the Finnish Socialist movement after the Civil War he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment in 1922. He was arrested again in 1930, during the fascist Lappo movement, and was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment at hard labor. He escaped after five years and reached the Soviet Union.

TEXT OF TREATY OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE AND FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF FINLAND

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on the one side and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Finland on the other, being convinced that now, when the most dangerous seat of war, which had been created near the borders of the Soviet Union by the former plutocratic power in Finland to please the imperialist powers, is being eliminated through the heroic struggle of the Finnish people and through the efforts of the Red Army of

the U.S.S.R., and when the Finnish people has formed its democratic republic, the time has come to establish lasting friendly relations between our countries and ensure by joint efforts the security and inviolability of our States; recognizing that the time has come for the realization of the age-old aspirations of the Finnish people for reunion of the Karelian people with its kindred, the Finnish people, in a single state of Finland, and also with a view to favorable and mutual settlement of frontier problems, especially ensuring the security of Leningrad and the southern coast of Finland; aiming to strengthen the spirit and fundamental principles of the peace treaty of October 23, 1920, based on the mutual recognition of State independence and non-intervention in the internal affairs of the other party; found it necessary to conclude the following treaty of mutual assistance and friendship between the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Finland, and appointed for this purpose their authorized representatives: Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.—Viacheslav Molotov, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.; for the People's Government of Finland—Otto Kuusinen, Chairman of the People's Government and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Finland, and these authorized representatives upon mutual presentation of their credentials found in due form and good order, agreed on the following:

ARTICLE I

In token of the friendship and the profound confidence of the Soviet Union in the Democratic Republic of Finland, and meeting the national aspirations of the Finnish people for the reunion of the Karelian people with the Finnish people in a single and independent State of Finland, the Soviet Union expresses consent to the transfer to the Democratic Republic of Finland the districts of Soviet Karelia with a predominating Karelian population—amounting altogether to 70,000 square kilometers—which territory will be included into the State territory of the Democratic Republic of Finland.

The frontier line between the U.S.S.R. and the Demo-

cratic Republic of Finland is to be established in accordance with the appended map. In token of the friendship and the profound confidence of the Democratic Republic of Finland in the U.S.S.R. and meeting the desires of the Soviet Union concerning the consolidation and security of the U.S.S.R. and especially of the city of Leningrad, the Democratic Republic of Finland expresses its consent to a certain shifting of the frontier on the Isthmus of Karelia northward from Leningrad and to the transfer to the Soviet Union territory amounting to 3,970 square kilometers, while the U.S.S.R. considers itself obliged to compensate Finland for the cost of sections of railway lines on the territory of the Karelian Isthmus which is to be transferred to the U.S.S.R. to the amount of one hundred and twenty million Finnish marks.

ARTICLE II

In the mutual interests of the consolidation and security of the U.S.S.R. and of Finland, the Democratic Republic of Finland expresses consent: firstly, to lease to the Soviet Union for 30 years the Peninsula of Hangoe and surrounding waters in a radius five miles southward and eastward and three miles westward and northward, also a number of neighboring islands in directions south and east in accordance with the map appended hereto, for the purpose of creating there a naval base capable of protecting against aggression and entry to the Gulf of Finland in the interests of ensuring the security of Finland and the U.S.S.R. For the purpose of the protection of the naval base the Soviet Union is granted the right to maintain there at its own expense armed land and air forces of strictly limited strength whose maximum numbers will be determined by special agreement; secondly, to sell to the Soviet Union the Island of Suursaari (Hoagland), Seiskaari, Lavansaari, Tutersaari (small and big), Kojivisto (Bjorko) in the Gulf of Finland, also parts of the peninsulas of Rybachi and Sredni, belonging to Finland on the coast of the Arctic Ocean, for the agreed sum of 300,000,000 Finnish marks.

ARTICLE III

The Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Finland undertake to render to each other every assistance, including military, in the event of an attack or threat of an attack on Finland and also in the event of an attack or threat of an attack on the Soviet Union across the territory of Finland on the part of any European power.

ARTICLE IV

The contracting parties undertake not to conclude any alliances and not to participate in any coalitions directed against one of the contracting parties.

ARTICLE V

The contracting parties agree to conclude a trade treaty within the shortest space of time and to raise the annual trade turnover between the two countries considerably higher than it was in 1927 when it reached a maximum figure of eight hundred million Finnish marks.

ARTICLE VI

The Soviet Union undertakes to render to the People's Army of Finland assistance in armaments and other war materials on favorable terms.

ARTICLE VII

The term of validity of this treaty in that part referring to undertakings of mutual assistance between the U.S.S.R. and the Democratic Republic of Finland (Articles III to V) is twenty-five years, and if one year before the expiration of this term none of the contracting parties deems it necessary to denounce provisions of this treaty for which a definite time limit has been set, these provisions automatically remain in force for another twenty-five years.

ARTICLE VIII

The present treaty comes into force on the date of its signing and is subject to subsequent ratification. The exchange of instruments of ratification will be effected within

the shortest possible space of time in the capital of Finland—the city of Helsinki. This treaty made in two originals, in the Russian and Finnish languages, in the city of Moscow, December 2, 1939.

Signed:

VIACHESLAV MOLOTOV,
Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

OTTO KUUSINEN,
Premier and Foreign Minister of the People's Government of Finland.

Moscow, December 4, 1939.