THE U.S.S.R. AND FINLAND

Outstanding Facts and Documents

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
MOSCOW 1939
# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>THE RELATIONS OF THE SOVIET UNION WITH FINLAND.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSOLENT PROVOCATION BY FINNISH MILITARY</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOTE OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT IN CONNECTION WITH THE PROVOCATIVE BOMBARDMENT OF SOVIET TROOPS BY FINNISH ARMY UNITS</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT'S NOTE IN REPLY TO THE NOTE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF FINLAND</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEW ACTS OF PROVOCATION PERPETRATED BY THE FINNISH MILITARY</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FORMATION OF THE PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT OF FINLAND</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DECLARATION OF THE PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT OF FINLAND</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TREATY OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE AND FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE FINNISH DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. M. MOLOTOV RECEIVES U.S.A. AMBASSADOR, MR. STEINHARDT</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. M. MOLOTOV RECEIVES M. WINTER, SWEDISH MINISTER</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TELEGRAM OF M. AVENOL, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, DATED DECEMBER 4, 1939. TO V. M. MOLOTOV, PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AND THE REPLY OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Relations of the Soviet Union with Finland

From the Report by V. M. Molotov, Chairman of the Council of People’s Commissars of the U.S.S.R. And People’s Commissar of Foreign Affairs, at the Extraordinary Fifth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., October 31, 1939

Our relations with Finland are of a special character. This is chiefly to be explained by the fact that in Finland there is a greater amount of outside influence on the part of third powers. Any impartial person must admit, however, that the same problems pertaining to the security of the Soviet Union, and particularly of Leningrad, which figured in the negotiations with Estonia also figure in the negotiations with Finland. In a certain sense it might be said that the problem of the security of the Soviet Union is even more acute in this case, inasmuch as Leningrad, which after Moscow is the most important city of the Soviet Union, is situated only thirty-two kilometres from the Finnish border. That means that the distance of Leningrad from the borders of a foreign state is such that it could easily be shelled by modern long-range guns. On the other hand, the approaches to Leningrad from the sea also largely depend on whether Finland, who owns the entire northern shore of the Gulf of Finland and all the islands in the central part of the Gulf of Finland, is hostile or friendly towards the Soviet Union.

In view of this, as well as of the present situation in
Europe, it may be expected that Finland will display the necessary understanding.

What has been the basis of the relations between the Soviet Union and Finland during all these years? As you know, the basis of these relations has been the peace treaty of 1920, which was on the pattern of our treaties with our other Baltic neighbours. Of its own free will, the Soviet Union ensured the separate and independent existence of Finland. There can be no doubt that only the Soviet Government, which recognizes the principle of the free development of nationalities, could take such a step. It must be said that in Russia none but a Soviet government could tolerate the existence of an independent Finland at the very gates of Leningrad. This is eloquently testified to by Finland's experience with the "democratic" government of Kerensky and Tsereteli, not to mention the government of Prince Lvov and Milyukov, let alone the tsarist government. This important circumstance might undoubtedly serve as a sound premise for an improvement in Soviet-Finnish relations, in which, evidently, Finland is no less interested than the Soviet Union.

Soviet-Finnish negotiations were begun recently on our initiative. What is the subject of these negotiations? It is easy to see that in the present state of international affairs, when in the centre of Europe war is developing among some of the biggest states, a war fraught with great surprises and dangers for all European countries, the Soviet Union is not only entitled but obliged to adopt serious measures to strengthen her security. And it is but natural that the Soviet Government should display particular concern with regard to the Gulf of Finland, which is the approach to Leningrad from the sea, and also with regard to that land frontier which hangs over Leningrad some thirty kilometres off. Let me remind you that the population of Leningrad has grown to three and a half million, almost equal to the entire population of Finland, which is 3,650,000. (Amusement.)

There is scarcely any need to dwell on the fables spread by the foreign press about the Soviet Union's proposals in the negotiations with Finland. Some assert that the U.S.S.R. "demands" the city of Viipuri (Viborg) and the northern part of Lake Ladoga. Let us say, for our part, that this is a sheer fabrication and a lie. Others assert that the U.S.S.R. "demands" the cession of the Aaland Islands. That, too, is a fabrication and a lie. There is also nonsensical talk about claims the Soviet Union is supposed to have with regard to Sweden and Norway. But these puerile lies are not even worth refuting. (Loud laughter.) Actually, our proposals in the negotiations with Finland are modest in the extreme, and are confined to that minimum without which it is impossible to safeguard the security of the U.S.S.R. and to put friendly relations with Finland on a firm footing.

We began negotiations with Finland—for which purpose the Finnish Government sent its representatives, Messrs. Paasikivi and Tanner, to Moscow—by proposing the conclusion of a Soviet-Finnish pact of mutual assistance approximately on the lines of our pacts of mutual assistance with the other Baltic states. But inasmuch as the Finnish Government declared that the conclusion of such a pact would be in contradiction to its position of absolute neutrality, we did not insist on our proposal. We then proposed that we proceed to discuss the concrete questions we are interested in from the standpoint of safeguarding the security of the U.S.S.R., and especially the security of Leningrad, both from the sea—in the Gulf of Finland—and from land, in view of the extreme proximity of the border to Leningrad. We have proposed that agreement be reached to shift the Soviet-Finnish border on the Isthmus of Karelia some tens of kilometres further to the north of Leningrad. In exchange for this, we have proposed to transfer to Finland a part of Soviet Karelia twice as large as the territory which Finland is to transfer to the Soviet Union. We have further proposed that agreement
Europe, it may be expected that Finland will display the necessary understanding.

What has been the basis of the relations between the Soviet Union and Finland during all these years? As you know, the basis of these relations has been the peace treaty of 1920, which was on the pattern of our treaties with our other Baltic neighbours. Of its own free will, the Soviet Union ensured the separate and independent existence of Finland. There can be no doubt that only the Soviet Government, which recognizes the principle of the free development of nationalities, could take such a step. It must be said that in Russia none but a Soviet government could tolerate the existence of an independent Finland at the very gates of Leningrad. This is eloquently testified to by Finland's experience with the "democratic" government of Kerensky and Tsereteli, not to mention the government of Prince Lvov and Milyukov, let alone the tsarist government. This important circumstance might undoubtedly serve as a sound premise for an improvement in Soviet-Finnish relations, in which, evidently, Finland is no less interested than the Soviet Union.

Soviet-Finnish negotiations were begun recently on our initiative. What is the subject of these negotiations? It is easy to see that in the present state of international affairs, when in the centre of Europe war is developing among some of the biggest states, a war fraught with great surprises and dangers for all European countries, the Soviet Union is not only entitled but obliged to adopt serious measures to strengthen her security. And it is but natural that the Soviet Government should display particular concern with regard to the Gulf of Finland, which is the approach to Leningrad from the sea, and also with regard to that land frontier which hangs over Leningrad some thirty kilometres off. Let me remind you that the population of Leningrad has grown to three and a half million, almost equal to the entire population of Finland, which is 3,650,000. (Amusement.)

There is scarcely any need to dwell on the fables spread by the foreign press about the Soviet Union's proposals in the negotiations with Finland. Some assert that the U.S.S.R. "demands" the city of Viipuri (Viborg) and the northern part of Lake Ladoga. Let us say, for our part, that this is a sheer fabrication and a lie. Others assert that the U.S.S.R. "demands" the cession of the Aaland Islands. That, too, is a fabrication and a lie. There is also nonsensical talk about claims the Soviet Union is supposed to have with regard to Sweden and Norway. But these puerile lies are not even worth refuting. (Loud laughter.) Actually, our proposals in the negotiations with Finland are modest in the extreme, and are confined to that minimum without which it is impossible to safeguard the security of the U.S.S.R. and to put friendly relations with Finland on a firm footing.

We began negotiations with Finland—for which purpose the Finnish Government sent its representatives, Messrs. Paasikivi and Tanner, to Moscow—by proposing the conclusion of a Soviet-Finnish pact of mutual assistance approximately on the lines of our pacts of mutual assistance with the other Baltic states. But inasmuch as the Finnish Government declared that the conclusion of such a pact would be in contradiction to its position of absolute neutrality, we did not insist on our proposal. We then proposed that we proceed to discuss the concrete questions we are interested in from the standpoint of safeguarding the security of the U.S.S.R., and especially the security of Leningrad, both from the sea—in the Gulf of Finland—and from land, in view of the extreme proximity of the border to Leningrad. We have proposed that agreement be reached to shift the Soviet-Finnish border on the Isthmus of Karelia some tens of kilometres further to the north of Leningrad. In exchange for this, we have proposed to transfer to Finland a part of Soviet Karelia twice as large as the territory which Finland is to transfer to the Soviet Union. We have further proposed that agreement
be reached for Finland to lease to us for a definite term a small section of her territory near the entrance to the Gulf of Finland, so that we may establish a naval base there. With a Soviet naval base at the southern entrance to the Gulf of Finland, namely, at Baltiski Port, as provided for by the Soviet-Estonian pact of mutual assistance, the establishment of a naval base at the northern entrance to the Gulf of Finland would fully safeguard the Gulf of Finland against hostile attempts on the part of other states. We have no doubt that the establishment of such a base would not only further the interests of the Soviet Union, but also the security of Finland herself. Our other proposals, in particular for the exchange of certain islands in the Gulf of Finland, as well as parts of the Rybachi and Sredni Peninsulas, for territory of twice the area in Soviet Karelia, evidently do not meet with objection on the part of the Finnish Government. Differences with regard to certain of our proposals have not yet been overcome, and the concessions made by Finland in this respect, as, for instance, the cession of part of the territory of the Isthmus of Karelia, obviously do not meet the purpose.

We have further made a number of new steps to meet Finland half way. We declared that if our main proposals are accepted, we shall be prepared to drop our objections to the fortification of the Aaland Islands, on which the Finnish Government has been insisting for a long time. We only made one stipulation: we said that we would drop our objection to the fortification of the Aaland Islands on condition that the fortification was done by Finland's own national forces, without the participation of any third country, inasmuch as the U.S.S.R. would also be taking no part in it. We have also proposed to Finland to dismantle the fortified zones along the entire Soviet-Finnish border on the Isthmus of Karelia, which should fully accord with the interests of Finland. We have further expressed our desire to reinforce the Soviet-Finnish pact of non-aggression with supplementary mutual guarantees. Lastly, the consolidation of Soviet-Finnish political relations would undoubtedly form a splendid basis for the rapid development of economic relations between the two countries.

Thus we are ready to meet Finland in matters in which she is particularly interested.

In view of all this, we do not think that Finland will seek for a pretext to frustrate the proposed agreement. This would not be in line with the policy of friendly Soviet-Finnish relations and would, of course, work to the serious detriment of Finland.

We are certain that Finnish leading circles will properly understand the importance of consolidating amicable Soviet-Finnish relations, and that Finnish public men will not yield to anti-Soviet pressure or instigation from any quarter.

I must inform you, however, that even the President of the United States of America has thought fit to intervene in these matters, which one finds it hard to reconcile with America's policy of neutrality. In a message to Comrade Kalinin, President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, dated October 12, Mr. Roosevelt expressed the hope that friendly and peaceful relations between the U.S.S.R. and Finland would be preserved and developed. One might think matters were in better shape between the United States and, let us say, the Philippines or Cuba, who have long been demanding freedom and independence from the United States and cannot get them, than between the Soviet Union and Finland, who has long ago received both freedom and political independence from the Soviet Union.

Comrade Kalinin replied to Mr. Roosevelt's message as follows:

"I consider it proper to remind you, Mr. President, that the political independence of the Republic of Finland was recognized by the Soviet Government of its own
free will on December 31, 1917, and that the sovereignty of Finland was secured to her by the Treaty of Peace between the R.S.F.S.R. and Finland of October 14, 1920. These acts of the Soviet Government defined the fundamental principles governing the relations between the Soviet Union and Finland. It is in conformity with these principles that the present negotiations between the Soviet Government and the Government of Finland are being conducted. Contrary to the tendentious versions spread by circles who are evidently not interested in European peace, the sole object of these negotiations is to consolidate relations between the Soviet Union and Finland and to strengthen the friendly cooperation of the two countries in the matter of safeguarding the security of the Soviet Union and Finland.

After this plain reply by the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., it should be quite clear that, granted good will on its part, the Finnish Government will meet our proposals, which are minimal ones, and which—far from militating against the national and political interests of Finland—will enhance her security and form a broad basis for a further extensive development of political and economic relations between our countries.

Insolent Provocation by Finnish Military

Leningrad, November 26 (TASS). The Staff of the Leningrad Military Area reports that at 3:45 p.m. on November 26 artillery fire was suddenly opened from Finnish territory on our troops stationed about a kilometre to the north-west of Mainila. The Finns fired seven shots in all. Three Red Army men and one junior commander were killed, and seven men, one junior commander, and one sub-lieutenant wounded. Colonel Tikhomirov, Chief of the First Department of the Staff of the Military Area, has been dispatched to investigate matters on the spot. This provocative act has aroused great indignation among our units stationed in the area where the Finns made their artillery attack.
Note of the Soviet Government in Connection with the Provocative Shelling of Soviet Troops by Finnish Army Units

On the evening of November 26 V. Molotov, People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., received M. Yrjö-Koskinen, the Minister of Finland, and handed him a note of the Government of the U.S.S.R. in connection with the provocative shelling of Soviet troops by Finnish army units concentrated on the Isthmus of Karelia.

In accepting the note, M. Yrjö-Koskinen declared that he would immediately communicate with his government and give a reply.

The text of the note follows:

M. Minister,

The General Staff of the Red Army reports that today, November 26, at 3:45 p.m., our troops stationed on the Isthmus of Karelia in the vicinity of the village of Mainila near the Finnish frontier were suddenly fired upon by artillery from Finnish territory. Altogether seven shots were fired, as a result of which three privates and one junior commander were killed and seven privates and two commanders wounded. Acting under strict orders not to give way to any provocations, the Soviet troops refrained from retaliating the fire.

In bringing this fact to your notice, the Soviet Government deems it necessary to emphasize that already during the recent negotiations with Messrs. Tanner and Paasikivi it called attention to the danger involved in the concentration of large numbers of Finnish regular troops on the very frontier in the vicinity of Leningrad. In view of the provocative shelling of Soviet troops from Finnish territory, the Soviet Government is now obliged to note that the concentration of Finnish troops near Leningrad not only constitutes a menace to that city, but actually represents a hostile act against the U.S.S.R., which has already resulted in an attack on Soviet troops and in casualties.

The Soviet Government has no intention of magnifying this outrageous attack on the part of Finnish army units who are, perhaps, poorly controlled by the Finnish command. But it would like to have no such outrageous facts occur in the future.

In view of this, the Soviet Government, while entering its vigorous protest with regard to what has taken place, proposes that the Finnish Government proceed at once to withdraw its troops some twenty or twenty-five kilometres from the boundary on the Isthmus of Karelia and thus avert the possibility of any further acts of provocation.

I have the honour, etc.

V. MOLOTOV
People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.

November 26, 1939
The Soviet Government's Note in Reply to the Note of the Government of Finland

M. Minister,

The reply of the Government of Finland to the note of the Soviet Government of November 26 constitutes a document that reflects the profound hostility of the Government of Finland towards the Soviet Union and is designed to carry to the extreme 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 casualties, cannot be explained otherwise than by a desire to deceive public opinion and deride the victims of the attack. Only lack of a sense of responsibility and contempt for public opinion could inspire the attempt to explain the outrageous incident of the artillery firing as having been caused by Soviet troops undergoing "artillery training" near the very frontier, in sight of the Finnish troops.

2. The refusal of the Government of Finland to withdraw the troops which perpetrated this nefarious shelling of Soviet troops and the demand for the simultaneous withdrawal of Finnish and Soviet troops, formally based on the principle of the equality of both sides, betray the hostile desire of the Government of Finland to keep Leningrad under threat. In point of fact we have here, not equality in the positions of the Finnish and Soviet troops, but, on the contrary, an advantageous position of the Finnish troops. The Soviet troops do not menace the vital centres of Finland, because they are hundreds of kilometres removed from those centres, while the Finnish troops stationed 32 kilometres from Leningrad—a vital centre of the U.S.S.R. with a population of 3,500,000—constitute an immediate threat to it. This apart from the fact that there really is no room for the withdrawal of Soviet troops, since the withdrawal of Soviet troops for a distance of 25 kilometres would mean stationing them in the suburbs of Leningrad, which is obviously absurd from the viewpoint of the security of Leningrad. The proposal of the Soviet Government regarding the withdrawal of Finnish troops for 20-25 kilometres represents a minimum, because its purpose is not to eliminate this inequality in the positions of the Finnish and the Soviet troops but only to reduce it to some extent. If the Government of Finland declines even this proposed minimum, that means that it intends to keep Leningrad under the direct threat of its troops.

3. By concentrating large forces of regular troops near Leningrad and thus placing under immediate threat one of the most important vital centres of the U.S.S.R., the Government of Finland committed a hostile act against the U.S.S.R., incompatible with the non-aggression pact concluded between the two countries. By further refusing to withdraw the troops at least 20-25 kilometres after the dastardly shelling of Soviet troops by Finnish troops, the Government of Finland has shown that it continues to maintain a hostile attitude towards the U.S.S.R., does not intend to comply with the provisions of the non-aggression pact, and has decided to keep Leningrad under threat in the future also. The Government of the U.S.S.R., however, cannot reconcile itself to a situa-
tion wherein one side violates the non-aggression pact while the other side undertakes to carry it out. In view of this the Soviet Government finds itself compelled to declare that from this date it considers itself released from the obligations undertaken under the non-aggression pact concluded between the U.S.S.R. and Finland and systematically violated by the Government of Finland.
I have the honour, etc.

V. MOLOTOV
People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.

November 28, 1939

New Acts of Provocation Perpetrated By the Finnish Military

Leningrad, November 28 (TASS). According to a communiqué from the headquarters of the Leningrad Military Area, at 5 p.m. on Nov. 28 a group of five Finnish soldiers fired at a Soviet patrol they had noticed moving along the border in the district of the isthmus between Rybachi and Sredni peninsulas, and attempted to capture it. Our patrol began to retreat. The Finns were hurled back to their territory by a group of our men that came up. In the course of pursuit three soldiers were taken prisoner, while the others retreated far into their territory. There were no losses on our side. Two rifles, one revolver, two field glasses, cartridges, and a rocket gun were taken from the prisoners. Our border guard on this sector has been reinforced. At 6 p.m., in the district of Hill 204.2, the Finns fired five rifle shots in our direction. Our units did not reply.
Radio Speech by V. M. Molotov, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

November 29, 1939

Citizens, men and women of the U.S.S.R., the hostile policy of the present government of Finland towards our country compels us to take immediate measures to safeguard the external security of our state.

As you know, during the past two months the Soviet Government has patiently negotiated with the Finnish Government for the acceptance of proposals which, in view of the present alarming state of international affairs, it considered the very minimum required to safeguard the security of our country, and especially of Leningrad. In these negotiations the Finnish Government adopted an attitude of irreconcilable hostility towards our country. Instead of endeavouring in a friendly way to find a basis for agreement, the present Finnish rulers, acting in the interests of foreign imperialists who are trying to stir up enmity against the Soviet Union, pursued a different course. Notwithstanding all the concessions on our part, the negotiations have ended fruitlessly.

We now know what this has led to.

In the past few days the Finnish military have started a policy of outrageous provocation on the Soviet-Finnish border, going to the lengths of opening artillery fire on our troops near Leningrad which resulted in heavy casualties among Red Army units. The efforts of our Government by practical proposals to the Finnish Government to prevent a repetition of these provocative acts, far from meeting with support, have again been thwarted by the hostile policy of the Finnish ruling circles. As you know from yesterday's note of the Soviet Government, their reply to our proposals was a hostile refusal and an insolent denial of the facts, an attitude of contempt for our losses and an unconcealed desire to continue to hold Leningrad under the direct menace of their troops.

All this definitely shows that the present Finnish Government, entangled by its anti-Soviet connections with the imperialists, does not want to maintain normal relations with the Soviet Union. It continues to maintain a hostile attitude towards our country and refuses to respect the stipulations of the pact of non-aggression concluded between the two countries, desiring to hold our glorious city of Leningrad under the menace of military attack. From such a government and its reckless military, only fresh acts of insolent provocation can now be expected.

Consequently, the Soviet Government was compelled to announce yesterday that henceforth it considers itself released from the obligations it undertook under the pact of non-aggression between the U.S.S.R. and Finland, which has been irresponsibly violated by the Government of Finland.

Fresh attacks by Finnish military units on Soviet troops near the Soviet-Finnish border now compel the Government to adopt new decisions.

The Government can no longer tolerate the state of affairs that has now arisen, the responsibility for which falls entirely on the Government of Finland.

The Government has come to the conclusion that it can no longer maintain normal relations with the Government of Finland, and therefore deems it necessary immediately to recall its political and economic representatives from Finland.

At the same time, the Government has given orders to the
High Command of the Red Army and Navy to be prepared for any contingency and immediately to repulse all further sorties that the Finnish military may make.

The foreign press hostile to us claims that the purpose of the measures we have adopted is to seize or annex to the U.S.S.R. Finnish territory. That is a malicious slander. The Soviet Government has never had any such intentions. What is more, if Finland herself were pursuing a friendly policy towards the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government, which has always striven for friendly relations with Finland, would be prepared to meet her by agreeing to territorial concessions on the part of the U.S.S.R. Under such conditions, the Soviet Government would even be prepared to consider with favour the reunion of the Karelian people inhabiting the principal districts of present Soviet Karelia with the kindred Finnish people in a single and independent Finnish state. This, however, would require that the Finnish Government adopt a friendly, not a hostile, attitude towards the U.S.S.R., which would be to the vital interest of both states.

Others assert that the measures we have taken are aimed against the independence of Finland or at interference in her home and foreign affairs. That too is a malicious slander. Whatever regime may exist in Finland, we regard her as an independent and sovereign state in all her home and foreign policy. We are firmly of the opinion that the Finnish people should decide their home and foreign affairs as they think fit. The peoples of the Soviet Union did all that was required at the time to create an independent Finland, and they are prepared in future to help the Finnish people to ensure their free and independent development.

Nor has the Soviet Union any intention of infringing in any way the interests of other states in Finland. The relations between Finland and other states are the exclusive affair of Finland herself, and the Soviet Union does not consider itself entitled to interfere in this matter.

The sole purpose of our measures is to safeguard the security of the Soviet Union, and especially of Leningrad, with its three and a half million inhabitants. In the present war-heated state of international affairs, we cannot allow the settlement of this vital and urgent problem of state to be dependent on the malevolence of the present rulers of Finland. That problem will have to be settled by the efforts of the Soviet Union itself in friendly collaboration with the Finnish people.

We have no doubt that a favourable settlement of the problem of safeguarding the security of Leningrad will furnish a basis for unshakable friendship between the U.S.S.R. and Finland.
Formation of the People's Government of Finland

Leningrad, December 1 (TASS). By agreement between the representatives of a number of Left parties and insurrectionary Finnish soldiers, a new government of Finland—the People's Government of the Finnish Democratic Republic—was formed today in Terijoki. The People's Government is composed of: Otto Kuusinen, Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs; Mauri Rosenberg, Minister of Finance; Aksel Antila, Minister of Defence; Tuure Lehen, Minister of Internal Affairs; Armas Äikä, Minister of Agriculture; Inkeri Lehtinen, Minister of Education; and Paavo Prokopen, Minister for Karelian Affairs.

The People's Government has issued a declaration setting forth its program.

Declaration of the People's Government of Finland

By the will of the people, outraged by the criminal policy of the contemptible government of Cajander, Erkko and Tanner, a new government of our country has today been formed in Eastern Finland—the Provisional People's Government, which hereby calls upon the entire Finnish people to wage a determined struggle to overthrow the tyranny of the hangmen and incendiaries of war.

The reactionary and rapacious plutocracy which in 1918, with the help of foreign imperialist troops, drowned the democratic liberty of the Finnish labouring people in an ocean of blood, has converted our country into a White-guard inferno for the working people. Having sold the independence of the country, these plutocratic rulers of Finland, acting in conjunction with the imperialist enemies of the Finnish and Soviet peoples, have been consistently engaged in hatching plans for anti-Soviet military provocations, and have finally plunged our country into the jaws of war against the Socialist Soviet Union, the great friend of the Finnish people.

In this critical situation, the broad masses of the Finnish labouring people, who have always desired to live in peace with the peoples of the Soviet country, regard it as their elementary right and their sacred duty to take the destinies of their country into their own trustworthy hands. The people have already risen in revolt in various parts of the
country and have proclaimed a *Democratic Republic*. A part of the Finnish army has already come over to the new government, a government supported by the people.

The Soviet Union, which has never menaced or molested Finland, which has always respected her independence and for two decades has patiently endured the vile acts of military provocation on the part of the adventurers who ruled White Finland, has now been faced with the necessity of putting an end to these threats to its security with the help of the Red Army. This aim fully accords with the vital interests of our people. It is therefore with the greatest enthusiasm that the people of Finland greet and welcome the *gallant and invincible Red Army*, knowing that it is not coming to Finland as a conqueror, but as the friend and liberator of our people.

The People's Government of Finland, profoundly convinced that the Soviet Union cherishes no designs upon the independence of our country, fully approves and supports the action of the Red Army on the territory of Finland. It regards it as an invaluable aid to the Finnish people on the part of the Soviet Union, in order by their joint efforts to eliminate as early as possible the highly dangerous seat of war created in Finland by the criminal government of warmongers.

With the object of achieving this aim as rapidly as possible, the People's Government of Finland appeals to the Government of the U.S.S.R. to render the Finnish Democratic Republic all necessary assistance through the instrumentality of the Red Army.

In order to fight shoulder to shoulder with the heroic Red Army of the U.S.S.R., the People's Government of Finland has already formed the *First Finnish Corps*, to be replenished in the course of the coming engagements by volunteers from the ranks of the revolutionary workers and peasants, and to serve as the firm nucleus of the future *People's Army of Finland*. The First Finnish Corps will have the honour of carrying the standard of the Finnish Democratic Republic to the capital and planting it on the roof of the presidential palace, to the joy of the working folk and the terror of the enemies of the people.

Our state must be a *democratic* republic serving the interests of the people, as distinct from the *plutocratic* republic of Cajander and Erkko, which serves the interests of the capitalists and the landlords. Nevertheless, our state is not a state of the Soviet type, for the Soviet system cannot be established by the forces of the government alone, without the consent of the entire people, and of the peasants in particular.

Hence our government is the People's Government of the Democratic Republic of Finland. It will be based on a broad *people's front of labour*. As at present constituted, the People's Government of Finland regards itself as a provisional government. On arriving in Helsinki, the capital of the country, it will immediately be reformed and enlarged by the addition of representatives from the various parties and groups participating in the people's front of labour. The members of the People's Government as then constituted, and its powers and actions are subject to confirmation by a *Sejm* to be elected by universal, equal and direct suffrage and secret ballot.

It will be the prime task of the People's Government of Finland to overthrow the government of the Finnish Whiteguards, to demolish its armed forces, to conclude peace and guarantee the independence and security of Finland by establishing durable friendly relations with the Soviet Union.

The People's Government of Finland is applying to the
Government of the U.S.S.R. to conclude a pact of mutual assistance between Finland and the Soviet Union and to satisfy the ancient national yearnings of the Finnish people for reunion with the Karelian people in a single and independent Finnish state. The People's Government of Finland has every reason to hope that its firm policy of establishing friendly relations with the Soviet Union will make it possible for the Government of the U.S.S.R. to meet this request.

The People's Government similarly desires to maintain friendly relations with all other states. It recognizes Finland's economic and financial obligations towards other countries, insofar as these obligations are not contradictory to the sovereignty of Finland and provided these countries do not take any hostile steps against the Finnish Democratic Republic and its People's Government.

In its home policy, the aims of the People's Government are as follows:

1. To create a Finnish People's Army.
2. To establish state control over the big private banks and big industrial concerns, and to introduce measures to support middle-sized and small businesses.
3. To take measures for the complete abolition of unemployment.
4. To reduce the working day to eight hours, to guarantee a two-weeks summer vacation for workers, and to reduce rents for workers and office employees.
5. To confiscate the estates of the large landed proprietors, without touching the land and property of the peasants, and to turn over the confiscated lands to peasants owning little or no land.
6. To exempt peasants from arrears of taxation.
7. To grant the fullest state aid for the improvement of the farms of the small peasants, primarily by assigning to them from the confiscated estates of the large landlords additional land, pastures and, as far as possible, timber for domestic needs.
8. To democratize the political system, the administration and the courts.
9. To increase the state subsidies for cultural needs and to reorganize the system of education; to make it possible for the children of the workers and the other poor sections of the population to attend school, and also to do everything to further the development of public education, science, literature and art along progressive lines.

It appears that having lost all support among the people, who detested it, the plutocratic government of Cajander and Erkko, which did everything in its power to ruin our country, has resigned. This detested government has been replaced by a government formed by Tanner. But Tanner is no less an enemy of our people than Cajander. The Tanner government is no whit better, and, if anything, worse, than the Cajander government. The people hate it as much as they hated the Cajander government.

*Drive these hangmen out of Finland! Overthrow this bankrupt government clique!*  

Rise up, you long-suffering labouring folk of Finland! March boldly to the struggle against the tyranny of your oppressors and hangmen!  
Rise up, all citizens who have the future of your country at heart!  
Throw off these black hounds of reaction from the backs of the people!  
Brush aside all obstacles to the prosperity and culture of the nation, and to the realization of the ancient national aspirations of our people!
Victory to the supreme cause of the workers, peasants and working intellectuals of Finland!
Forward to victory under the banner of the free and independent Finnish Democratic Republic!

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

MAURI ROSENBERG,
Vice-Premier of the People's Government and Minister of Finance

AKSEL ANTILA,
Minister of Defence

TUURE LEHEN,
Minister of Internal Affairs

ARMAS ÄKIÄ,
Minister of Agriculture

INKERI LEHTINEN,
Minister of Education

PAAVO PROKKONEN,
Minister for Karelian Affairs

Terijoki, December 1, 1939

Treaty of Mutual Assistance and Friendship
Between the Soviet Union and the Finnish Democratic Republic

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. for the one part and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Finland for the other,

Convinced that, now that the heroic struggle of the Finnish people and the efforts of the Red Army of the U.S.S.R. are putting an end to the highly dangerous seat of war created on the frontiers of the Soviet Union by the former plutocratic government of Finland in the interests of the imperialist powers, and now that the Finnish people have formed their Democratic Republic resting entirely on the support of the people, the time has come to establish durable friendly relations between their countries and by their joint efforts to safeguard the security and inviolability of their states;

Recognizing that the time has arrived to realize the ancient aspirations of the Finnish people for the reunion of the kindred Karelian and Finnish peoples in a single Finnish state, and with a view to the favourable regulation of frontier questions in the interests of both Contracting Parties, and especially with a view to safeguarding the security of Leningrad and of the Southern coast of Finland;

And with the purpose of strengthening the spirit and underlying principles of the Peace Treaty of October 23,
1920, which was based on mutual recognition of the state independence of the Contracting Parties and non-interference of one party in the internal affairs of the other;

Have therefore found it necessary to conclude a Treaty of Mutual Assistance and Friendship between the Soviet Union and the Finnish Democratic Republic and have authorized for this purpose:

V. Molotov, Chairman of the Council of People’s Commissars and People’s Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., on behalf of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.,

And O. Kuusinen, Premier of the People’s Government and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Finland, on behalf of the People’s Government of Finland,

Who, on mutual presentation of their credentials, found in due form and good order, have agreed upon the following:

ARTICLE I

The Soviet Union, in token of its friendship for and profound faith in the Finnish Democratic Republic and in deference to the national aspirations of the Finnish people to reunite the Karelian and Finnish peoples in a single and independent Finnish State, agrees to cede to the Finnish Democratic Republic the districts of Soviet Karelia inhabited by a predominantly Karelian population, to a total of seventy thousand square kilometres, which territory shall form part of the state territories of the Finnish Democratic Republic, the boundary between the U.S.S.R. and the Finnish Democratic Republic being defined in accordance with the map appended hereto.

The Finnish Democratic Republic, in token of its friendship for and profound faith in the U.S.S.R. and in deference to the desire of the Soviet Union to enhance the security of the U.S.S.R. and especially of the City of Leningrad, agrees to shift the boundary in the Isthmus of Karelia somewhat further from Leningrad in a northerly direction, ceding to the Soviet Union territory totalling three thousand nine hundred and seventy square kilometres, the U.S.S.R. for its part undertaking to compensate Finland for the cost of the railway line on the part of the Isthmus of Karelia ceded to the U.S.S.R. in the sum of one hundred and twenty million Finnish marks.

ARTICLE II

With the purpose of enhancing the security of the U.S.S.R. and Finland in their mutual interest, the Finnish Democratic Republic agrees:

a) To lease to the Soviet Union for a term of thirty years the Peninsula of Hangö and the surrounding territorial waters within a radius of five miles to the South and the East and a radius of three miles to the West and the North together with a number of the adjacent islands in the South and the East as defined in the map appended hereto for the establishment of a naval base capable of protecting from aggression the entrance to the Gulf of Finland in the interests of the security of Finland and the U.S.S.R., the Soviet Union furthermore to be entitled to maintain there at its own cost for the protection of the naval base a strictly limited contingent of armed land and air forces, the maximum number of which shall be defined by separate agreement;

b) To sell to the Soviet Union the Islands of Suursaari (Hogland), Seiskari, Lavansaari, Tytärasaari (Greater and Lesser) and Koivisto (Björkö) in the Gulf of Finland and the parts belonging to Finland of the Rybachi and Sredni Peninsulas on the Arctic coast for an agreed sum of three hundred million Finnish marks.
ARTICLE III

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

ARTICLE IV

Each of the Contracting Parties undertakes not to conclude any alliance or enter into any coalition directed against the other party.

ARTICLE V

The Contracting Parties agree to conclude a Commercial Agreement at an early date and to increase the annual volume of trade between the two countries considerably beyond the peak figure of 1927, when it reached a value of eight hundred million Finnish marks.

ARTICLE VI

The Soviet Union undertakes to supply the Finnish People's Army with armaments and other munitions of war on favourable terms.

ARTICLE VII

This Treaty shall, as regards the stipulations for mutual assistance between the U.S.S.R. and the Finnish Democratic Republic (Articles III to V), remain in force for a term of twenty-five years; moreover, if one year prior to the expiration of the said term neither of the Contracting Parties has expressed its desire to denounce those provisions of the present Treaty which are limited as to term, the said provisions shall automatically remain in force for a further term of twenty-five years.

ARTICLE VIII

The present Treaty enters into force from date of signature and is subject to subsequent ratification. Exchange of instruments of ratification shall take place at the earliest possible date in the city of Helsinki, the capital of Finland.

The present Treaty has been drawn up in two originals, in the Russian and Finnish languages respectively, in the City of Moscow, December 2, 1939.

V. MOLOTOV

O. KUUSINEN
V. M. Molotov Receives U.S.A. Ambassador, Mr. Steinhardt

In connection with statements made by Mr. Steinhardt, Ambassador of the U.S.A., on instructions from President Roosevelt, Comrade Molotov gave the following explanation regarding developments in Finland.

Mr. Roosevelt's suggestion that no air bombings of the population in the towns of Finland be permitted is based on a misunderstanding insofar as this suggestion is addressed to the Soviet Government. Soviet airplanes have bombed no towns, and have no intention of doing so—they bombed only airfields; for our Government is no less concerned for the interests of the Finnish population than any other government. Of course, one may fail to see this in America, over eight thousand kilometres away from Finland. But facts are facts nevertheless. In view of this the above-mentioned statement by Mr. Roosevelt is obviously pointless.

As regards the resignation of the Cajander Government and the substitution for it of the Tanner Government, Comrade Molotov stated that that circumstance, unfortunately, does not improve matters. Tanner is manifestly an unhappy choice. M. Tanner was and undoubtedly remains the evil genius of the Soviet-Finnish negotiations. Had the negotiations on behalf of Finland been carried on by M. Paasikivi, without the participation of M. Tanner, as was the case during the first stage of the negotiations, they would probably have ended in an acceptable agreement. But M. Tanner's participation in the
negotiations spoiled matters and, apparently, tied M. Paasikivi's hands. In view of this the Soviet Union expects nothing good from Tanner's Government. Moreover, the formation of a new government of Finland—the People's Government headed by M. Kuusinen—introduces an important new factor into the situation and gives the Soviet Government cause to hope for a peaceful and satisfactory settlement of the present crisis.

V. M. Molotov Receives M. Winter, Swedish Minister

M. Winter, Minister of Sweden, who was received by Comrade Molotov on December 4, communicated the desire of the so-called "government of Finland" to open new negotiations for an agreement with the Soviet Union.

Comrade Molotov explained to M. Winter that the Soviet Government does not recognize the so-called "government of Finland" which has already left the city of Helsinki for an unknown destination, and that, consequently, there can now be no question of any negotiations with that "government." The Soviet Government recognizes only the People's Government of the Democratic Republic of Finland, and has concluded a treaty of mutual assistance and friendship with it, and this constitutes a reliable basis for the development of peaceful and auspicious relations between the U.S.S.R. and Finland.
Telegraph of M. Avenol, Secretary of
the League of Nations, dated December 4, 1939,
to V. M. Molotov, People’s Commissar of
Foreign Affairs, and the Reply of the
Soviet Government

On December 4 the People’s Commissariat of Foreign Af-
fairs received from Bern (Switzerland) the following telegram
from M. Avenol, Secretary General of the League of Nations:

I have the honour to bring to your notice the text of a tele-
gram which I am addressing to the members of the Council
and of the League of Nations: “I have received the following
letter, dated December 3, 1939, from the permanent delegate
of Finland to the League of Nations: ‘The U.S.S.R., with whom
Finland has maintained good-neighbourly relations since the
signing of the Tartu peace treaty in 1920 and with whom she
has signed a pact of non-aggression expiring only in 1945, on
the morning of November 30 of this year suddenly attacked
not only frontier positions but also open towns of Finland,
sowing death and destruction among the civilian population,
especially by air attacks. Finland has never undertaken any-
thing against her powerful neighbour. She has never ceased
exerting the utmost efforts to live in peace with her. Never-
theless, referring to Finland’s alleged refusal to acknowledge
the so-called frontier incidents and accusing Finland of al-
legedly refusing to agree to the strengthening of the security
of Leningrad, the U.S.S.R. at first denounced the above-men-
tioned pact of non-aggression and then rejected the proposal

of the Government of Finland to have recourse to the medi-
tation of a neutral power. On the instructions of my Govern-
ment I have the honour to bring the above to your notice and
to request, in virtue of Articles 11 and 15 of the Covenant,
that you be good enough to convok the Council and the As-
sembly immediately and request them to take all necessary
measures to check the aggression. I will not fail to present
you a full exposition of the reasons and circumstances which
prompted my Government to request the intervention of the
League of Nations in the conflict which has led to a clash
between two of its members.” Signed Rudolf Holsti.

“In accordance with Article 11, paragraph 1 of the Coven-
ant I hereby convok the members of the Council in Geneva
at noon on Saturday, December 9. I am submitting for con-
sideration to the President of the Assembly a proposal to con-
voke the Assembly on Monday, December 11. The date will
be confirmed.”

Avenol, Secretary General

On behalf of the Soviet Government Comrade Molotov on
December 4 wired Avenol the following reply:

On instructions of the Government of the U.S.S.R. I have
the honour to inform you that my Government considers the
proposal to convok the Council of the League of Nations
on December 9 and the Assembly of the League of Nations
on December 11 upon the initiative of M. Rudolf Holsti and
in virtue of Article 11, paragraph 1 of the League of Nations
Covenant unfounded.

The Soviet Union is not in a state of war with Finland
and does not threaten the Finnish people with war. Hence,
the reference to paragraph 1 of Article 11 of the Covenant
of the League of Nations is unjustified. The Soviet Union
maintains peaceful relations with the Democratic Republic
of Finland, with whose government it signed, on December 2
of this year, a treaty of mutual assistance and friendship.
This treaty settles all the questions that were discussed without result with the delegates of Finland's former government, which has now resigned its powers.

In its declaration of December 1 of this year the Government of the Democratic Republic of Finland addressed to the Government of the U.S.S.R. a request to render the Democratic Republic of Finland assistance with military forces in order as soon as possible to eliminate by joint efforts the highly dangerous hotbed of war created in Finland by her former rulers. Under these circumstances M. Rudolf Holsti's appeal to the League of Nations cannot serve as a basis for the convocation of the Council of the League and of the Assembly, especially since the persons on whose behalf M. Rudolf Holsti addresses the League are not authentic representatives of the Finnish people.

If, notwithstanding the above considerations, the Council of the League and the Assembly should still be convened to consider M. Rudolf Holsti's application, the Soviet Government would not deem it possible to take part in these meetings. This decision is further supported by the fact that the communication of the Secretary General of the League of Nations on the convocation of the Council and Assembly, reproducing the text of M. Holsti's offensive and slanderous letter, is manifestly incompatible with the respect due the Soviet Union.

December 4, 1939

MOLOTOV

The Treaty of Mutual Assistance and Friendship Between the U.S.S.R. and the Democratic Republic of Finland

Editorial in Pravda, December 4, 1939

Comrade V. M. Molotov, head of the Soviet Government, concluded his speech over the radio on November 29 with the following words:

"The sole purpose of our measures is to safeguard the security of the Soviet Union, and especially of Leningrad, with its three and a half million inhabitants. In the present war-heated state of international affairs, we cannot allow the settlement of this vital and urgent problem of state to be dependent on the malevolence of the present rulers of Finland. That problem will have to be settled by the efforts of the Soviet Union itself in friendly collaboration with the Finnish people.

"We have no doubt that a favourable settlement of the problem of safeguarding the security of Leningrad will furnish a basis for unshakable friendship between the U.S.S.R. and Finland."

Comrade Molotov's speech evoked tremendous enthusiasm among the Soviet people, who unanimously hailed the decision of the Soviet Government to put an end to the insolent provocations of the puppet Finnish ministers and thereby to open the way for friendly negotiations with true representatives of the Finnish people.

Some two or three days have passed. The bankrupt bourgeois politicians of Finland have been thrown into panic and dismay by the mighty blow delivered by the valiant Red
Army in reply to the provocative sorties on the Soviet border. Governments are tumbling one after another, clinging vainly to their foreign patrons and instigators. But in liberated Finland the voice of the genuine labouring people has resounded. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Finland has called upon all its people to fight together with the Red Army against the instigators of war and the oppressors of the Finnish people.

Friendly cooperation between the Soviet Union and the people of Finland has been established since the very first steps taken by the Red Army, which is smashing the chain of foreign imperialism that fetters the labouring people of Finland. This collaboration has now been sealed by the treaty of mutual assistance and friendship between the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Finland.

Messrs. the Cajanders and Tanners were unable to find a common language with the Soviet Government, because they were guided, in deference to their foreign masters, not by a desire for peace but by feelings of hostility towards the U.S.S.R. The negotiations dragged on fruitlessly. They were disrupted by Finland’s instigators of war. The press of the imperialist fomenters of a world war, those who like others to pull their chestnuts out of the fire for them, encouraged the shortsighted politicians of the Finnish bourgeoisie to fight the U.S.S.R.

The negotiations between the Soviet Government and the representatives of the Democratic Republic of Finland, on the other hand, were concluded in short time. A common language was found from the very start, because it is the language of friendship and profound mutual confidence.

The treaty opens a new page in the history of the relations between these two neighbouring states, removes forever all grounds for mutual distrust, and creates a basis for enduring and indestructible friendship.

This treaty removes one to the most dangerous hotbeds of war, created on the frontiers of the Soviet Union by the former plutocratic government of Finland to please the imperialist robbers. The boundary on the Isthmus of Karelia is shifted from Leningrad to the north with the transfer of 3,970 square kilometres of Finnish territory to the Soviet Union, the latter paying Finland the sum of 120,000,000 Finnish marks in compensation for the sections of Finnish railways passing into possession of the U.S.S.R.

On the other hand, the age-long aspirations of the Finnish people for the reunion of the Karelian people with the kindred Finnish people in one Finnish state is being realized. For this purpose, the Soviet Union expresses its consent to transfer to the Democratic Republic of Finland 70,000 square kilometres of Soviet territory with a predominantly Karelian population.

The treaty further guarantees the mutual interests of the Soviet Union and Finland in the defence of the coast of the Gulf of Finland, in strengthening the security of the U.S.S.R. and Finland. The Soviet Union receives a lease of the Hangö Peninsula, the surrounding waters, and the adjacent islands, for the establishment of a naval base capable of defending the entrance to the Gulf of Finland against aggression. The Democratic Republic of Finland is selling the Soviet Union a number of islands in the Gulf of Finland, enumerated in the treaty, as well as part of the Rybachi and Sredni peninsulas on the coast of the Arctic Ocean, for the total sum of 300,000,000 Finnish marks.

Lastly, the friendship between the U.S.S.R. and the Democratic Republic of Finland is consolidated by mutual obligations not to take part in any alliances or coalitions hostile to the other party, by the development of economic relations on the basis of a trade agreement, and by the undertaking of the Soviet Union to assist the Finnish People’s Army with armaments and other military equipment.

Such are the contents of the treaty.
It goes without saying that none of the “democratic” powers, say, Britain, France or the United States, would have agreed to sign such a treaty with a small and weak country like Finland. Any one of these “democratic” powers would have preferred to utilize the might of its army to seize Finnish territory, to turn Finland into a dependent state. Only the Soviet Union, which rejects the very idea of seizing foreign territory and enslaving foreign peoples, could go to the length of using its entire political and military might, not to seize or enslave Finland, but to strengthen the independence of Finland, to extend Finland’s territory at the expense of territory of the Soviet Union, to establish friendship with Finland.

The historical significance of the treaty of mutual assistance and friendship between the U.S.S.R. and Finland is that it gives the lie to allegations of the foreign press and foreign politicians regarding the substance of the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R., establishes peace in Eastern and Northeastern Europe, and obviates the possibility of Finland being turned into a base of operations against the U.S.S.R.—hence it safeguards the security of both Finland and the U.S.S.R., as well as of the Baltic countries in general.

The foreign press and foreign “democratic” rulers have been howling for several days now that the entry of the Red Army into Finland means the seizure of Finnish territory, the destruction of Finland’s independence, and the conversion of Finland into a province of the U.S.S.R. Now, after the treaty with the Democratic Republic of Finland, this lie circulated by the “civilized” slanderers may be considered exposed. These “civilizers” are lying barefacedly when they attribute to the U.S.S.R. intentions that are alien to it. Not only is the U.S.S.R. seizing nothing from Finland, but, on the contrary, it is giving Finland 70,000 square kilometres of Soviet territory, helping it to reunite with the Karelian population neighbouring on Finland.

The warmongers, parading under the flag of “neutrality” so as to deceive the masses, are shouting from the house-tops that the Red Army is violating the neutrality of the northern countries, that it has entered Finland as an aggressor, as a conqueror, that it is unleashing war in the northeast of Europe and threatening the northern countries. Now, after the treaty with the Democratic Republic of Finland, this lie may also be considered exposed. These gentlemen are lying barefacedly when they attribute to the Red Army intentions that are alien to it. The Red Army has come to Finland not as an aggressor, not as a conqueror, but as the deliverer of the Finnish people from their oppressors and the instigators of war of the Cajander-Erkko-Tanner-Mannerheim clique. The Red Army certainly constitutes a danger for the gentlemen from the Tanner-Mannerheim camp. It would be absurd, however, to identify this discredited clique of incendiaries of war with Northeastern Europe, i.e., with Finland, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, whom the Red Army has not the slightest intention of threatening. The Red Army has come to Finland to help the Finnish people and its People’s Government in their struggle against the Messrs. Tanner and Mannerheim. It is acting in Finland on the invitation of the People’s Government of Finland. It will lose no time in leaving Finland as soon as the People’s Government of Finland deems it necessary.

In April 1919 the British Conservative newspaper The Times, regarding Finland as a base of operations for an attack on our country, wrote:

“So far as stamping out the Bolshevik is concerned we might as well send expeditions to Honolulu as to the White Sea. If we look at the map we shall find that the best approach to Petrograd is from the Baltic, and that the shortest and easiest route is through Finland. ... Finland is the key to Petrograd, and Petrograd is the key to Moscow.”

The Times knew what it was talking about. For Finland
is indeed the key to Leningrad, and Leningrad is the key to Moscow. He who wishes to defeat our Soviet country must have Finland at his command as the key to Leningrad, and Leningrad as the key to Moscow, the heart of our country. From this, however, it follows that to ensure friendship between Finland and the U.S.S.R. and to strengthen the security of the approaches to Leningrad means at the same time to safeguard the security of our whole country. The historic significance of the treaty between the U.S.S.R. and the Democratic Republic of Finland consists, among other things, in that it transforms Finland from the hotbed of anti-Soviet intrigue and war provocations it has been until recently into a reliable bulwark of peace in Northeastern Europe.

Thereby an end is put to the imperialists' anti-Soviet machinations in this part of Europe.

The security of Leningrad and its approaches should henceforth be considered as safeguarded.